

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761114686488>

CA 1 Z1

-63B51

Government
Publications

Cape

Canada

Royal Commission on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism. Documents.

11.

592

A

6

Government
Publication
Centre

Canada

1967

Documents
of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism



1 Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service

Christopher Beattie
Jacques Désy
Stephen Longstaff

Bureaucratic Careers:
Anglophones and Francophones
in the Canadian Public Service

Documents of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | Peter H. Russell | <i>The Supreme Court of Canada as a Bilingual and Bicultural Institution</i> |
| 2 | Thérèse Nilski | <i>Conference Interpretation in Canada</i> |
| 3 | David Hoffman
and Norman Ward | <i>Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Canadian House of Commons</i> |
| 4 | Donald V. Smiley | <i>Constitutional Adaptation and Canadian Federalism Since 1945</i> |
| 5 | Robert N. Morrison | <i>Corporate Adaptability to Bilingualism and Biculturalism</i> |
| 6 | Jacques Dofny | <i>Les ingénieurs canadiens-français et canadiens-anglais à Montréal</i> |
| 7 | Donald E. Armstrong | <i>Education and Economic Achievement</i> |
| 8 | Monique Mousseau | <i>Analyse des nouvelles télévisées</i> |
| 9 | Louis Sabourin | <i>La dualité culturelle dans les activités internationales du Canada</i> |
| 10 | Guy Bourassa | <i>Les relations ethniques dans la vie politique montréalaise</i> |
| 11 | C. Beattie, J. Désy
and S. Longstaff | <i>Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service</i> |
| 12 | Gérard Lapointe | <i>Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise</i> |

To be published

John Meisel and
Vincent Lemieux

Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations

Documents
of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism
and Biculturalism

11

Bureaucratic Careers: Anglophones and Francophones in the Canadian Public Service

Christopher Beattie
Jacques Déry
Stephen Longstaff

This document has been prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Although published under the auspices of the Commission, it does not necessarily express the Commission's views.

Crown Copyrights reserved

Available by mail from
Information Canada, Ottawa,
and at the following
Information Canada bookshops:

Halifax
1735 Barrington Street

Montreal
1182 St. Catherine Street West

Ottawa
171 Slater Street

Toronto
221 Yonge Street

Winnipeg
Mall Center Building, 499 Portage Avenue

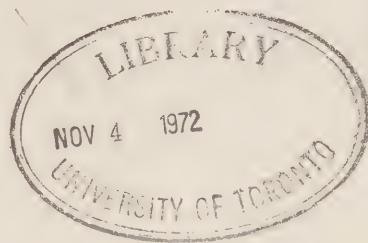
Vancouver
657 Granville Street

or through your bookseller

Price \$7.50 (subject to change without notice)

Catalogue No. Z1-1963-/1-2/11

Information Canada
Ottawa, 1972



This study—the Career Study as it came to be known—was one of the major "in-house" projects undertaken by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. At various stages in its preparation both members of the staff of the Royal Commission and outside experts contributed their talents to the Career Study. The trio whose names appear as its authors could not have completed their task without this aid.

George Torrance was originally in charge of the Career Study. He originated its focus on middle-level men at mid-career in five different departments and co-ordinated the preparation of the interview schedule and questionnaire. In its early stages, the study also benefited from the guidance of Oswald Hall of the University of Toronto, John W.C. Johnstone of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, and Marjorie N. Donald of Carleton University.

Our understanding of the five departments selected for study was enhanced by Wes Bolstad of the University of Saskatchewan, Maureen Appel, and Peter Pitsiladis of Sir George Williams University. They examined the formal structure of these departments before the interviewing commenced and provided us with invaluable background information.

The interviewing, coding of responses, and many preliminary tabulations were done by the Career Study team: Carol Morgan Angi, Anne Dixon, François Dorlot, Luc-Gilbert Lessard, Pierre Poirier, André Robert, Roma Standefer, Raymond Taillon, Martin Thériault, Barbara Milne Thompson, Barry Thompson, and Sharron Welsh. The authors would particularly like to acknowledge the efforts of five of the above who wrote chapters in the section entitled "Four Special Careers" (Section V). Anne Dixon wrote the chapter on the Finance Officer, Carol Morgan Angi the chapter on the agricultural researcher, François Dorlot the one on the Translator, and Barbara Milne Thompson and Raymond Taillon the one on the Patent Examiner.

Mme Andrée Traversy was attentive to our scholarly needs in typing the final version of the report. Martin Thériault made our quantitative findings more understandable by turning many complicated tables into diagrams and figures.

Byron G. Spencer of the Department of Economics, McMaster University, provided expert assistance in the execution and interpretation of the multiple-regression results reported in Chapter VIII.

Finally, we are indebted most of all to Meyer Brownstone of the University of Toronto, the Royal Commission's supervisor of research on the Public Service. He helped to plan the Career Study and provided advice and encouragement all along the way. We feel confident that we speak for all members of the Career Study group in saying that we are proud to have been associated with him and to know him as our boss and friend.

Acknowledgements v

List of Tables xviii

List of Figures xxxviii

Introduction xliii

Section I Research Aims and Design

Chapter I	Historical Background and Research Design	3
A	Bilingualism and the Merit Principle: The Historical Background	3
	From Confederation to the thirties	3
	Renewed debate: the thirties and the forties	6
	The importance of Ernest Lapointe	7
	The Jean Committee	11
	The Glassco Commission	11
	The present period: 1961-7	12
	Conclusions	13
B	The Literature on the Federal Administration	14
	Bureaucratic rationalization	14
	The bureaucratic elite	15
C	Research Design	16

Section II The Structure of Federal Administration

Chapter II	A Cross-Section of the Federal Public Service	23
A	Ministers and Officials	23
B	The Composition of the Federal Administration	25
C	The Non-Departmental Units	27
D	The Range of Government Departments	28
E	Representativeness of the Five Departments	32

Chapter III	The Five Departments: Their Major Characteristics	37
-------------	---	----

- A A Government Department as a Bureaucracy 38
- B The Department of Finance 39
- C The Department of National Revenue (Taxation Division) 43
 - Head office 48
 - Taxation Data Centre 49
 - District offices 49
- D The Department of Agriculture 50
- E The Department of Public Works 55
 - Organizational structure - 1965 56
 - Organizational structure - 1970 58
- F The Department of the Secretary of State 60
- G The Environment of the Departments 63

Chapter IV Career Types and Representative Bureaucracy 65

- A Career Types 65
 - Professional and scientific 66
 - Technical and semi-professional 66
 - Administrative 66
- B Career Categories 67
 - Finance 68
 - National Revenue 69
 - Agriculture 70
 - Public Works 71
 - Secretary of State 71
 - Summary 72
- C Representative Bureaucracy 73
- D Francophone Presence 75
- E Explaining the Francophone Presence 82

Section III The Human Resources Drawn into the Public Service

Chapter V The Social Origins and Education of the Careerists 87

- A Place of Birth and Geographic Origin 87
- B Mother Tongue and Ethnic Descent 92
- C Rural-Urban and Social Class Background 97

- D Religious Membership and Marital Status 104
- E Education 108
- F Summary and Conclusions 119

Chapter VI Work Experience Outside the Public Service 125

- A The General Picture: All Departmental Personnel 125
- B The Picture at the Middle Level 128
- C Experience in the Armed Forces 132
- D Geographical Moves and Job-switching 133

Chapter VII Joining the Federal Administration 139

- A Main Reason for Joining the Public Service: Work or Benefits 139
- B The Nature and Importance of Creative Work 140
- C Variations in Reasons for Joining 141
- D Further Anglophone-Francophone Comparisons 145
- E Department Selection 155
- F A Retrospective View of Joining the Public Service 156

Section IV The Public Service as a Career Setting

Chapter VIII Career Patterns 163

- A The Bureaucratic Career 164
- B Intergenerational Mobility 165
- C Career Mobility 171
- D Horizontal Mobility 190
- E The Lifetime Career 196
- F Some Typical Career Histories 197

Chapter IX	Getting to the "Top" 203
A	Gaining Entrance to the Elite 203
	Sponsorship 204
	Parachuting 206
B	Language and Advancement 208
C	Culture and Advancement 211
D	How to Reach the "Top" 214
	General findings 215
	The importance of outside activities and connections 220
	The importance of kin and family 224
E	Prospects of "Making It" 225
Chapter X	Satisfaction with Career 233
A	Public vs. Private Employment 234
B	The Public Service and its "culture anglaise" 238
C	The Promotion System: General Reactions 240
D	Commitment to the Public Service 251
Chapter XI	Satisfaction with Community 261
A	General Reactions to the Capital Region 262
B	Favourable Reactions 269
C	Negative Comments 271
D	Implications 275

Section V	Four Special Careers
-----------	----------------------

	Introduction 279
Chapter XII	The Finance Officer: Policy-Maker in a Glamour Department 283
A	The Interviewed Sample 284
B	The Finance Image: Myth or Reality? 285
C	Personnel and Promotion Policy 287

D	Pre-Public Service Experiences	288
	Social background	289
	Early social milieu	289
	Education	291
	Career past	293
	Selecting an occupation	293
	Previous work history	294
	Reasons for joining the Public Service	295
	Entering the department	296
E	Public Service Career	298
	Career orientation	298
	Career style	300
	Career skills	305
F	Perceptions of How to Get Ahead in Finance	306
G	Profile of the Finance Officer: A résumé	308
H	The Late Entrant	310
	The parachutist	310
	The transfer	311
I	Francophone and Other Minorities in Finance	312
	Recruitment	312
	Language of work	314
	Sponsorship	316
J	The Department and Bilingualism and Biculturalism	317

Chapter XIII	The Agricultural Researcher: Scientist in an International Community	321
A	Research Structure and Personnel	321
B	The Promotion System	323
C	The Interviewed Sample	324
D	Social Background of the Researchers	325
	Early milieu	325
	Education	325
	Summer jobs	327
	Occupational choice	327
	Previous work history	330
E	Reasons for Joining the Public Service	330
F	The Public Service Career	333
	Career orientation	333
	Career style	337
G	Perceptions of How to Get Ahead in Research	341
H	Important Characteristics: A Résumé	342

I	The Francophone in the Department of Agriculture	343
	Use of the French language	345
	Recruitment and Francophone personnel	346
J	The Career Experience of the Francophone Agricultural Researcher	347
	Social background	347
	Career past	347
	Public Service career	348
	Career satisfaction	354
Chapitre XIV	La carrière de traducteur : un certain refuge	357
A	Position du problème et méthodologie	357
	Le Bureau des traductions	357
	L'échantillon interviewé	358
B	Comment devient-on traducteur ?	359
	Lieu de naissance	359
	Milieu social d'origine	361
	Instruction	361
	Bacheliers	362
	Licenciés	362
	Les antécédents professionnels	362
	Choix de la carrière	363
	Monographie des emplois (avant la traduction à la fonction publique ou ailleurs)	364
	La formation d'un traducteur et le cas des interprètes	365
	Formation empirique	365
	Études spécialisées	366
	L'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale	367
	Les motifs	367
	Les examens d'entrée	368
C	La carrière du traducteur dans la fonction publique	368
	Trois types de traducteurs	369
	Les traducteurs « mobiles »	369
	Les traducteurs « confinés »	369
	Les traducteurs au Débats	369
	Le statut professionnel du traducteur	370
	Comment se considèrent les traducteurs ?	370
	Comment les considère-t-on ?	370
	Quel devrait être leur statut ?	372
	Le problème du multiple isolement	372
	Les ambitions et les freins aux ambitions	372
	Le cas des interprètes	373
	Les traducteurs et la question du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme	374
D	Conclusion : portrait du traducteur	375

Chapter XV	The Patent Examiner: Engineer in Search of Security 377
A	Interviewed Sample 377
B	The Patent Office 378 Structure 378 Career patterns in the Patent Office 379
C	Social Life Before Entering the Public Service 380 Social origins 380 Education and previous work history 380 Joining the Patent Office 381
D	Public Service Career 382 Career mobility 382 Career orientation and style 382 Perceptions of how to get ahead in the Patent Office 383 Career satisfaction 384
E	Problems of the Patent Office 386 Recruitment 386 Turnover 387 Policy and promotion 387 The quota system 389 Morale within the Patent Office 390
F	French Usage and Francophones in the Patent Office 391

Section VI	Language and Culture
------------	----------------------

Chapitre XVI	Les connaissances linguistiques et l'emploi des langues 395
A	L'état général des qualifications linguistiques 395
B	Quelques variations spécifiques de la compétence linguistique 399 La région d'origine 399 Niveau d'instruction et spécialisation universitaire 405 Âge et ancienneté 407 Traitement et groupes de spécialisations 408 Attachement à la fonction publique et degré de bilinguisme 410

- C L'emploi des langues au travail 411
 - Le modèle général de l'emploi du français (et de l'anglais) au travail 411
 - Des modèles plus spécifiques : selon le statut et le groupe de spécialisations, et selon le ministère 414
- D Les difficultés à travailler en anglais 417
- E Facteurs linguistiques, satisfaction dans le travail et attachement à la fonction publique 421
 - Les attitudes à l'égard du système de promotion 422
 - Les principaux obstacles aux progrès des francophones 423
 - Mention d'obstacles d'ordre ethnique ou d'ordre linguistique 425
 - L'attachement à la fonction publique 428
 - Transformations de l'attachement initial à la fonction publique 429
- F Résumé et conclusion 431

Chapitre XVII

L'acculturation des francophones, un processus singulier ? 433

- A Position du problème et méthodologie 433
- B Description et variations spécifiques des indicateurs d'acculturation 435
 - Langue des études 436
 - La période de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale 441
 - Réseau social et vie communautaire 444
 - Choix du conjoint 445
 - Le choix des amis 449
 - L'école fréquentée par les enfants 450
 - Langue du quartier 450
- C Relations entre les indicateurs d'acculturation 451
 - L'influence de la langue des études 452
 - Langue des études et langue de travail 452
 - Langue des études et relations sociales hors du travail 454
 - L'influence du milieu de travail 456
 - Choix du conjoint 457
 - Choix des amis 458
 - Les indicateurs de l'assimilation hors du travail 460
 - Choix du conjoint et choix des amis 461
 - Note sur l'assimilation linguistique 462

- D Résumé des relations des indicateurs entre eux 466
- E Conclusion 466

Chapter XVIII

Taking French Lessons: One Step Towards a
Bilingual Public Service 473

- A Language Training: Some Background Consider-
 ations 474
- B Departmental Variations 475
- C The Reasoning Behind the Decision About French
 Lessons 485
- D Willingness to Take French Lessons 487
- E Problems and Praises 492
 Problems in the learning of French 492
 Problems with the use of French 493
 Praise of the courses 496
- F Summary 496

Chapter XIX

Anglophone Reaction to the Emphasis on Bilingual-
ism and Biculturalism 499

- A Some Correlates of Sympathy and Hostility 501
 Basic characteristics 501
 Career and work situation 505
 Social contacts 511
- B How is Hostility Expressed? 513
 "The threat of bilingualism" 513
 The promotion system 514
 The Francophone advantage 514
 The counter-threat 515
 Fear for the status quo 516
 The solution as the respondents see it 517
- C How is sympathy expressed? 518
 A way of thinking 518
 A sense of responsibility 520
 Sympathy with reservations 521
 Sympathy only so far 521
 The French-speaking public 523
- D A Note on Apathy 523
- E Summary Remarks 525

Chapitre XX	La réaction des francophones aux promesses du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme 527
A	Quelques variations spécifiques des attitudes optimistes et pessimistes 528
	Caractéristiques non professionnelles 530
	L'âge 530
	Région d'origine 530
	Origine sociale 531
	Niveau d'instruction 531
	La carrière dans la fonction publique fédérale 533
	Antécédents professionnels et ancienneté 533
	Groupe de spécialisations 535
	Statut et traitement 535
	Ministères 538
	Motifs d'entrée dans la fonction publique et attachement à celle-ci 540
	Facteurs linguistiques 542
	Connaissances linguistiques 542
	Langue de travail 543
	Acculturation 543
B	Les formes des attitudes optimistes 544
	Meilleures possibilités d'avancement 544
	Égalité des chances 545
	Changement d'attitudes chez les anglophones 546
	Confiance des francophones 547
C	Les caractéristiques des attitudes mixtes 547
D	Les formes des attitudes pessimistes 550
E	Conclusion 556
	Conclusions 559
A	Linguistic Disadvantages 559
B	Discrimination 560
C	The Culture of the Major Work Institutions 561

Section VIIAppendices

Appendix I	Proposed Project Outline 565
------------	------------------------------

Appendix II	Interviewing in the Five Departments 570
-------------	--

Appendix III	Comparisons of the Sample and the Population	572
Appendix IV	Personal Interview and Questionnaire: English and French Versions	578
Appendix V	Telephone Interview	600
Appendix VI	A Survey of the Canadian Public Service	602
Appendix VII	The Identification of Significant Differences Between Categories	605
Appendix VIII	Coding Instructions for Selected Variables	609
Appendix IX	Results of the Multiple Regression Analysis	612
Notes to Chapters		627

List of Tables

Table in Chapter I

- 1.1 Language group of all public servants in the national capital area and of those chosen for interviewing aged 25 to 45 and earning \$6,200 a year or more, in five selected departments (1965) 18

Tables in Chapter II

- 2.1 Percentage distribution of occupational categories of employees under the Civil Service Act, by department (1965) 34
- 2.2 Percentage distribution of occupational categories (professional, administrative, technical and inspection only) of employees under the Civil Service Act, by department (1965) 35

Tables in Chapter III

- 3.1 Department of National Revenue (Taxation division) - personnel distribution by job classification and salary level (1964) 46
- 3.2 Department of Agriculture - personnel distribution by branch and division (1965) 53

Tables in Chapter IV

- 4.1 Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Finance 68
- 4.2 Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of National Revenue (Taxation division) 69
- 4.3 Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Agriculture 70
- 4.4 Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Public Works 71
- 4.5 Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of the Secretary of State 72

Tables in Chapter V

- 5.1 Province of birth of Canadian-born middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 89

- 5.2 Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 90
 - 5.3 Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants in five selected departments (percentages) 91
 - 5.4 Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants in career type A (percentages) 93
 - 5.5 Percentage of employees of non-French non-English mother tongue in selected career categories among middle-level public servants 97
 - 5.6 Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 99
 - 5.7 Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level federal public servants, by career category (percentages) 102
 - 5.8 Religious membership of middle-level federal public servants and the total Canadian population, 1961 (percentages) 106
 - 5.9 Marital status of middle-level federal public servants and of the total Canadian population 25 to 44 years of age (percentages) 107
 - 5.10 Size of family (only those married) of middle-level federal public servants 108
 - 5.11 Years of formal schooling among departmental public servants of French and English mother tongue (1965) 110
 - 5.12 Level of education of middle-level federal public servants, by geographic origin (percentages) 113
 - 5.13 Type of secondary school attended by middle-level federal public servants 114
 - 5.14 Type of secondary school attended by middle-level Anglophone federal public servants, by career type A 115
 - 5.15 Type of secondary school attended by middle-level Francophone federal public servants, by career type A 116
 - 5.16 Prestige of the universities attended by middle-level federal public servants 118
 - 5.17 Orientation to different levels of government among Canadian youth aged 13 to 20, by language spoken at home (1965) (percentages) 123
- Tables in Chapter VI
- 6.1 Years of employment experience outside the federal administration for all departmental personnel (1965), by mother tongue (percentages) 127
 - 6.2 Years of employment experience outside the federal administration of middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 129

- 6.3 Years of employment experience outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 130
- 6.4 Median years of employment experience outside the federal administration and percentage having at least 10 years of such experience, among middle-level federal public servants, by career type B 131
- 6.5 Years of employment experience outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by department 132
- 6.6 Experience in the Armed Forces among middle-level federal public servants 134
- 6.7 Number of geographical moves during employment outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants 134
- 6.8 Number of geographical moves during employment outside the federal administration among middle-level public servants, by age at entry (percentages) 135
- 6.9 Incidence of disorderly job-switching done by middle-level federal public servants with employment experience outside the federal administration (percentages) 136
- 6.10 Incidence of medium and high disorderly job-switching done by middle-level federal public servants with employment experience outside the federal administration, by career type A 137

Tables in Chapter VII

- 7.1 Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal administration (percentages) 142
- 7.2 Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for benefit reasons, by years of government service 147
- 7.3 Percentage of middle-level public servants giving selected reasons for joining the federal administration, by geographic origin 149
- 7.4 Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by size of place of origin (as of the 1941 census) 150
- 7.5 Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by level of education 151
- 7.6 Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by university specialization 151
- 7.7 Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by the nature of their work histories outside the federal administration 152

- 7.8 Degree of commitment of middle-level public servants to staying in the Public Service at the time of entry (percentages) 157
- 7.9 Percentage of middle-level public servants expressing lack of commitment to staying in the Public Service at the time of entry, by career type A 158

Tables in Chapter VIII

- 8.1 Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants by class origin, current age, and current salary 166
- 8.2 Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 167
- 8.3 Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 168
- 8.4 Educational attainment of middle-level federal public servants compared to the attainment of their fathers (percentages) 169
- 8.5 Educational attainment of middle-level federal public servants compared to the attainment of their fathers, by career type A (percentages) 170
- 8.6 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants with high upward mobility, by department 171
- 8.7 Years of service of all departmental employees in the federal administration, by mother tongue (1965) (percentages) 172
- 8.8 Years of service in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 172
- 8.9 Age distribution among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 173
- 8.10 Salary distribution among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 174
- 8.11 Entry to the federal administration at a high salary level (\$5,000 or more per annum) among all departmental employees (1965), by mother tongue and period of recruitment 174
- 8.12 Median annual income (1965) of departmental employees by mother tongue and years of schooling, with a comparison between those of French, English, and other mother tongues 175
- 8.13 Median annual income (1965) of departmental employees by mother tongue and occupation, with a comparison between those of French, English, and other mother tongues 175
- 8.14 Mean annual income (1965), mean years of service, and mean increase per annum of departmental employees, by mother tongue and initial salary level, with a comparison of those of English and French mother tongues 177

- 8.15 Significance tests of the dummy variable categories 185
- 8.16 Multiple regression analysis of the salary determinants of middle-level federal public servants (1965) 186
- 8.17 Percentage of male departmental public servants who have worked in more than one community while in the federal administration (1965), by mother tongue and years of service 191
- 8.18 Percentage of male departmental public servants who have worked in more than one department (1965), by mother tongue and years of government service 192
- 8.19 Geographic and interdepartmental mobility of male departmental public servants, by salary level and mother tongue 192
- 8.20 Number of communities worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 193
- 8.21 Number of communities worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 194
- 8.22 Number of departments worked in during career in federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 195
- 8.23 Number of departments worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 195
- 8.24 Proportion of working life devoted to government service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 197

Tables in Chapter IX

- 9.1 Presence in the upper level (those earning \$17,000 and above per annum) of several sectors of the federal Public Service of persons of different mother tongues, December 1966 (percentages) 205
- 9.2 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion 215
- 9.3 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion, by career type A 217
- 9.4 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning the importance of education in getting promotions, by level of education 218
- 9.5 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion, by department 219

- 9.6 Importance of activities and connections outside work to career success among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 220
- 9.7 Importance of activities and connections outside work to career success among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 222
- 9.8 Percentages of middle-level federal public servants indicating that activities and connection outside work are extremely or quite important for career success, by department 223
- 9.9 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 225
- 9.10 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 226
- 9.11 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by career type B (percentages) 227
- 9.12 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by level of education (percentages) 228
- 9.13 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by department (percentages) 229
- 9.14 A comparison of Francophones and Anglophones and all middle-level federal public servants who feel their prospects are unlimited, for selected characteristics 230

Tables in Chapter X

- 10.1 Attitudes toward the promotion system in the federal Public Service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 242
- 10.2 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by age 243
- 10.3 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by age at entry 243
- 10.4 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by years of service 244
- 10.5 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by nature of work history outside the federal administration 244

- 10.6 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by level of education 245
- 10.7 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by level of education and age 246
- 10.8 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by salary level 246
- 10.9 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by salary level and level of education 247
- 10.10 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by amount of intergenerational mobility 247
- 10.11 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by career type A 249
- 10.12 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by career type B 249
- 10.13 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair," by career categories 250
- 10.14 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by department 250
- 10.15 Degree of commitment to continuing to work in the Public Service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages) 252
- 10.16 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by years of government service 253
- 10.17 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by age level 254
- 10.18 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by educational level 254
- 10.19 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by educational level and salary 256
- 10.20 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by amount of intergenerational mobility 257

- 10.21 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by university specialization 257
- 10.22 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by career type A 259

Tables in Chapter XI

- 11.1 Presence of federal public servants in the labour force of the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area (1961) 262
- 11.2 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by social class background (percentages) 264
- 11.3 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by level of education (percentages) 265
- 11.4 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by main reason for joining the Public Service (percentages) 266
- 11.5 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by age level (percentages) 266
- 11.6 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by salary level (percentages) 267
- 11.7 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages) 268
- 11.8 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who are very enthusiastic about living in the Ottawa-Hull area, by career categories 269
- 11.9 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by department (percentages) 270

Tables in Chapter XII

- 12.1 Mean age and salary of the middle-level Finance Officers 284
- 12.2 Age of middle-level Finance Officers (percentages) 285
- 12.3 Salary of middle-level Finance Officers (percentages) 285
- 12.4 Geographic origin of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 290

- 12.5 Social class background of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 291
- 12.6 Level of education attained by middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 292
- 12.7 Reason for joining the Public Service of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 296
- 12.8 Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 301
- 12.9 Degree of commitment of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers to continuing their federal Public Service careers (percentages) 302
- 12.10 Number of inter-departmental committees in which middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers currently are members (percentages) 303
- 12.11 General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and bi-culturalism among Anglophone middle-level Finance Officers and all Anglophone middle-level officers (percentages) 319

Tables in Chapter XIII

- 13.1 Social class background of middle-level Research Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 326
- 13.2 Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level Research Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 326
- 13.3 Level of education attained by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages) 327
- 13.4 Type of educational specialization of middle-level Research and Technical Officers (percentages) 328
- 13.5 Chief means by which middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers gained entry to the department in which they are currently employed (percentages) 331
- 13.6 Reasons for joining the Public Service given by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages) 332
- 13.7 Degree of commitment of middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers to continuing their careers in the federal Public Service (percentages) 335
- 13.8 Number of articles published in the past year by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages) 339
- 13.9 Number of memberships in professional or scientific organizations of middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages) 339

- 13.10 Number of professional or scientific conferences attended in the past year by middle level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages) 339
- 13.11 Attitudes toward the promotion system of middle-level Research Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages) 341
- 13.12 Mean salary age and length of service of middle-level Research Scientists 344
- 13.13 Level of education attained by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Officers at the middle-level (percentages) 347
- 13.14 Chief means by which Francophone Research Officers and all Research Officers gained entry to the department of Agriculture (percentages) 350
- 13.15 Degree of commitment to continuing their careers in the Public Service of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages) 350
- 13.16 Number of professional or scientific conferences attended in the past year by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages) 351
- 13.17 Number of memberships in professional or scientific organizations of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages) 351
- 13.18 Number of articles published in the past year by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages) 352
- 13.19 Evaluation of the environment by Francophone Officers, all Research Scientists, and all Francophone personnel at the middle level (percentages) 355
- 13.20 Attitude toward the promotion system of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages) 355

Tables in Chapter XIV

- 14.1 Âge et traitement moyens de la population et de l'échantillon des traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail 359
- 14.2 Lieu de naissance des traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail (%) 360
- 14.3 Niveau d'instruction des traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 361

- 14.4 Type de carrière projeté par les traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire lors de leur premier et de leur deuxième choix (%) 363
- 14.5 Attitude générale des traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et de l'ensemble du personnel francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale (%) 374
- 14.6 Effets du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme sur la carrière, tels que perçus et anticipés par les traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et l'ensemble du personnel francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 375

Tables in Chapter XV

- 15.1 Sample and population of middle-level Patent Examiners, by grade (percentages) 378
- 15.2 Salary levels, occupations, grades, and duties of Patent Examiners 379
- 15.3 Primary reason given for joining the Public Service by Patent Officers and by all middle-level Anglophones (percentages) 381
- 15.4 General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism among middle-level Anglophone Patent Examiners and all Anglophone middle-level officers (percentages) 392

Tables in Chapter XVI

- 16.1 Compétence linguistique des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon l'aptitude 398
- 16.2 Contexte social d'apprentissage de l'anglais avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la région d'origine, chez les fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 401
- 16.3 Pourcentage des anglophones d'origine canadienne de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude en français, selon la région d'origine 404
- 16.4 Région d'origine (au Canada) des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire dont l'habileté en français est relativement plus élevée 405

- 16.5 Pourcentage des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur habileté en français, selon le niveau d'instruction 405
- 16.6 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « considérable » leur habileté en anglais, selon le niveau d'instruction 406
- 16.7 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « considérable » leur aptitude à parler l'anglais, selon le groupe de spécialisations B 409
- 16.8 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude à parler le français, selon le groupe de spécialisations B 409
- 16.9 Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de leur carrière fédérale (%) 413
- 16.10 Langue de travail des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de leur carrière fédérale (%) 414
- 16.11 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant fait une utilisation substantielle du français au travail au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations B 416
- 16.12 Difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 418
- 16.13 Difficultés à travailler en anglais, chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%) 419
- 16.14 Difficultés à travailler en anglais, chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations B (%) 420
- 16.15 Attitudes des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire à l'égard du système de promotion, selon la langue de travail (%) 422
- 16.16 Attitudes des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire à l'égard du système de promotion, selon les difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%) 423
- 16.17 Principal obstacle dans la carrière des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail, et des anglophones du même échelon 424

- 16.18 Principal obstacle dans la carrière des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon les difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale 424
- 16.19 Type d'obstacle ethno-linguistique mentionné par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais (% horizontaux) 426
- 16.20 Type d'obstacle ethno-linguistique mentionné par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail (horizontaux) 427
- 16.21 Degré d'attachement à la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail (%) 428
- 16.22 Degré d'attachement à la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%) 4.29
- 16.23 Transformations du degré d'attachement initial à la fonction publique chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail, et chez les anglophones du même échelon (%) 430
- 16.24 Transformations du degré d'attachement initial à la fonction publique chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%) 431

Tables in Chapter XVII

- 17.1 Langue des études des francophones et des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 436
- 17.2 Langue des études des fonctionnaires fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle et des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction (%) 437
- 17.3 Langue des études des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction et la région d'origine (%) 438
- 17.4 Langue des études des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction et le groupe de spécialisations A (%) 439
- 17.5 Type d'école secondaire fréquentée par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%) 440

- 17.6 Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle (%) 441
- 17.7 Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la région d'origine (%) 442
- 17.8 Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le nombre de déplacements (%) 443
- 17.9 Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%) 444
- 17.10 Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la région d'origine (%) 446
- 17.11 Origine ethnique du conjoint des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%) 447
- 17.12 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant contracté des mariages interethniques, selon les groupes de spécialisations A et B (%) 448
- 17.13 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire comptant au moins deux Canadiens français parmi leurs trois meilleurs amis, selon le groupe de spécialisations B (%) 449
- 17.14 Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le traitement (%) 450
- 17.15 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire résidant dans des quartiers mixtes ou anglais, selon le traitement, le groupe de spécialisations, la région d'origine et l'origine sociale (%) 451
- 17.16 Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire hors de la fonction publique, selon la langue des études (%) 453
- 17.17 Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de la carrière fédérale, selon la langue des études (%) 453
- 17.18 Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue des études (%) 455
- 17.19 Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue des études (%) 456

- 17.20 Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de la carrière fédérale, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%) 457
- 17.21 Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%) 458
- 17.22 Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale (%) 459
- 17.23 Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%) 459
- 17.24 Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale (%) 460
- 17.25 Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon l'origine ethnique du conjoint (%) 461
- 17.26 Pourcentage des francophones (mariés) de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant été instruits surtout en français et ayant fait un usage substantiel du français au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le degré d'assimilation hors du travail (choix des amis et choix du conjoint) (%) 462
- 17.27 Fréquence d'emploi du français et de l'anglais au foyer chez les fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux, selon la langue maternelle—Canada, 1965 464
- 17.28 Relations entre les indicateurs d'acculturation : résultats de l'analyse par la méthode du Chi au carré (χ^2) 465
- 17.29 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de langue française et des fonctionnaires de langue anglaise faisant un usage substantiel de la langue seconde et de la langue maternelle au travail, dans l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux et à la fonction publique québécoise—1965 469
- 17.30 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux et de la fonction publique québécoise qui ont conservé le français, l'anglais, ou les deux, comme langue de travail optimale, et de ceux qui, depuis leur entrée dans la fonction publique (fédérale ou québécoise), ont acquis l'autre langue—1965 469

- 17.31 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de langue française et des fonctionnaires de langue anglaise faisant chez eux un usage substantiel des langues seconde et maternelle, dans l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux et à la fonction publique québécoise-- 1965 470

Tables in Chapter XVIII

- 18.1 Intentions of middle-level Anglophone public servants regarding French courses, by department (percentages) 476
- 18.2 General attitude of middle-level Anglophone public servants towards French courses, by department (percentages) 477
- 18.3 Amount of opportunity to use French on the job among Anglophone public servants, by department (percentages) 478
- 18.4 Main reason for taking or wanting to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants, by department (percentages) 481
- 18.5 Age level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 488
- 18.6 Length of government employment related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 488
- 18.7 Salary level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 489
- 18.8 Educational level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 489
- 18.9 Career type A related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 490
- 18.10 Reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 491
- 18.11 Opportunity to use French on the job related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 491

Tables in Chapter XIX

- 19.1 General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 500

- 19.2 Age level related to reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 502
- 19.3 Geographic origin related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 502
- 19.4 Size of place of origin (as of the 1941 census) related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (Percentages) 503
- 19.5 Class origins related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 504
- 19.6 Religious affiliation related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 504
- 19.7 Educational level related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 505
- 19.8 Length of government service related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 506
- 19.9 Career type A related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 507
- 19.10 Career type C related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 507
- 19.11 Main reason for joining the Public Service related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 508
- 19.12 Selected career categories related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 509
- 19.13 Career type B related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 510

- 19.14 The reaction in selected government departments to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 510
- 19.15 Membership in clubs and associations related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 511
- 19.16 Amount of exposure to French milieux related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages) 512

Tables in Chapter XX

- 20.1 Attitude des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale (%) 529
- 20.2 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la classe d'âge 530
- 20.3 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la région d'origine 531
- 20.4 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'origine sociale 532
- 20.5 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le niveau d'instruction 532
- 20.6 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'âge à l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale 533

- 20.7 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la discontinuité de la carrière avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale 534
- 20.8 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'ancienneté 534
- 20.9 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations A 535
- 20.10 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations C 536
- 20.11 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations B 537
- 20.12 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le traitement 537
- 20.13 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon certains groupes de spécialisations à l'intérieur des ministères 538
- 20.14 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon les motifs d'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale 541
- 20.15 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le degré d'attachement à la fonction fédérale 541

- 20.16 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'habileté en anglais 542
- 20.17 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale 543
- 20.18 Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le degré d'acculturation 544

Tables in Appendix III

- A-1 Comparison of the sample and the population in selected departments by occupational types 573
- A-2 Comparisons of the sample and the population in selected departments, by salary group 575
- A-3 Comparisons of the sample and the population in selected departments, by age group 576

Tables in Appendix VI

- A-4 Distribution of questionnaires in the survey of the Canadian Public Service 603
- A-5 Response rate in the survey of the Canadian Public Service 604

Tables in Appendix VII

- A-6 Sampling errors of differences between percentages: one-tail, $P = .10$ 607
- A-7 Sampling errors of differences between percentages: two-tail, $P = .10$ 608

Tables in Appendix IX

- A-8 All possible combinations of age, education, career type, and years of service 614

- A-9 Salary projections by ethnolinguistic category for all possible combinations
- A-10 Predicted salary differentials (Francophones less Anglophones) for all combinations
- A-11 Ratio of the predicted salary differentials to their standard errors

List of Figures

Figures in Chapter II

- 2.1 The Departments of the Government of Canada, 1966 26
- 2.2 Departmental employment in the Canadian Public Service - April, 1966 29
- 2.3 Classification of the departments and agencies of the Canadian Public Service, 1966 30

Figures in Chapter III

- 3.1 Organization of the department of Finance (1965) 40
- 3.2 Branches and divisions in the "core" establishment of the department of Finance (1965) 41
- 3.3 Organization of the department of National Revenue - Taxation (1965) 44
- 3.4 Department of National Revenue (Taxation division): Typical district office organization (October, 1965) 51
- 3.5 Organization of the department of Agriculture in March 1965 52
- 3.6 Organization of the Department of Public Works (1965) 57
- 3.7 Organization of the department of Public Works - Proposed for 1970 59
- 3.8 Organization of the department of the Secretary of State (1965) 61

Figures in Chapter IV

- 4.1 Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies (1965) 76
- 4.2 Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies who earn less than \$10,000 a year (1965) 77
- 4.3 Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies who earn \$10,000 or more a year (1965) 79
- 4.4 Presence of employees of French mother tongue at two salary levels in various federal departments and agencies (1965) 80
- 4.5 Percentage of employees of French mother tongue at various salary levels in the federal Public Service (1965) 81
- 4.6 Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various career categories in the federal Public Service (1965) 82
- 4.7 Career categories (career type A) of middle-level public servants (1965) 83

Figures in Chapter V

- 5.1 Place of birth of middle-level Anglophone and Francophone federal public servants, of the total managerial and professional-technical labour force (1961) and total labour force (1961) in Canada 88
- 5.2 Mother tongue of middle-level federal public servants, of the total federal Public Service, the Canadian population aged 25-44 (1961), and the total Canadian population (1961) 95
- 5.3 Ethnic origin of middle-level federal public servants and of the managerial professional-technical labour force (1961) and the total labour force (1961) in Canada 96
- 5.4 Ethnic descent of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A 98
- 5.5 Size of place of origin of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A 101
- 5.6 Social class background of middle-level federal public servants 104

- 5.7 Social class background of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A 105
- 5.8 Size of family (only those married) of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A 109
- 5.9 Last level of education attained by middle-level federal public servants 111
- 5.10 Level of education of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A 112
- 5.11 Type of educational specialization of middle-level federal public servants 117

Figures in Chapter VI

- 6.1 First permanent job of male federal public servants (1965) 126
- 6.2 Age at entry of middle-level federal public servants 128

Figures in Chapter VII

- 7.1 Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by career type A 143
- 7.2 Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by career type B 144
- 7.3 Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by department 146

Figures in Chapter VIII

- 8.1 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by age group 178
- 8.2 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by education level 178
- 8.3 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by career type A 179

- 8.4 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by educational level and age group 180
- 8.5 Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by career type A and age group 181
- 8.6 Salary projections of middle-level federal public servants in the administrative and professional-scientific career category, at two educational levels, by age and years of service 190

Figures in Chapter X

- 10.1 Percentage of middle-level public servants who are "uncommitted" to continuing to work in the Public Service or "have definite plans to leave," by salary level 255
- 10.2 Degree of commitment to continuing to work in the Public Service among middle-level federal public servants, by career type B 258
- 10.3 Per cent who are "uncommitted" to continuing to work in the Public Service or "have definite plans to leave" among middle-level federal public servants, by reasons for joining 260

Figures in Chapter XI

- 11.1 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants 263
- 11.2 Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by geographic origin 264

Figures in Chapter XVI

- 16.1 Aptitudes linguistiques des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux, selon la langue maternelle - 1965 396
- 16.2 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé au moins convenable leur connaissance de la langue seconde 397
- 16.3 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé considérable leur aptitude en anglais, selon la région d'origine 400

- 16.4 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé au moins convenable leur aptitude en français, selon la région d'origine 403
- 16.5 Pourcentage des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude en français et pourcentage des francophones du même échelon ayant jugé « considérable » leur aptitude en anglais, selon la spécialisation universitaire 407
- 16.6 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire attachés à la fonction publique avec ou sans réserve, selon les aptitudes linguistiques 410
- 16.7 Usage substantiel du français dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle et parmi les fonctionnaires ayant le français pour langue maternelle; dans l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire et à l'échelon intermédiaire francophone (%) 412
- 16.8 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire faisant un usage substantiel de français au travail au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le traitement et le groupe de spécialisations A 415
- 16.9 Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire faisant un usage substantiel du français au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le ministère 416

Though it is a country of two linguistic communities, each containing persons of many ethnic origins, Canada has a limited range of institutions and cultural patterns which draw together her French- and English-speaking sectors. The integrative institutions and activities that do exist are found mainly in certain areas of her political and economic life.

In politics, federal institutions function as centres of power, making or abdicating from key decisions which affect the distribution of resources—resources shared by French- and English-speaking communities. Political symbolism also serves as an integrative force. For instance, it is important that various titles and forms expressing an English-French duality are visible in federal processes. Such symbolism helps to keep the two national communities together, even if the relationship is a loose and rather uneasy one. On the other hand, in the economic domain, integrative factors are less symbolic and more concretely co-operative. Members of both language groups participate in overlapping labour markets and co-operate within and between economic units to provide goods and services in a shared, country-wide economy.

To mention these aspects of our political and economic life makes it easier to grasp the importance that the federal Public Service has for the fate of a bicultural Canada. As an integrative institution the Public Service is doubly important. First, in size and scope it is the largest single unit in the Canadian economy. Including the Crown corporations and the Canadian Forces it employs close to 500,000 persons, and it provides services which are essential to the functioning of the economy and which reach into the most diverse corners of the country's existence. Second, as a political institution the Public Service ranks behind only the Cabinet and the House of Commons as a power-broker and as a focus of symbolic importance. The federal administration must be attuned to the diverse interests of the Canadian population, and its operations are assessed in this

light. Thus it cannot be seen as just another economic unit. Its activity has meaning for both Francophone and Anglophone Canadians far beyond mere considerations of what decisions are made or what product is produced. *How* the Public Service does things — who it employs, where it operates, and what language is used — is as important as *what* it does.

How well do the operations of the Public Service reflect the duality of Canadian society? This in the broadest sense is the question with which our study began. Like the governmental bureaucracies of other modern, affluent countries, the Canadian federal Public Service faces three requirements which organizations in the private sector do not always share: first, it must be open to and representative of the population it serves; second, it must be sensitive to the needs and wants of diverse population and interest groups; and third, it must provide services and information in an idiom that is understandable to the population at large.

In this study it is the first problem—the problem of participation and representation—that engages our attention. In particular, we have focussed on public servants in administrative, professional, and technical positions at the middle and, to a lesser extent, the senior policy-making levels of the organization. In common parlance these are the "officers" of the organization. The focus is largely on the middle level because of the strategic position of this stratum in the administrative process and also because its rapid expansion, both in absolute and proportional terms, poses the most crucial set of staff-development problems now faced by the federal administration. Three factors in particular influenced our decision to concentrate mainly on the middle level. First, it is at this level in the hierarchy that talented administrators and occasionally professionals are spotted and groomed for senior responsibilities. Second, the middle level also contains a proliferating array of highly-paid professional and technical careers that do not lead to the top. Not only is the need for this type of personnel expanding at an exponential rate, but also the federal administration is increasingly facing stiffer competition from the private sector and the universities in its efforts to recruit professionals and technicians. Third, although they constitute only about one quarter of all personnel in the federal administration, middle-level public servants, in terms of both their responsibilities and their attitudes towards work, exemplify the meaning and functions of the federal Public Service. In the middle ranks are men and women of varied administrative, professional, and technical specialization and experience who plan, execute, and publicize the many functions for which the federal administration is generally known.

The main questions we addressed in this study are: What types of Francophones and Anglophones pursue administrative, professional, and technical careers in the Public Service? What background characteristics have the most impact on the careers of different types of public servants? Who moves up, who gets bogged down, who leaves, and

why? What are the key technological and social aspects of various Public Service work settings, and how do these aspects shape the careers of job holders? How do Francophone and Anglophone public servants regard their careers and work relations? Are they heartened by the recent ferment about bilingualism, indifferent to it, or troubled by it?

The foregoing suggests that the problems covered in our research are an eclectic lot. This is the case largely because we have had to analyze and report on an institution very much in flux. The flux has been generated both by the expanding role the public now generally expects of government and—even more important—by the eruption of controversy over both the use of French and the representation of Francophones in the federal administration. To take into account the evolutionary aspects of the federal bureaucracy we needed a fairly stable point of departure from which to launch our research. The basic concept chosen was the idea of the career. For our purposes we have defined a career as a sequence of related positions within an occupational community or work organization. Sectors of the Public Service may be reorganized, enlarged, or relocated, but the career routes within them tend to persist, albeit with expanded or contracted horizons. New promotion or language-use policies may be introduced, but they tend to be tailored to particular career specialties. Hence, career types constitute one of the basic elements of the federal administration.

Although the subjects of our study were of various ethnic backgrounds and national origins, their most fundamental attachment—at least as far as their behaviour in their work was concerned—tended to be to one of the two linguistic groups which reflect the bicultural realities of Canada's existence. Attachment to one or the other of our two major cultural-linguistic groups is characteristic of the social existence of most Canadian citizens. "Francophone" and "Anglophone" are therefore terms that can be extended to virtually all Canadians, regardless of mother tongue or ethnic origin, depending on whether they are oriented to and identify with the mass media, voluntary associations, economic units, and political institutions of either the French or English sector.

*A. Bilingualism and the Merit Principle: The Historical Background¹**1. From Confederation to the thirties*

The first Civil Service Act of Canada was passed in 1868. It contained no provisions for the creation of a bilingual service as such, but the existing organization it had to work with—inherited from the public services of Canada East and Canada West—did reflect the country's English-French dualism. Many departments in the pre-Confederation era had had separate administrative systems, one for Canada East, one for Canada West.² Also, after 1849 the capital of the United Provinces had rotated every four years between Toronto and Quebec City and the administrative staff moved with it. It was only in 1865 that the administration had settled permanently in Ottawa.³ This responsiveness to the bicultural realities of political life in the United Provinces meant that Francophones were well represented in the federal bureaucracies that served Canada in the years immediately following Confederation. This is not to say that French Canada had no complaints. Historical accounts of that period tell us that Francophones harboured a good deal of resentment against what they considered to be an English-speaking monopolization of key administrative posts.⁴ Anglophones dominated the federal Public Service; Francophones resented their domination. It is a pattern that has continued to the present day.

The Act of 1868 which established the federal Public Service contained no mention of bilingualism. However, existing political conventions—patronage and bureaucratic representation—tended to hedge recruitment and thus provide for some measure of biculturalism. According to the Act, appointments were made from lists of minister's nominees who had successfully passed a basic examination (sometimes two or three attempts to pass had to be allowed special ministerial minions) set by a board of deputy ministers. This stipulation assured that by and large it was those with political contacts or

service to the successful party to their credit who were chosen. It also assured that a high proportion of Francophones got jobs. Consistent with the political standards and imagery of the day, they were entitled to their "representation," and patronage practices facilitated its attainment. In the eyes of most federal officials and politicians, Francophone and Anglophone alike, patronage and representational claims were solidly, and to a large extent legitimately, linked.

This was to change, although only very gradually. In 1882 new legislation, reflecting the recommendations of the Campbell Royal Commission, established a board of examiners to prepare lists of eligible candidates from which ministers might make appointments. Periodic examinations were to be held in the larger cities to provide eligible candidates for the lists. An important stipulation was that "all examinations under this Act shall be held in the English or French language or both at the option of the candidate."⁵

The legislation of 1882 contained the first formal recognition of bilingual considerations in the staffing policies of the Public Service, and it also constituted the first break with the well-entrenched patronage conventions. Although it had no great impact on the actual practices of the day, it did mark the introduction of the ideas of merit and efficiency into the federal administration. In the following years the wisdom of this step became apparent to increasing numbers of federal officials as they saw that staffing decisions would have to be made on a more rational basis if the government was to administer properly its growing responsibilities. Nevertheless, doing away with the conventions of patronage was not easy; not until 1908, following the recommendations of the Courtney Royal Commission, was a second major step taken. The Civil Service Commission was established at this time and given the authority to examine and appoint recruits. The Commission was specifically designed to implement the principle of appointments based on the merit, but it was able to do this only within a very limited sphere. The architects of the Act made certain that "merit" would not encroach too heavily on the imperatives of patronage. Thus the jurisdiction of the new agency was limited to certain areas of the "inside" or Ottawa-based Public Service. The departmental chiefs and the politicians still retained control over all field appointments and many in Ottawa as well.

It was the demands of the war effort after 1914 which convinced Ottawa officialdom and politicians that the principle of merit and efficiency would have to be placed on an even sounder basis than this. In 1918 the powers of the Civil Service Commission were significantly expanded, and from that time on it was recognized as the key institution at the centre of the Public Service which would spearhead the rationalization of the federal administration.

Notwithstanding recognition of the important role of the Commission, the departments continued to control many areas of staffing decisions;

and later amendments to the regulations in the 1920s and 1930s placed even further restrictions on the Commission's powers. But, if its actual powers were limited, the influence of the doctrine of merit and efficiency which the new agency embodied was considerably enhanced. In effect, 1918 marked a turning point in the development of Canada's federal bureaucracy. After that date the processes of centralization, rationalization, and professionalization proceeded apace, spearheaded by the Civil Service Commission. A concomitant trend was the decline in the traditional ideal of representation. Representation had always been facilitated by patronage conventions, but now the new doctrines of merit and efficiency provided the dominant organizational rationale.

As for the impact of these developments on Canada's Francophone population, their proportion in the total Public Service declined precipitously after the establishment of the Commission. Precise estimates are unavailable, but one source suggests that Francophones constituted 22 per cent of all federal public servants in 1918, but only 13 per cent in 1946; among those earning \$6,000 or more per annum, the decline was from 25 per cent to 10 per cent.⁶

But, whatever the estimates, it is clear that Francophone representation suffered during this period. As to why it suffered, there are no simple explanations. Part of the Anglophone advantage lay in the greater technical and commercial orientation of the educational systems of the English-speaking provinces, especially at the secondary level. Where before Francophones as well as Anglophones were recruited and placed largely on the basis of patronage criteria, the former now tended to be shut out of many white-collar positions. This educational disadvantage was compounded by the Commission's narrow view of merit and efficiency and the operations that stemmed from this view. Its standards and procedures were fashioned to correspond with the educational systems of the English-speaking provinces; and its testing procedures, even when they were adapted to French, reflected Anglophone patterns of rationality and experience.

Of even greater effect on Francophone participation was the way that the goal of bureaucratic efficiency was conceived by the Commission and the department chiefs. In a word it was an uncompromisingly *unilingual* conception of efficiency. That French might be entitled to some status as a language of work in the federal administration's growing nerve centre in Ottawa was hardly contemplated. The Commission's views were especially evident in official policy about service to the public. In following the imperatives of the merit principle—that is, choosing the most qualified man available for any open position—educational credentials and experience were all that officially mattered. The fact that some positions required dealing with both Francophones and Anglophones did not suggest that language ability should be taken into account in the staffing process. Nor did the senior officials of the day have the imagination to consider that providing unilingual service to a country composed of two major language groups was grossly inefficient as well as inequitable.

This type of sensitivity to the facts of Canadian federalism simply did not begin to penetrate official thinking until long after 1918.

Language considerations were not officially taken into account in staffing decisions. Unofficially, however, they all too often received consideration of a most invidious nature. Bilingual personnel were needed in some types of positions, especially those involved in the provision of field services in Quebec. But it was more difficult for "bilinguals"—as Francophones were euphemistically called—to attain middle-level or senior positions. In spite of the official policy of merit and efficiency, discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and religion—and incidentally language—was widespread from the twenties to the fifties and even after. The fact is that considerations of ethnicity and religion weighed somewhat more heavily on men's minds then than they do now. The Public Service was not unlike other economic institutions in this respect. The climate of the times made it easy to confuse who a man was with his potential ability. Moreover, while political considerations and cultural criteria had always influenced appointments, they could now be discreetly covered under the rhetoric of finding the best man for the job. Any representational claims put forward by Francophones could be and repeatedly were attacked as endangering the merit system.

2. Renewed debate: the thirties and the forties

In 1932, awareness of the French-English imbalance in the federal administration came into focus as result of a singularly embarrassing incident connected with the Imperial Conference of that year. In preparation for the constitutional discussions which were to take place in London, Prime Minister R. B. Bennett asked a number of senior officers—all experts in their fields—to draft background materials. Dr. O. D. Skelton, then the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, was the Prime Minister's chief advisor in this matter and was instrumental in planning the various memoranda and special studies for the Conference. In all, 25 to 30 officers were involved in these tasks; Bennett and Skelton, in a gesture partly complimentary, designated them all as advisors to the official delegates. A list of the names of those to be so honoured was drawn up from the work sheets and the Prime Minister duly reported it to the cabinet. Close scrutiny of the list by one cabinet minister brought to light the fact that every paper prepared for the conference had been done by an Anglophone. The cabinet was shocked to find that no French-Canadian names were on the list.

Such a situation had to be rectified, and the list of nominees was buttressed by the addition of six or eight senior Francophone officers. But in spite of this immediate concession to proper political etiquette, the incident produced a backlash of sharp discussion, and the harmony between Francophone and Anglophone members of the cabinet was severely shaken. Mr. Bennett was especially upset and even went to the lengths of criticizing his Francophone ministers *en masse*: they were, he charged, too inclined to view the Public Service as a

patronage system; and it was for this reason that there was insufficient Francophone talent in the senior ranks of the federal administration.

The incident also deeply impressed Skelton, indicating to him the necessity of doing something about the lack of Francophone personnel. Thereafter he made a great point of attempting to recruit from the French-language universities for the relatively new department of External Affairs. His successes in this endeavour were modest but significant. There have been relatively more Francophones in the senior ranks of External than in most other departments, and it has provided the entry point for many Francophones who went on to senior positions in other areas of the federal administration.

As for the Prime Minister's assertion concerning a Francophone penchant for patronage, it was exactly this type of argument which was to be very much in currency in the 1930s and 1940s. One reason for its currency—apart from the fact that it left unstated the willing co-operation of Anglophones in the patronage system—was that in large measure it was accurate. During that period Francophone cabinet ministers and MPs showed little interest in the new staffing developments spearheaded by the Civil Service Commission. Their greatest concern was in perpetuating the old patronage practices rather than working out ways in which the Commission and the Public Service in general might modify the goals of efficiency and rationalization to fit the existing talents and needs of the French-Canadian nation.

3. The importance of Ernest Lapointe

An exception was Ernest Lapointe, minister of Justice and Quebec leader in the government formed by W. L. Mackenzie King in 1935. Lapointe's reputation as a champion of biculturalism in the Public Service was established soon after he assumed his central role in the government of 1935, and thereafter he served as spokesman for hundreds of grievances, large and small. In this respect, of course, he was only fulfilling his proper role as Quebec leader. But the energy and patience he devoted to these political tasks, in spite of repeated rebuffs, and—more important—the way he was able to grasp the various dimensions of the problem, were quite exceptional for the time. Lapointe's concerns were twofold, involving both the weak representation of Francophones in the federal bureaucracy and the exclusion of the French language. He also had the imagination to see how closely these two concerns were connected. From his followers in the Quebec caucus Lapointe was pressed with patronage demands and grievances over representation; and, like any effective political chief, he did his best to keep his followers happy. But after 1935 there was another set of grievances to contend with: a wave of protests and demands on language questions from all parts of French Canada, chiefly involving the lack of facilities and services in French provided by the federal administration. Month after month numerous complaints of this order were laid at Lapointe's feet, and he worked

tirelessly in pursuing them, despite the fact that most of his efforts came to naught. It was a time when even the most trivial concessions to the idea of biculturalism were considered by the Anglophone majority to be wasteful and perverse.

One *cause célèbre* that erupted during this period added greatly to the Francophone sense of grievance on the bilingualism issue. The incident involved the actions of the federal department of Labour when, at the outbreak of a serious strike at Trois-Rivières, it dispatched three officials from Ottawa to handle arbitration. All three, as it happened, were unilingual Anglophones, and without a knowledge of French they were, of course, quite useless. What is more, their alleged high-handedness at the scene enraged all parties to the dispute. The ensuing bitter complaints in the House of Commons startled the minister of Labour. English had always been the language of industrial relations in Canada, and demands for French in this area were unprecedented. But there was no denying the attacks on his department, and he was forced to agree that in future efforts should be made to find some "bilingual" officials.

Incidents such as the one at Trois-Rivières, and Lapointe's behind-the-scenes operations as well, did lead to one minor success; the passage of the so-called Lacroix Bill of 1938. This was, in effect, an amendment to the Civil Service Act which stipulated that appointees to positions in localities where both English and French were spoken must have a knowledge of the two languages if the deputy head of the departments so advised the Civil Service Commission. As it turned out, the actual effects of the amendment on the recruitment of Francophones proved to be negligible, probably because real power was left in the hands of the department chiefs and they tended to ignore its prescriptions. However, the amendment constituted the first formal recognition of the principle of bilingualism in the operation of the federal bureaucracy.

Lapointe had high hopes that the Lacroix amendment would bring about an infusion of Francophone talent into the Public Service; from the time of its passage to his premature death in 1941 he did everything in his power to make this so, but his efforts met with little success. If anything, the federal bureaucracy became even more thoroughly unilingual and unicultural after the Lacroix Bill's passage, chiefly because of the large-scale and rapid expansion of departmental establishments that occurred after the outbreak of the War. In the haste to get men recruited, observance of whatever regulations existed often went by the boards. Drawing on the informal networks of personal acquaintances and professional contacts of the personnel already in the federal bureaucracy now became more than ever before the chief means of finding new recruits. This tended to leave Francophones even more out in the cold: since Anglophones were overwhelmingly dominant in the Public Service, more of them tended to get recruited.

Lapointe could see all this and was aware of the repercussions on French-English relations in Quebec and elsewhere. He attempted to bring this trend and its dangers to the attention of his Anglophone colleagues in the Cabinet. For the most part they ignored his entreaties. Typical in this respect was an exchange between Lapointe and C. D. Howe, minister of the key wartime department of Munitions and Supplies. In a letter dated December 3, 1940, Lapointe wrote:

Following our conversation, I investigated further as to the reason why there is such a preponderance—I might even say a complete exclusiveness of others—in the appointment of English-speaking officers and employees in the Department of Munitions and Supplies.

You were under the impression, as was Mr. Power, that the provisions of the so-called Lacroix Bill were responsible for that. This is a mistake, because the Civil Service Commission has made a ruling . . . as follows . . .

He went on to quote from the Civil Service Commission regulations and explain them; he said that his own investigations had revealed that officials in Howe's department were systematically ignoring the provisions for hiring bilingual personnel, and he suggested how the regulations might be observed. He concluded:

I am grateful to you to have expressed a full understanding of the difficulty and the problem the present situation creates, and your willingness to take steps that it should be remedied. As I told you yesterday, you have done such tremendously splendid work in the carrying out of the war effort that it is a tragedy that this virtual exclusion of French-speaking Canada from the activities of your Department may cause a dangerous disruption to the unity which is required, and I still believe that it is possible to effect some changes that will greatly improve the conditions I have described.⁷

Howe's reaction to the above requests was characteristically negative. His spokesman, the acting minister, Angus MacDonald, assured Lapointe that in the last six months it had been the policy of his department that "every effort was to be made to increase the number of bilingual appointments," but he refused to implement the required changes on the grounds that this would "needlessly restrict the field of election."⁸ The irony of this last statement must have touched Lapointe. On the basis of his own detailed investigations he was well aware that the "field of election" already was restricted in Howe's department; up to November 22, 1940, there was not one Franco-phone member of the new department of Munitions and Supplies, either in the department's field service in Quebec or in Ottawa.

In spite of strong resistance on the part of those in the higher bureaucracy, Lapointe actually did gain a few minor successes in the administrative area, but the resistance he encountered now seems incredible. In one instance it took over a year to get acceptance from the Cabinet and the higher reaches of the bureaucracy that Quebec offices of the Public Service be furnished with telephone

directories in both languages instead of in English only. The senior officers in charge resisted because they felt chary of allowing a precedent of this nature. Another example involved a telephone answering service in French. On the basis of a flood of complaints from Quebec MPs, Lapointe attempted to arrange an independent telephone for the one Francophone commissioner of the Civil Service Commission so that incoming calls could be answered in French. This request was refused by the comptroller of the Treasury, allegedly on the grounds of what one extra telephone would cost, and it took Lapointe weeks of importuning before the minister of Finance reversed this ruling.

In the legislative area there was the single achievement of the Lacroix Bill. Notwithstanding these relatively minor accomplishments, Lapointe's efforts must be judged a failure. Though he had the imagination to see what should be done and applied incredible energy and good will to the task, he was in the long run unable to persuade his colleagues in the government to agree to his programme. By the time of his untimely death in November 1941, no real improvement in the bicultural situation of the federal bureaucracy was evident.

Why did Lapointe's efforts lead to so little? In the first place, he was fighting a strong historical trend: the permeation of both the political and bureaucratic elements of the federal administration with a unilingual conception of efficiency and rationality. From 1888 (when a bonus of fifty dollars was offered to those public servants who could "compose" in a second language) to the passage of the Lacroix Bill in 1938, there was no legislation on bilingualism in the Public Service, and even with the passage of the Lacroix amendment there was hardly a significant shift in mood.

Lapointe was up against both indifference to bilingual reforms (doubtless increased by the exigencies of the war effort) and, even more important, a traditional bias against Francophones among Anglophone ministers and higher public servants. Such a bias is most evident in the actions of Howe, perhaps because he—ever the engineer *cum* businessman in politics—was less concerned about letting his feelings show;⁹ but it was endemic throughout the federal administration of Lapointe's day.

All this Lapointe knew. He also knew that the resentment felt by his Francophone followers in the House of Commons and by opinion leaders in Quebec was his chief means of prodding his Anglophone colleagues to action, and often, when making requests of his Anglophone colleagues on bicultural issues, he reminded them of the "situation in Quebec." Yet Lapointe at all times refused to escalate the political pressures behind his requests, and therein lies the second major reason for his failure. Always the behind-the-scenes wheedler and special pleader, he never threatened to make a row—to rally his troops in the caucus to back him in a Cabinet struggle, or, if a real test was ever warranted, to resign. He thus was a captive of his own methods and stake in the government, and this rendered him incapable

of resorting to the one type of strategy which, it now seems apparent, would have made Mr. King and others in the government of that day pay attention.

4. The Jean Committee

Another crisis over the issues of bilingualism in the federal administration erupted in 1946 on the occasion of the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Administrative Classification in the Public Service (referred to as the Gordon Commission). This Commission had received a lengthy and well-publicized brief from the Montreal Chamber of Commerce which documented the low representation of Francophones and charged that discrimination was keeping them from top positions. The Gordon Commission, however, ignored this problem, apparently feeling that bilingualism or Francophone representation was not in any way associated with efficient administration.

The upshot of the report's publication was an outburst among nationalists in the province of Quebec. There were also protests from a few Francophone Members of Parliament, and soon thereafter a group of five MPs began meeting on an unofficial basis to continue discussion, fact-finding, and pressure on the Cabinet. Faced with unprecedented agitation about the issue of bilingualism, Prime Minister King was forced to recognize the informal group of five and give them official status as a committee early in the summer of 1947. Joseph Jean, the Solicitor-General, was appointed head of the committee and charged to investigate the situation of bilingualism and biculturalism in all federal departments and agencies.

Soon after its formal inception the Jean Committee issued a series of recommendations to the Cabinet. Three Francophone deputy ministers were to be appointed immediately, and a system of dual Francophone and Anglophone deputies was recommended for four departments: Agriculture, Mines and Resources, Justice, and Trade and Commerce. These recommendations provoked hostile comment in the English-language press and among Anglophone members of the House of Commons. Once again it was argued that such attempts to provide greater Francophone representation were inconsistent with the existing system of merit appointments and hence would endanger morale in the Public Service.

The Jean Committee continued to meet with senior departmental officers; eventually a report was written, but it was never tabled in the House of Commons or published.¹⁰ In 1948 M. Jean was appointed to the bench and his committee dissolved.

5. The Glassco Commission

The appointment in 1960 of the Royal Commission on Government Organization—the Glassco Commission—revived debate on bilingualism once again. At issue was the question of whether or not the Glassco Commission's terms of reference extended to a consideration of bilingualism and, if so, whether it was to be treated as a problem of

"justice" or "efficiency." Eventually "efficiency" prevailed over "justice," but in mapping out a research programme they decided that questions of bilingualism were worthy of thorough investigation. Hence, in July 1961, a special committee on bilingualism was organized within the Glassco Commission.

The committee investigated the problems of Francophone representation and language use in many areas of the federal administration—from the recruitment of Francophone Junior Executive Officers to the costs of bilingual forms and manuals. Moreover, for the first time, traditional concepts of unilingual and unicultural efficiency were challenged. The lack of bilingual capacity was, in the eyes of the committee, a serious deficiency, since it denied effective service to the French-speaking community. After almost a year of study, the Committee's findings, conclusions, and many detailed recommendations were presented to the three commissioners.

The two Anglophone commissioners reversed their earlier opinion and in the final report insisted that policies on bilingualism were outside the commission's terms of reference and irrelevant to a study of efficiency in administration. The Francophone commissioner, F. Eugène Therrien, dissented in a separate statement, arguing that bilingualism was relevant to efficiency; he presented some findings on the use of French in the federal administration and the meagre participation of Francophones in the higher ranks of the organization.¹¹ He declared, "The number of French Canadians holding key positions in the government administration is insignificant, save for a few district offices in the Province of Quebec. In several key departments, not a single high official is French-speaking."¹² The statement also suggested that "some of the all-too-few French Canadian high officials simply accept this situation. Others find it too irksome and leave the government to seek elsewhere positions more in harmony with their aspirations."¹³

But in spite of the publication of these conclusions, and in spite of the work that the committee on bilingualism had done in preparing recommendations, no recommendations were presented in Commissioner Therrien's separate statement. Once again, the link between unilingualism and efficiency was allowed to remain substantially unchallenged.

6. The present period: 1961-7

Several significant changes were ushered in with the passage of the new Civil Service Act in 1961. This legislation made the Civil Service Commission rather than the departments responsible for determining the language requirements for positions throughout the Public Service. Explicit requirements bearing on the staffing of regional offices serving a language minority were also laid down. Basically, these stated that, where there is a significant Francophone or Anglophone minority, an equivalent proportion among the staff in the regional office must be able to work in both French and English.

These developments were given further encouragement in a policy statement by Prime Minister Pearson on April 6, 1966 in the House of Commons. The statement reiterated the aim of providing better language services to the public, but also covered new ground. It included bilingual skills as an element of merit for positions judged to require such skills, and pressed for the encouragement of French as a language of work within the federal administration. Various mechanisms—expanded facilities for instruction in French, bonuses to clerical personnel who can work in both official languages, opportunities for senior officers of both linguistic backgrounds to immerse themselves completely for a year in the other language and culture—were announced to support the development of French as a working language. The government's goal was to produce a linguistic environment in the Public Service in which a person could communicate orally or in writing in the language of his choice and be sure of being understood. Largely as a result of Mr. Pearson's statement, the Civil Service Commission announced regulations in 1967 that extended for the first time to headquarters offices in the national capital region. Here, skill in both languages would remain a necessary requirement for some positions, but, in addition to these, bilingual proficiency would be desirable for *every* headquarters post. Clearly, this statement reflected the government's determination to increase the use of French and Francophone representation in the Public Service.

7. Conclusions

What, then, can we conclude about the expression of Canada's two main cultures in the federal bureaucracy? Basically, that the exchange between them has always been one-sided. Indeed, the dominance of Anglophone ways of thinking and acting has been so complete that bilingualism has been given short shrift (at least until very recently) while biculturalism has been almost totally lost from view. To be sure, this must be attributed in part to the fact that, until the 1960s, industrial-technological concerns were somewhat devalued in French Canada, especially in the educational sphere. This made it easy for Anglophone officials and politicians to fend off the occasional political challenges to the unilingualism and unculturalism of the federal administration. It also made it easy for them to carry on under the assumption that they were directing the Public Service in the best interests of the country as a whole.

Such assumptions, while never wholly false, were usually far from being true. The dominance of the English language and Anglophone culture greatly limited the effectiveness of the federal bureaucracy by smothering the expression of Francophone intellectual and cultural tendencies. Clearly, French Canada has been decidedly ill-served by the federal administration. Countless examples could be exhumed to illustrate this point, but perhaps two will suffice: the economic ministries were largely designed to aid the major Anglophone business concerns; in most cases they lacked the capacity to deal with Franco-phone clientele. The department of Citizenship and Immigration for

years ignored the potentialities (admittedly, they were somewhat weak) of immigration from Francophone countries. The extent of the uniculturalism of the federal bureaucracy was such that it resulted both in leaving undeveloped the economic, social, and cultural potentialities of French Canada and in worsening the relations between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

Given these conditions and the rather unfortunate results which stemmed from them, it is only possible to characterize the relationship between Canada's two major cultures within the federal bureaucracy as abortive. Some recent improvements notwithstanding, the tendency has been for the representatives of English-speaking Canada to drive out, smother, or assimilate those from French Canada.

B. The Literature on the Federal Administration

1. Bureaucratic rationalization

There is not a large body of writings extant on Canada's federal administration, and in the literature that does exist the feature of the Public Service that has received by far the most scholarly attention is the historical process by which its operations have become more and more rationalized.¹⁴ This has chiefly involved the elimination of narrow political considerations in routine decision-making and the gradual acceptance of the merit principle in staffing procedures.

Another aspect of bureaucratic rationalization that has received attention involves the political colouration of those holding positions in the upper reaches of the hierarchy. The assumption that senior public servants in the federal bureaucracy are politically neutral has been challenged by some scholars who suggest that the majority of the bureaucratic elite tend both to favour Liberal governments and to do their best work for them.¹⁵ Generally, however, Canadian federal bureaucracy seems to follow the British rather than the American pattern: when governments change, the senior cadres stay on to serve new political masters. Allegedly, competence and neutrality make for "behind the scenes" indispensability.

But apart from the problems associated with the rationalization of the federal administration, there is a dearth of writings on other organizational problems in the Public Service.¹⁶ In particular there have been few detailed investigations of the federal administration as a "representative bureaucracy"—that is, examinations of the extent to which in both leadership and mass membership it reflects the regional, ethnic, and religious composition of the Canadian population.¹⁷ Nor have there been many studies of the ways that such elements have or have not been co-opted into leadership and policy-making positions in order to avert threats to political stability. Another neglected area involves the language of work: What have been

the successes and failures of a largely unilingual bureaucracy serving a population divided in language?

Further areas of neglect could be mentioned, of course, but it is sufficient to point out that the emphasis on administrative rationality has had one unfortunate result: the deflection of academic thinking and public discussion away from an evaluation of the bilingual and bicultural character of the federal administration. A major goal of this and other studies undertaken by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was to fill this gap.

2. The bureaucratic elite

The second aspect of the federal administration that has generated considerable writing concerns the locus of power, prestige, and influence in the Public Service. Such analyses have been concerned with identifying a bureaucratic elite and tracing the powerful but largely covert impact it has on the political process. Particularly noteworthy accounts in this vein are those of John Porter and Peter Newman.¹⁸

Reporting the situation in 1953, Porter located 207 members of the "bureaucratic elite"—41 at the deputy-minister level, 89 at the assistant- or associate-deputy level, and 77 at the director level or the equivalent.¹⁹ No doubt the numbers filling such positions have increased since then. But the emphasis in Porter's study is on the relatively small size of the elite and its homogeneity in social composition and intellectual outlook.

Newman's article supports this latter finding. His focus, however, is only on the most powerful segment of this already powerful group—specifically on a group of 18 active civil servants and 12 "alumni" who in 1964 constituted the inner circle of "the Ottawa Establishment." He states that "anyone who becomes an under-secretary of state for External Affairs or a deputy or assistant-deputy minister of Finance qualifies automatically since these two departments are the main repositories of the bureaucratic power that influences over-all government policies."²⁰ On this score only one French Canadian, an associate deputy minister in the department of External Affairs, gained membership.

Newman refers to this group as the "Mandarinate" and divides it into "Mandarins" and "sub-Mandarins." Although all members of the elite participate in policy-making, this small core actively interacts with Cabinet officials in the shaping of government policy. This terminology appears to have gained a good deal of currency in discussions of the senior directorate of the Public Service. A. F. W. Plumptre, former assistant deputy minister in the department of Finance, spoke of ". . . a small segment of the public service, consisting of the Mandarins, the sub-Mandarins, and the sub-deputy-assistant Mandarins—in short that select group of the public service that is closely associated with the formulation as well as the execution of government policy. It is to be numbered not by the hundred,

perhaps not even by the score, but only by the dozen."²¹ Of the 18 men identified by Newman, 12 were or had been in the department of Finance.²²

The writings of Porter and Newman have increased recognition of the power and influence enjoyed by a small group of trusted insiders who have made their way into the upper reaches of the Public Service. Both portrayals of the elite stress the following: recruitment from mainly upper-middle-class backgrounds; graduate work, especially in economics, politics, or history, usually in Britain; and a strong possibility of university teaching either somewhere in the past or projected for the future. Concerning the current life styles of this group, Porter and Newman stress the professionalization of the role of advising governments. There is a strong orientation toward intellectual values and relative isolation from worlds other than the university and the Ottawa political community.

How much do the Porter and Newman discussions contribute to our understanding of the Public Service? We must admit, a great deal. But, in terms of our purposes, they carry the limitations of neglecting certain aspects of power relations in the Service. In particular, they tend to treat the elite in isolation from the levels below it. To be sure, their accounts do suggest the major educational and departmental routes that lead into the bureaucratic elite, but they do not deal in any detail with the specific mechanisms of career advancement. Nor do they consider the power and influence that are lodged at the middle level.²³

C. Research Design

The chief goal of the Career Study was to examine the career histories of middle-level personnel at mid-career, particularly with regard to how the linguistic and cultural differences between Francophones and Anglophones influence career progress and satisfaction with work. A survey of a wide range of work settings and career types was in order. But this still left hard decisions to make: which work milieux and what specific population should we study, and what sort of survey should we make? We realized that a survey could not provide all the answers, nor would it be useful unless it was informed by a knowledge of the formal structure of the units selected. Hence supplementary methods of data collection were needed.

At the outset it seemed clear that such a study could not encompass the whole federal Public Service. We therefore decided to focus only on government departments, that is, those units directly represented in the Cabinet by a minister. This meant the exclusion of a host of agencies, commissions, and Crown corporations, as well as the Armed Forces, from the purview of the Career Study.

The selection of departments was done on a purposive rather than random basis. The aim was to choose five departments that, to the

fullest extent possible, represented the variety of departmental structures and operations. The five selected were the departments of Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, National Revenue (Taxation division), and the Secretary of State. (The rationale for choosing these five departments will be treated at much greater length in the next chapter.) The five departments were contacted through their deputy ministers who were given an outline explaining the purposes of the proposed project. (See Appendix I.)

There were two major stages in our research. In the first stage, the aims were (1) to obtain an understanding of the formal organization of each department, (2) to find out about staffing policies and practices specifically bearing on bilingualism and biculturalism, (3) to get some idea of the reaction in the upper reaches of the Public Service to the current (1965) ferment over what were known as "B and B" issues, and (4) generally to pave the way for the second stage of the project.

The second stage of the research involved detailed interviews with middle-level public servants at mid-career in the same five departments. The personnel we were interested in were not administrative generalists. Most were specialists of one kind or another: engineers, biologists, lawyers, economists, computer programmers, translators, and so on. Although some of these people will gain entry to the bureaucratic elite, most will not, nor do they aspire to do so. They carve out complete careers below the elite level.

What criteria were used in the selection of the interviewees? First, for reasons of economy, we selected only those who worked in the national capital, the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan region. However, since the majority of middle-level posts in the departments are located in the Ottawa-Hull region, this is not a severe limitation.

To insure that only persons of officer status were included, everyone in the department making less than \$6,200 a year was eliminated. No upper limit on salary was set. This meant that we would corral only those who had professional or technical expertise, or a senior administrative post. In short, we wanted to get those who represented the dominant ethos of their departments. They might wield substantial power; although most would not they would all have the potential to become important men.

A third consideration involved the stage of their careers. We concentrated on persons who have several years of their worklife behind them, either outside or inside the federal administration, and now are able to consider the prospects of a lifetime career in the Public Service. We chose 25 as the lower age limit. On the other hand, we sought to exclude those who had reached the upper limits of their capacities, those who had settled into bureaucratic ruts, and those generally too old to receive major promotions. An upper age limit of 45 would hopefully eliminate many of these. What we were after, then, were senior but young men who expected the future to be one of advancement.

Each of the five departments provided us with a list of all their personnel in the Ottawa-Hull region who were between 25 and 45 years of age and earning \$6,200 or more a year. Before the lists arrived, our intention was to interview random samples of 30 Anglophones and 30 Francophones in each department. After the lists arrived, and we had divided the population into Francophone and Anglophone segments,²⁴ our plans had to be modified. Among the Anglophones in all five departments, and among the Francophones in the department of the Secretary of State, random sampling was used. But the low number of Francophones in the four other departments meant that all Francophones had to be interviewed. Table 1.1 shows the size of the Francophone and Anglophone population falling within the age and salary boundaries in each department, and the number of people chosen for interviewing in each one. Only one Anglophone in Public Works who had been chosen for interviewing refused to co-operate. Otherwise, all those chosen were interviewed. In the end, we had a final total of 296 interviews, including 168 with Anglophones and 128 with Francophones.²⁵ It should be added that, in those departments where random sampling was carried out, when we used the chi-square test to examine the "goodness of fit" between each departmental population and the sample drawn from it, we found no significant differences (Appendix III).

Table 1.1

Language group of all public servants in the national capital area and of those chosen for interviewing aged 25 to 45 and earning \$6,200 a year or more, in five selected departments (1965)

Selected departments	Anglophones		Francophones		Total population
	Population	Chosen for interview	Population	Chosen for interview	
Secretary of State	114	38	57	33	171
Finance	48	28	6	6	54
Agriculture	279	37	28	28	307
Public Works	173	33*	28	28	201
National Revenue (Taxation)	154	33	33	33	187
Total	768	169*	152	128	920

*One Anglophone in Public Works who had been chosen for an interview refused to co-operate; thus, the number of completed interviews in that department was 32, and the total number of Anglophone interviews was 168.

This sampling design allowed us to make statistically-based generalizations about our target population. To gather the relevant

information, we used a personal interview which asked standard questions of all respondents. The interview began with a review of the respondent's education and work experience outside the Public Service. It then went on to cover his reasons for joining the Public Service and the various posts held in the course of his work with the government. A number of questions dwelt on attitudes and perceptions about the federal service as a workplace. Here, the person was asked about the ways and means to success in the federal administration. There was a section on language usage and contacts with members of the other language group. Another section covered attitudes toward the recent emphasis on bilingualism in the Public Service. The interview finished with a series of questions on how the respondent viewed the Ottawa-Hull region as a place to live and work.

After completion of the interview, each respondent was given a short questionnaire eliciting additional information about his birthplace, father, marital status, religious and other associational memberships, second-language skills, and several other topics. Both the interview schedule and questionnaire, in their French and English versions, are to be found in Appendix IV.

Several months after the interviewing was completed it was decided to get in touch again with most of the original Anglophone respondents by telephone.²⁶ A short interview schedule was drawn up concerning French lessons. The questions asked if the respondent had recently taken a course in French or was doing so now, and if so, what made him decide to learn French. Those without experience in a French course were asked if they planned to enroll in one in the future. Again, the reasons for their decision were probed. The questions used in the telephone interview are presented in Appendix V.

When the interviews and questionnaires were completed, we felt that one gap in the knowledge about the Canadian Public Service was beginning to be plugged. In 1949, Taylor Cole could make the following comment about the problems of studying the Canadian bureaucracy: "In addition, there have been no adequate sociological examinations of such matters as the social and educational background of Canadian civil servants, the role of religion in the Canadian public service, or morale and prestige factors."²⁷ Not much has been done in the more than 15 years since the statement was made, but the research reported in John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* and in the present study appears to go some distance toward meeting the need.

The government of Canada is a complicated entity composed of inter-dependent elements.¹ At the apex is the Crown, represented in Canada by the Governor-General. The Governor-General invites the appropriate party leader to form a Cabinet, summons and dissolves Parliament, assents to bills, grants honours and awards, and executes other ceremonial functions. Below the Crown, power is divided between three authorities: (1) the political executive, consisting of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, (2) Parliament, composed of the Senate and the House of Commons, (3) the federal judiciary, of which the Supreme Court and the Exchequer Court are the main bodies.

The political executive is charged with overseeing a myriad of national concerns; it is assisted by the federal Public Service, comprising a multitude of departments, Crown corporations, commissions, councils, boards, and agencies. Each of these units specializes in the problems surrounding one or several areas of national interest. The unit of greatest import and influence is the department.

In the Cabinet there are some ministers who possess a "portfolio," while others do not. Those with portfolios preside over a department of the Public Service. In most cases, ministers, whether with or without portfolio, report for one or more of the other, more minor, administrative units. The minister, then, is the link between the executive which is responsible for establishing policies, and the Public Service which develops, administers, and enforces the policies.

A. Ministers and Officials

While the Cabinet member may be defeated in an election or moved out of office in a "Cabinet shuffle," the public servant follows, by comparison, a stable, secure career. Also, while the minister is rarely a technical expert in the field in which his department operates, the public servant is a specialist. These are two important

factors which produce significant differences in actions and attitudes between the minister and his officials.

The minister exercises the power of final decision. He assumes responsibility for the major and minor decisions taken by his department or other agencies under his sway. It is such decisions (or indecision) that can lead to his loss of favour with the electorate or the Prime Minister, and hence the loss of his post. On the other hand, the official can often endure through several changes of ministers and of party dominance. He is usually anonymous and is expected to provide impartial advice, enforce laws objectively, or carry out careful research on behalf of his minister. When there is a change in ministers, the public servant continues his tenure and his concern with the day-to-day affairs of the organization.

But the official is not completely divorced from the political surroundings in which he works. The advice he proffers must be politically practical, the rules he enforces must have political support, or the research he carries out must be related to specific Canadian problems. Thus, the public servant must consciously or unwittingly tailor his work so that it is politically relevant.

The Public Service affords a life-time career for the experts who work within it. The public servant develops special skills and through meritorious performance can rise up through levels of increasing pay, power, and prestige. He obtains an exact knowledge of facts in his area of work, and draws on this knowledge when he advances policy recommendations, administers legislation, or sets out on a fact-gathering project. On the other hand, the minister is a generalist whose strength lies in assessing policy measures against the background of public opinion and the claims and counter-claims of various interest groups.

However, public servants are not devoid of political awareness. Both ministers and officials are expected to be intimately aware of the diverse needs, interests, and feelings of the people upon whose lives their work impinges. In other words, the Public Service is required to be *responsive*. Hence, the public servant is usually alert to the aspirations of the various groupings with which he deals.

It is sometimes argued that a public service is only responsive when it is *representative*, that is, when its personnel are drawn from the significant social aggregates in the population (however these are defined) in a proportion equivalent to their proportion in the general population. If a certain proportion of the population is from western Canada, or female, or French-speaking, or whatever, then an equivalent proportion should be found in the Public Service. In this way, the interests of these groups will be "represented" when decisions are made. This argument is a complex one and has already received preliminary treatment in Chapter I. It will be raised again later. The point to be made now is that the public servant is usually sensitized to needs and developments in his field from coast to coast, if not to international trends as well.

B. The Composition of the Federal Administration

The federal Public Service is the workplace of about half a million Canadians. In 1962, the Royal Commission on Government Organization (the Glassco Commission) assessed employment in the federal domain in terms that still apply today and undoubtedly will apply in the future: "The federal government is by far the largest employer of manpower in Canada. Indeed, both in terms of scale of organization and size of payrolls, it has become the biggest business in the nation."² The federal treasury issues the paychecks for about 7 per cent of the total Canadian labour force.³

The "core" of the Public Service is the 20-odd departments which are directly represented by a minister in the federal Cabinet. The two powerful central agencies (Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, formerly Civil Service Commission) which police the departments would also be included in the core. (*See Figure 2.1.*)

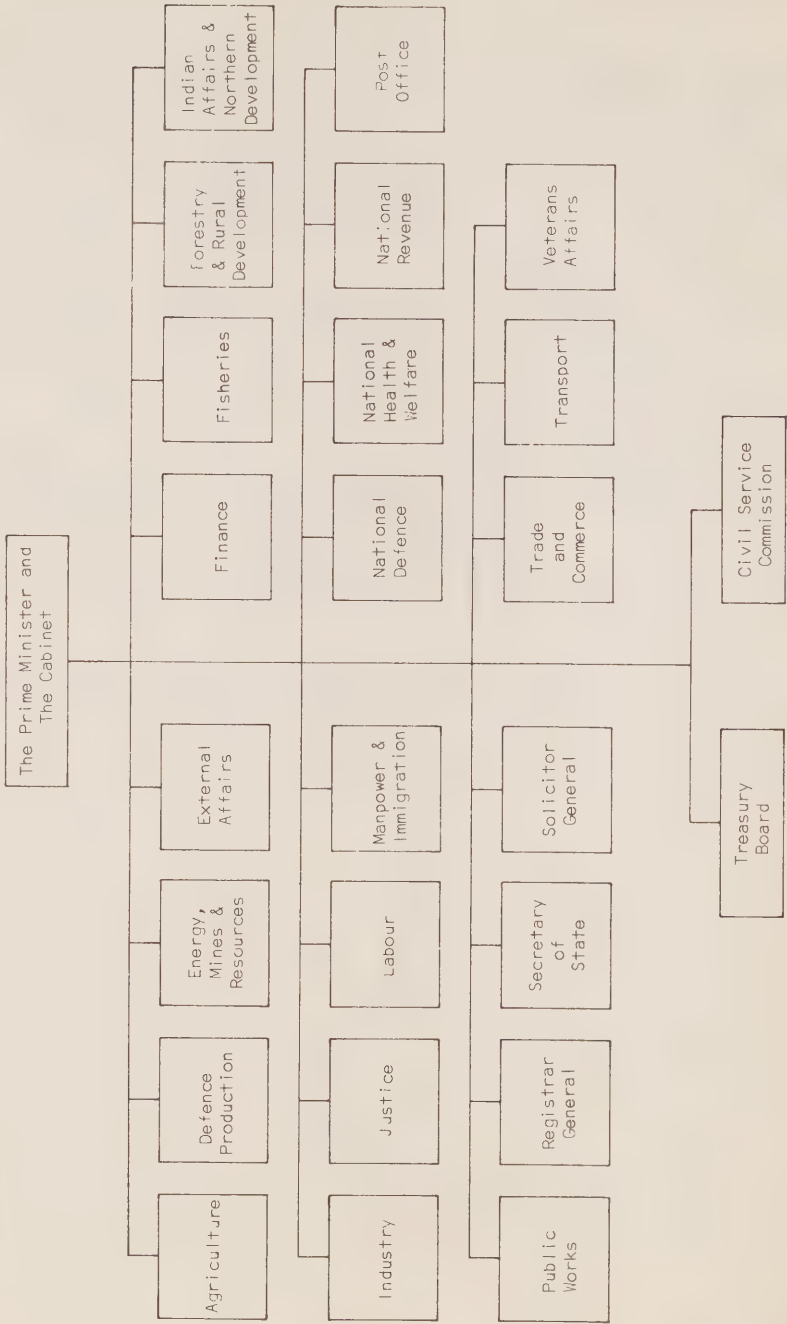
When people talk of "civil servants," they are usually referring to personnel in this collection of organizations. There is, however, a growing trend to refer to them as "public servants." This study will follow this usage, but not stringently. The term "Public Service" will usually be used to refer to the departments proper but, when indicated, it can refer to the whole range of administrative units in the federal system.

The stereotypes and image of government employment are drawn primarily from notions about the federal departments. However, these departments contain only about a third of the nearly 500,000 persons in the employ of the federal government. There is a staggering variety of work units ignored by the stereotypes. In particular, there is a complex array of small boards and commissions. Also, about 20 per cent of public servants are employed by Crown corporations and a quarter are in the Armed Forces.

The central concern of this study is not these non-departmental units, but the departments proper. However, we will first briefly examine these other agencies. Such a review should help to indicate the immense variety of work settings within the federal Service, and to bury forever the simple notions of the "average" government body or the "typical" public servant. Second, the review will serve to narrow the purview of this study by revealing the great expanse of federal administration we will ignore. On the other hand, it specifies more exactly the sectors of the federal administration to which our generalizations apply. The conclusions offered here about relations between linguistic groups in the federal administration apply with certainty only to the departmental structures.

Now to the units outside our terms of reference.

Figure 2.1
The Departments of the Government of Canada, 1966



Source: *Organization of the Government of Canada* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1966).

C. The Non-Departmental Units

Boards and commissions of a seemingly endless variety are allied in a diversity of financial and administrative connections to particular departments. These bodies are created by statute to perform a specialized function. Unlike Crown corporations, which have a measure of independence, these agencies are quite closely tied to the departments in whose fields they operate. Included here are such entities as the Board of Grain Commissioners (Agriculture), Tariff Board (Finance), Fisheries Research Board (Fisheries), Defence Research Board (National Defence), National Energy Board (Energy, Mines and Resources), and the Board of Transport Commissioners (Transport), among others.

Crown corporations are relatively more independent bodies. They are, however, under the terms of the Financial Administration Act, 1951, ultimately accountable to a minister. They can be classified under four broad headings.⁴

1. Business Agencies - These agencies operate in a quasi-commercial manner in service or trading operations. Canadian National, Air Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited, Polymer Corporation, Canadian Arsenal Limited, and Atomic Energy of Canada, Limited are among those that fall under this rubric.

2. Financial Agencies - Included here are those organizations responsible for particular aspects of the Canadian credit, fiscal, or monetary scene: Bank of Canada, Industrial Development Bank, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Farm Credit Corporation, and several others.

3. Trading, Price Support, and Procurement Agencies - The procurement or disposal of goods or the provision of trading services and price supports for Canadian products is the main activity of these units. Here would be included the Canadian Wheat Board, Crown Assets Disposal Corporation, Agricultural Prices Support Board, Fisheries Prices Support Board, and others.

4. Resource Management and Research Agencies - The corporate agencies in this field are responsible for managing certain public properties or resources, or carrying out scientific research. On the list for this category would be the National Battlefields Commission, Dominion Coal Board, National Capital Commission, National Gallery of Canada, National Research Council, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, and a great variety of other unique units.

An extended definition of the Public Service would also encompass Canada's military units, numbering some 120,000 persons or one quarter of the federally employed population. The Armed Forces are headed by the minister of National Defence but, because they are staffed by career military personnel, they are unlike other departments. Directly under the minister is the Chief of Defence Staff who

is a military officer responsible for the control and management of the armed units under his command. However, one part of the department of National Defence, under the associate deputy minister, is like an ordinary government department; it employs more public servants than any other departments. It is charged with administrative details connected with running the Canadian Forces. An assistant deputy minister rather than a military officer is at the head of each of three main planning areas: Finance, Personnel, Logistics.

This completes our brief tour of the non-departmental units that can be considered part of the Public Service. These agencies—commissions, boards, Crown corporations, Armed Forces—will be ignored for the duration of the study. The boundaries are drawn, the analysis of the departments can begin.

D. The Range of Government Departments

As we have already pointed out, the departments contain only about 30 per cent of those who fall under the broad rubric "public servant." Yet it is on the basis of opinions and observations about how these departments operate that public attitudes to the federal administration are formed. The "bureaucrats" and "white-collar workers" who people these organizations are regarded by most Canadians as the heart of the federal administration.

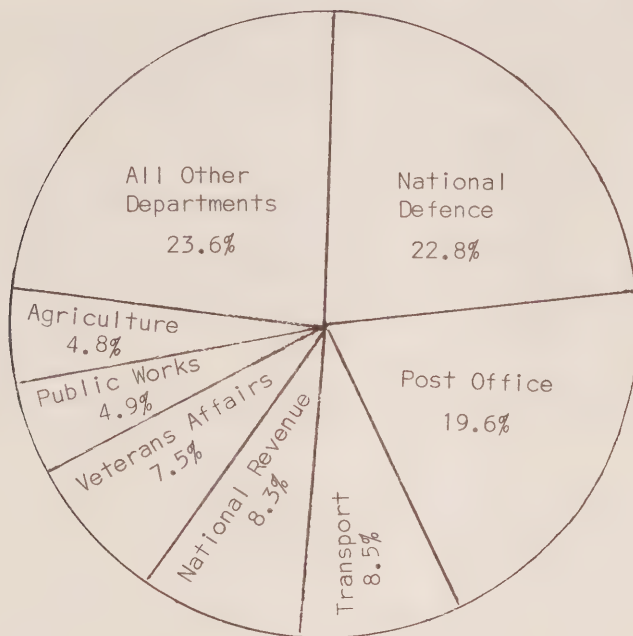
In late 1966 there were 23 departments in existence and two major control agencies, Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission (Figure 2.1). Since that time there has been some reorganization of the division of departmental responsibilities, but throughout this study we will deal with the departmental structure as it was in 1966. At that time the departments contained about 170,000 workers in organizations ranging in size from the nearly 40,000 civilian employees in the department of National Defence to between 300 and 600 in the departments of Labour, Justice, and Industry. A majority of the departments contain between 500 and 5,000 people. Seven departments account for more than three-quarters of those on the Public Service payroll. (See Figure 2.2). Slightly more than one-fifth of the public servants are in National Defence, a fifth in the Post Office. National Revenue, Transport, and Veterans Affairs each contribute about 7 to 8 per cent. The other two "giants," Public Works and Agriculture, each employ some 5 per cent of departmental employees.

Although size was not the grounds on which the departments were selected for detailed scrutiny by the Career Study, it is worth noting that three of the largest are in our sample: National Revenue, Public Works, Agriculture.

The departments can also be classified by their dominant function. According to this criterion, five categories can be identified: central policy-making, regional public service, international relations, national defence, or cultural affairs. This classificatory scheme is

Figure 2.2

Departmental employment in the Canadian Public Service - April, 1966



Total: 169,748

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Federal Government Employment*, April, 1966.

laid out in Figure 2.3. These categories were used for the selection of a set of departments that would adequately represent the variety of organizational structures and functions found in the Public Service.

In choosing a cross-section of departments, one or sometimes two units were chosen to represent each of the major divisions of government. If there was a number of likely candidates in any division, then the relevance of the department to French-English relations became a deciding factor. Because several areas of government were the object of special studies by the Royal Commission, the departments operating within these areas were removed from consideration. Those dropped in this way included the ones in international relations (External Affairs, Trade and Commerce) and defence (National Defence, Defence Production).

Although the grounds for choosing each of the five departments will be explained here, a thorough description of each must wait until the next chapter.

Figure 2.3

Classification of the departments and agencies of the Canadian Public Service, 1966

<u>Centralized Policy-Makers</u>		<u>Regionalized Services</u>	
<u>Major Influence</u>	<u>Limited Influence</u>	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Indirect</u>
*Finance	Justice	*Agriculture	*Public Works
Civil Service	Industry	*National	Transport
Commission	Labour	Revenue	Forestry and
Treasury Board	Registrar	Health and	Rural Development
	General	Welfare	Energy, Mines and
		Veterans	Resources
		Affairs	Solicitor General
		Indian Affairs	Fisheries
		and Northern	
		Development	
		Manpower and	
		Immigration	
		Post Office	
<u>Cultural</u>	<u>International Relations</u>		<u>Defence</u>
*Secretary of State	External Affairs		National Defence
	Trade and Commerce		Défence Production

*These are the departments on which the Career Study focusses.

The centralized units have most of their staff in the Ottawa area and are responsible for policy, planning, or overall regulation of some branch of government activity. Certain of these units are extremely powerful either in directing national policy or in setting standards for other departments to follow. The department of Finance easily falls under the former rubric, while the Civil Service Commission (now the Public Service Commission) and the Treasury Board Secretariat are under the latter.

The Civil Service Commission recruits new personnel and supervises promotion procedures in the departments, conducts staff training programmes including language training, acts as management consultants to various departments and assists them in reorganization, and provides personnel services and information about needed changes in government pay levels and working conditions. Clearly the Commission has extensive influence. Likewise, the Treasury Board Secretariat exercises strong supervision over government departments. It examines the proposed spending programmes of all departments and approves them before they are submitted to Parliament. In the future, the

Treasury Board will be responsible for ensuring that an adequate inventory of manpower in the Public Service is maintained, supervising a new, simplified system of job classification, arranging the framework for collective bargaining in the Public Service, and seeking ways of improving the efficiency of the federal administration, particularly by transferring authority vested in the central agencies to the departments. Hence, in time, the Treasury Board Secretariat will add to its already considerable powers other duties that will make it the most influential agency in directing the nature of federal administrative organization.

Because of their strategic role in shaping the Public Service, these two agencies were the object of intensive studies by the Royal Commission. Hence, they were not considered for inclusion in the Career Study.

In the field of national economic policy, the department of Finance leads the way. It also has the reputation for being the training ground for the country's top public servants. On these grounds, Finance was chosen for study.

Several centralized departments with specialized functions and limited influence were excluded from the study. This category includes the three smallest of all departments (Justice, Industry, Labour). The departments in this grouping were, in the main, regarded as peripheral to the main issues of French-English relations.

The regionalized departments have offices across the nation and provide services either directly or indirectly to the public or to particular categories of citizens. The provision of direct services involves dealing face to face or through correspondence with persons in the immediate area. These departments operate "field" services in various regions of the country so that they can deal directly with their clients. The department of National Revenue (Taxation division), that body charged with tax collection, was selected for study. The workers in this organization must daily deal with the tax problems of individual citizens, often necessitating personal contact between a departmental official and the individual.

The department of Agriculture, also in the direct service category, was chosen as well. It provides not only services to the farming regions of Canada but also houses a large establishment of research scientists. Although its service activities will be examined, of particular interest is a scrutiny of careers in science and how bilingualism affects such careers.

Those departments involved in the construction of public facilities or the management of a public resource may be said to provide indirect service to the public. For instance, the department of Fisheries is responsible for the development and protection of fish stocks in Canada. Likewise, the department of Public Works, which was chosen for the Career Study, is charged with the design and construction of major highways and bridges, and of all federal buildings

(hospitals, post offices, schools, penitentiaries, and the like). Although these departments do not have to deal face to face with the general public, they still possess regional offices that serve as a base of operations for their work.

There is one final area of government endeavour to consider: the promotion of Canadian culture. The sole department fulfilling this function, and one fixed upon for study in depth, is the department of the Secretary of State. Its responsibility is to protect and enhance the traditions and arts of Canada. In part, this involves the development of communication between the two official-language groups in the country. It administers the National Museums of Canada and the translation services for the rest of the Public Service. It is also the spokesman in Parliament for a set of public corporations that safeguard the national heritage: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National Gallery, National Film Board, National Library, Canada Council, and several others. As well, it is responsible for the conduct of state ceremonials, and recently has become accountable for citizenship: its objectives include encouraging more effective citizenship on the part of all Canadians and bringing about better understanding between groups in Canada. At the time of our study, several legal services, including the Patent and Copyright Office, were attached to this department; they have since been transferred to the department of the Registrar General.

We selected five departments for close study: Secretary of State (cultural functions plus legal services), Public Works (indirect regional services), Agriculture (direct regional services plus a scientific community), National Revenue (direct regional services), and Finance (central policy-making activities). These were chosen because they provide a reasonable cross-section of the range of government departments. As much as possible, each of the major activities of government is represented.

E. Representativeness of the Five Departments

An evaluation of the adequacy of our chosen departments as a representative cross-section of the federal administration is hampered by the paucity of information about the size and composition of the federal administration. Two main sources are available. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics issues a quarterly bulletin entitled *Federal Government Employment* which offers broad coverage but little detail about the internal make-up of the federal Service. The Pay Research Bureau of the Civil Service Commission prepares a yearly report, *The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada*, which presents detailed breakdowns but only includes personnel employed under the Civil Service Act. This means the exclusion of a sizeable number of salaried and prevailing rate departmental employees, as well as all the employees of Crown corporations. Neither report covers the Armed Forces. For our purposes, the detailed information provided by the Civil

Service Commission about departmental personnel employed under the Civil Service Act will suffice.

The Commission divides its employee population into seven major occupational groups, of which three are of interest here. These three correspond quite closely to the types of occupations examined in our survey of the middle level.

1. Professional personnel - This group contains about 5 per cent of the total departmental population. It consists of those fields in which the work performed is directly associated with the specialized university training of the incumbents. Among the employees in this group are those classified as Chemists, Engineers, Economists, Geologists, Medical Officers, and Solicitors.

2. Administrative personnel - This category includes about 8 per cent of the employee total and includes the senior management group and those classes for which high educational qualifications are necessary (Finance Officers, Foreign Service Officers, Senior Officers), those with professional accounting qualifications, and a large group of junior administrators (Administrative Officers, Personnel Officers, Translators, Treasury Officers, and others).

3. Technical and Inspection personnel - This group makes up over 13 per cent of the total departmental employment. It includes those scientific and technical classes for which university education is not normally a requirement but for which considerable technical skill and knowledge are required—for example, Technical Officers, Draftsmen, and Technicians.

The remaining 73 per cent of the departmental employment is allocated among the Office (Clerical and Typing), Service and Maintenance, Hospital, and Postal, Customs and Immigration groups. The Office group is by far the largest of these.

Table 2.1 compares the occupational composition at the time of our survey of the five selected departments to the rest of the personnel in all federal departments. According to the figures for those under the Civil Service Act, the five departments have a greater proportion of specialist (professional and technical) and administrative careers than the rest of the Public Service, but this fact does not negate the research. Our concern is with the middle level and we have evidently selected departments with a goodly proportion of employees at this level. As long as our generalizations are applied only to middle-level personnel in federal departments, our findings are firm. We will not and dare not attempt to generalize about other levels of the Public Service or the Service as a whole.

When the distribution of the three occupational groups alone (professional, administration, technical and inspection) for the five departments is compared to the remainder of the departments, the nature of the over-representation is made more clear (Table 2.2). In these occupational classes, the five departments are evidently more "professionalized" and more administrative in nature than the other

Table 2.1

Percentage distribution of occupational categories of employees under the Civil Service Act, by department (1965)

Department	N	Profes- sional	Adminis- trative	Technical and inspection	Other	Total
Finance	380	3.4	43.7	3.2	49.7	100.0
National Revenue (Taxation)	6,356	0.4	52.4	1.0	46.2	100.0
Agriculture	6,458	24.2	4.1	43.4	28.3	100.0
Public Works	5,717	6.7	2.4	10.9	80.0	100.0
Secretary of State	940	19.8	29.9	5.1	45.2	100.0
Total: Five departments	19,851	11.0	21.0	17.9	50.1	100.0
All other departments	103,370	4.3	8.3	13.1	74.3	100.0
Total: All departments	123,221	5.4	8.4	13.9	70.3	100.0

Source: Adapted from Civil Service Commission of Canada (Pay Research Bureau), *The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada, September 1965*, Table 7(a). Only departments have been included in the compilations.

departments; conversely, they contain relatively fewer technical workers. Again, it seems that these five departments have proportionately more senior professional and administrative positions than other departments.

The Civil Service Commission reported that the three occupational groups under consideration here are growing at a much faster rate than other fields of work. Between 1957 and 1965, each of these groups increased its percentage of the total departmental employment. Furthermore, certain occupations showed marked numerical growth. The Scientific Officers doubled, Patent Examiners increased 70 per cent, Biologists, 65 per cent, and Geologists, 55 per cent. Other groupings, however, including chemists, lawyers, and medical doctors remained fairly constant in size. In the administrative category, the Senior Officers underwent a 90 per cent increase and the Administrative Officers augmented their numbers by more than two-thirds. Substantial growth was also reported in most of the Technical and Inspection subgroups. Our study then takes in rather lively and expanding areas of work.

Table 2.2

Percentage distribution of occupational categories (professional, administrative, technical and inspection only) of employees under the Civil Service Act, by department (1965)

Department	<i>N</i>	Profes- sional	Adminis- trative	Technical and inspection	Total
Finance	191	6.8	86.9	6.3	100.0
National Revenue (Taxation)	3,417	0.7	97.4	1.9	100.0
Agriculture	4,629	33.8	5.6	60.6	100.0
Public Works	1,145	33.6	11.8	54.6	100.0
Secretary of State	515	36.1	54.6	9.3	100.0
Total	9,897	22.0	42.1	35.9	100.0
All other departments	26,576	16.6	32.3	51.1	100.0
Total: All departments	36,473	18.1	35.0	46.9	100.0

Source: Adapted from Civil Service Commission of Canada (Pay Research Bureau), *The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada, September 1965*, Table 7(a). Only departments have been included in the compilations.

A government department is a social organization—that is, a collection of persons who have developed orderly relations among themselves in order to attain a set of objectives or goals. To be more specific, it is a grouping with an exact roster of members, an unequivocal collective identity, a programme of activity, and procedures for replacing members.¹

The roster of members sets members apart from non-members. Those within the organization deal regularly with various others in the organization and they come to know who belongs and who does not. Hence, boundaries are drawn between insiders and outsiders. The unequivocal collective identity refers to the specific name or title borne by the organization and its distinctive features which differentiate it from other organizations. The name often conveys a good deal of information about the organization's purposes, location, and affiliations, and it enables collective action to be taken without confusion.² Every organization has a programme, a plan of action by which its goals may be attained. Members of an organization are allotted roles to play in moving the organization towards its objectives. The co-ordinated activities of individuals are essential for the fulfilment of the organization's functions. Finally, an organization possesses procedures for recruiting new members so that it can continue as an ongoing concern.

By these standards it is clear that a government department is a social organization. It shares these organizational attributes with a family group, an army, a bank, a neighbourhood church, a baseball team, and a great variety of other organized groups. However, it is unlike other types of social groupings that lack one or more of these attributes. Among such unorganized aggregates are social classes (no exact membership and no unequivocal collective identity), crowds or audiences (no programme of activity), and a variety of social categories: sex or age groups, voters for a particular party or persons who share a particular like or dislike (no sustained relationships).

A minimum definition of a social organization would include, then, two fundamentals.³ First, there is a network of social relationships linking persons or groups together into a larger whole; the differentiated units stand in a definite relationship one to another (leader-follower, parent-child, work groups-managers, staff groups-line authority). Second, there are shared goals, beliefs, and values which unite the members and guide their conduct. Transmitted to each person or subgroup in an organization are certain "rules of the game." These expectations or ideals are the standards to which members are required to adhere.

But a government department is a social organization of a special kind: a "bureaucratic" or "formal" organization.

A. A Government Department as a Bureaucracy

In addition to the organizational features just considered, a bureaucracy is marked by rather distinctive traits. First of all, a bureaucracy is formally constituted for the express purposes of attaining a specific goal or goals. Social relationships in bureaucratic organizations are arranged so that the activity of each participant is relevant to the attainment of these goals. To be more specific, a bureaucratic organization possesses the following identifying characteristics:⁴

1. The organization is divided into relatively fixed, specific jurisdictional areas (branches, divisions, etc.) defined and regulated by established rules, laws, or administrative duties.
2. There are formally established offices, each with a specified list of duties. There is a division of labour among the officials in the organization with each one working in a delimited area in which he is the expert.
3. The organization of offices or positions follows the principle of hierarchy—that is, each office is under the control and supervision of a higher one.
4. Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing. Since operations depend on written documents, there is a clerical staff to "keep the files."
5. The organization offers the official a stable career leading from the bottom to the top of the organization. It is marked by periodic salary boosts, promotions, increasing responsibilities, and seniority privileges.
6. The main criterion on which a person is recruited and promoted is technical competence or merit.

Therefore, we will treat bureaucracy as a neutral term designating a particular species of social organization, not as a term suggesting "red-tape," unwieldiness, and inefficiency. Our conception of a

bureaucracy, and hence of a government department, is that it is a social organization which co-ordinates the work of many individuals or groups in a systematic manner to achieve one or more specific goals.

Our focus will be on several aspects of the bureaucratic structure of the selected departments. We will outline the formal structure of each and examine the major responsibilities or goals of the department, and the manner in which it is broken down into branches or divisions in order to attain its goals. The hierarchy of command will be relevant in looking at how the department has organized itself.

A central concern of this study is to examine the department as a career setting. Before turning to the different career types within the governmental bureaucracies, we must describe the stage on which these work roles are played out.

B. The Department of Finance

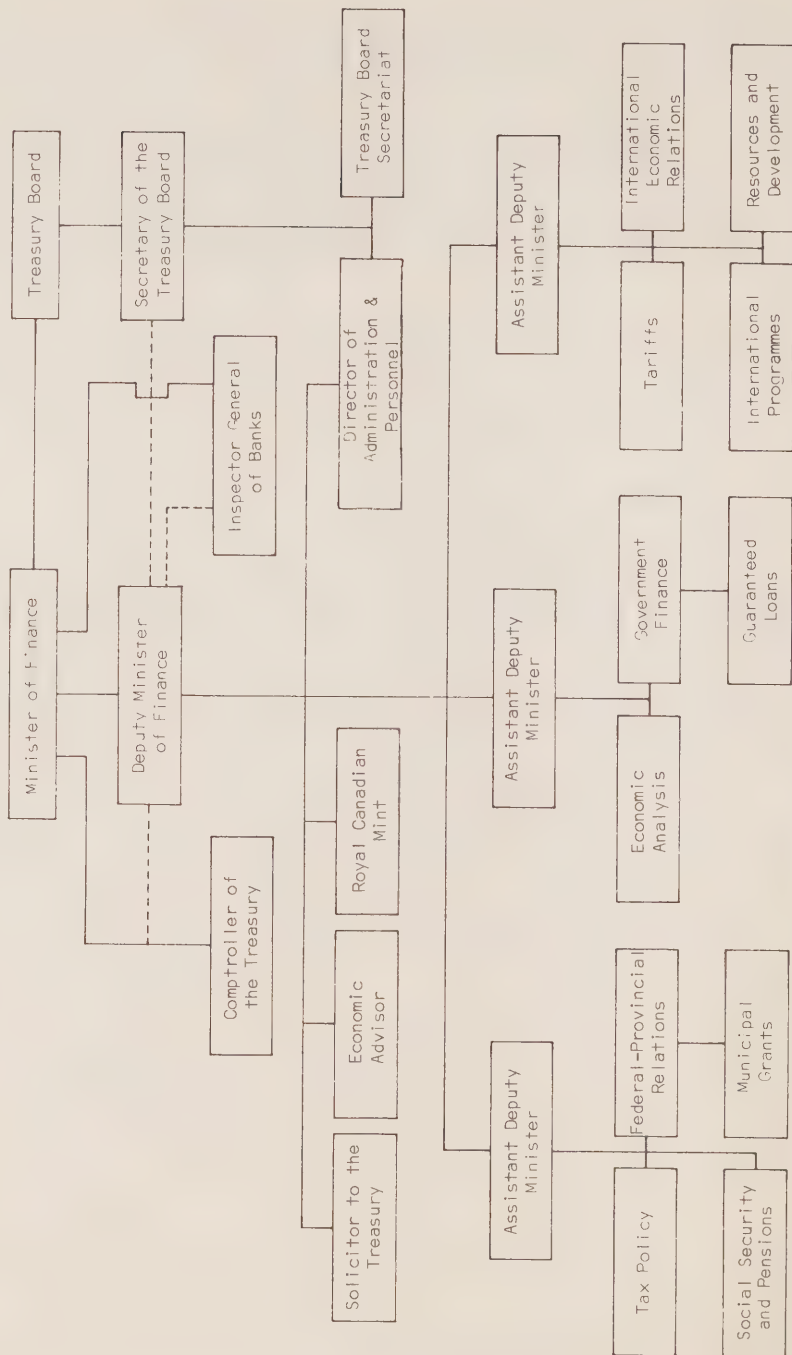
The department of Finance was chosen for study because it is a powerful, policy-advising department. At the same time, the "Ottawa Establishment"—that group of senior cabinet ministers and government advisers who dominate federal politics—is more likely to be drawn from the senior ranks in Finance than from any other department. In 1964, Peter Newman identified 37 men who made up Ottawa's governing elite: 20 of them were or had been associated with Finance.⁵

The department of Finance is the central agency responsible for the financial affairs of Canada, both on the national and international scenes. Its primary role is to provide the minister of Finance, the Cabinet, and other governmental agencies with pertinent information and advice on all matters of financial interest. To perform this role the department continuously conducts economic research of a current nature, better described as "economic intelligence." It is not research in the academic sense, but rather analysis that will aid the development and co-ordination of general economic policy.

The main annual task of the department is to produce the national budget. In this, officers of the department must review government plans in the light of the willingness and ability of the public to bear the financial burdens involved, consider the means for raising necessary revenue, and assess the overall economic implications of such plans.

The "core" of the department comprises three branches, each reporting to an assistant deputy minister. Also under the aegis of the department are the Royal Canadian Mint, the Inspector General of Banks, and the Comptroller of the Treasury. Until recently, the Treasury Board Secretariat was allied to the department. It is in the process of gaining more independence and new powers to regulate

Figure 3.1
Organization of the department of Finance (1965)



Source: *Organization of the Government of Canada.*

government employment. (See Figure 3.1.) In our research we concentrated on the "core" establishment.

Each of the three assistant deputy ministers heads a branch with two to four divisions (Figure 3.2). A division has a director and from three to eight officers who work with him. There are nine divisions. Altogether, there are about 85 senior persons (Finance Officers and Senior Officers) manning this core.

Figure 3.2

Branches and divisions in the "core" establishment of the department of Finance (1965)

Branches responsible to an assistant deputy minister	Divisions
Taxation, Social Welfare, Federal-Provincial Relations	1. Tax Policy 2. Federal-Provincial Relations 3. Social Security & Pensions
Financial Affairs, Economic Aid, External Aid	4. Economic Analysis 5. Government Finance
Economic Affairs, Industry, Tariffs Trade	6. International Economic Relations 7. Tariffs 8. Resources & Development 9. International Programmes

Extensive powers in both the national and international economic fields are divided among the three branches. The first branch contains the divisions of Tax Policy, Federal-Provincial Relations, and Social Security and Pensions. Generally they advise the minister on all aspects of taxation and fiscal policy and on social security policy, and estimate probable revenue from taxation. The federal-provincial-relations division is concerned with fiscal and tax sharing arrangements with the provinces and co-operates with the department of Labour in the administration of the Winter Works programme. This division also gives policy direction to the Municipal Grants Office, which is rather out of the mainstream of the department: it calculates payment of annual grants in lieu of taxes to municipalities in which federal property is held.

In the second branch, the divisions of Government Finance and Economic Analysis have developed quite recently, since 1959. These divisions deal with economic forecasting, debt management, and relations with the Bank of Canada; they provide reports of Canada's economic situation to the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) and the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) The

division of Government Finance also directs the activities of the Guaranteed Loans office, a subsidiary unit which administers the Canada Student Loans Act, Small Businesses Loans Act, Farm Improvement Loans Act, and other similar legislation.

The four divisions of Tariffs, International Economic Relations, Resources and Development, and International Programmes are grouped together in the third branch. Together they work on all aspects of tariffs, commercial trade policy, import policy, external aid, and also several domestic economic programmes in agriculture, manpower, and industrial subsidies. The divisions with an international focus are much involved in negotiations with representatives from other countries and international bodies (World Bank, United Nations, G.A.T.T., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

It is clear from this discussion that the department's clientele is vast. All federal departments which want to launch programmes negotiate with Finance. There is a continuous dialogue between the department and provincial officials. In the international field it deals predominantly with the United States and the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, with France. It is a partner in many international arrangements. Within Canada, it also regularly meets with spokesmen for industries, particular companies, trade associations, and banks.

The development of the department as it is constituted at present can be traced to the 1930's.⁶ In 1930, when R. B. Bennett became Prime Minister of Canada, he decided also to be minister of Finance, a post he had previously held in 1926 in the Meighen administration. Bennett was faced with a growing economic depression and wanted to take vigorous action to avert it. Part of his plan was to inject the department with new talent. He turned to Queen's University and hired economics professor W. C. Clark. Dr. Clark joined as deputy minister of Finance in 1932 and held that post until his death in 1952. Over these 20 years, he built up the department and set the standards which are current today.

One of Dr. Clark's strategies was to attract experts and academics to Finance. John Porter describes them as "Dr. Clark's boys . . . an outstanding group of expert administrators who were to be the architects of the economic and social policies required by the war and post-war reconstruction."⁷ One of Clark's fairly early appointments was that of R. B. Bryce in 1938 who later became deputy minister. Mr. Bryce had received his early training in mining engineering but, curious about the reasons for the depression, he had gone on to study economics at Cambridge and Harvard. Besides Mr. Bryce, at one time or another a whole host of renowned public servants, some who later entered politics, passed through the department: economist, later professor K. W. Taylor; W. A. MacIntosh from Queen's, who later returned to that university as its chancellor; Walter Gordon, who became minister of Finance in 1962; Mitchell Sharp, who left for private business but then entered politics and became minister of

Finance and, later, of External Affairs; tax expert J. H. Perry, and J. J. Deutsch who later left the department for Queen's but returned to public service to head up the Economic Council of Canada. These are some of the men who surrounded Clark during the "golden age of Canadian public administration."⁸

Clark's influence has had important consequences for the department. Despite its extensive and widening powers it has remained an essentially small group of experts of whom rigidly high standards are demanded. Combined with these factors, the department's connection with the Ottawa elite has given Finance the image of a fast-moving, high powered "glamour" department with more than a touch of "in-group" flavour. A later chapter on the career of the Finance Officer will attempt to unravel further the importance of the Finance "image."

C. The Department of National Revenue (Taxation Division)

Overall, the department of National Revenue is the third largest department of government, following National Defence and the Post Office. It consists of two main divisions: Taxation division and Customs and Excise division. The Career Study examined only the Taxation division in detail.

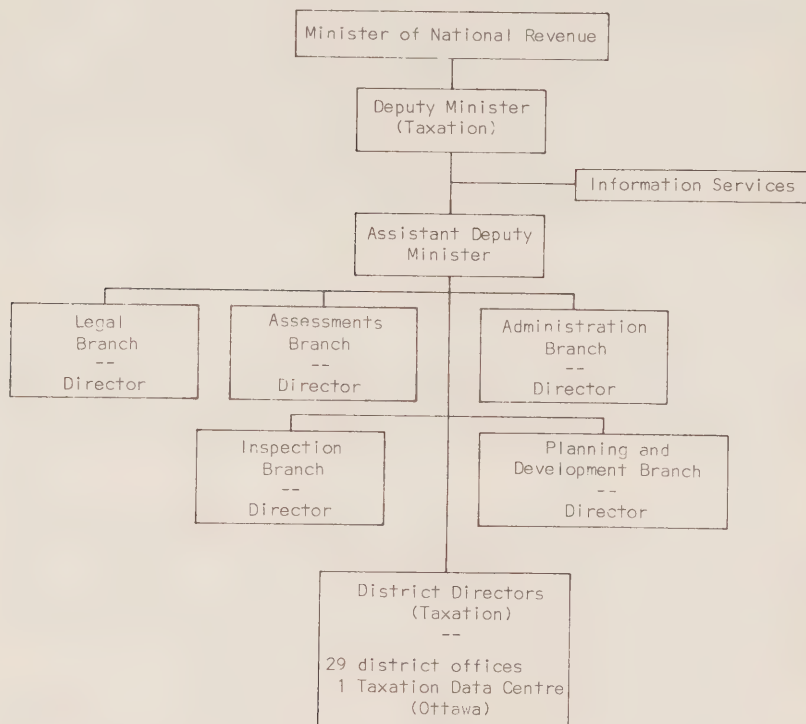
Each of the two main divisions is headed by a deputy minister responsible to the minister of National Revenue. But, here the similarity ends. While the deputy minister of Taxation has only one assistant deputy working under him, his counterpart in Customs and Excise has three such assistants. The Taxation division also has fewer employees and a smaller budget than Customs and Excise.

The goals and national field structure of the two divisions are quite dissimilar. Customs and Excise is responsible for the assessment and collection of customs duties on imported goods, excise duties, as well as sales and excise taxes. It maintains some 275 main ports of entry, 113 outports, and a number of vessel clearing stations and seasonal offices. All these field units report directly to departmental headquarters in Ottawa. On the other hand, the Taxation division maintains 30 fairly independent district offices across Canada. This number includes the Taxation Data Centre in Ottawa. (Figure 3.3.)

The Taxation division is responsible for the assessment and collection of income taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, a portion of the old age security tax, and federal pension plan contributions. In addition, under the terms of the provincial tax collection agreements of 1962, the division is responsible for the collection and accounting of certain provincial taxes for all the provinces except Quebec. Shown below is a more exact depiction of the effects of the 1962 tax rental agreements.

Figure 3.3

Organization of the department of National Revenue—Taxation (1965)



Newfoundland
St. John's

Prince Edward Island
Charlottetown

Nova Scotia
Halifax
Sydney

New Brunswick
Saint John

Quebec
Quebec
Montreal
Sherbrooke
Rouyn

Ontario
Ottawa
Kingston
Belleville
Hamilton
Kitchener
Toronto
St. Catharines
London
Windsor
Sudbury
Fort William

Manitoba
Winnipeg

Saskatchewan
Regina
Saskatoon

Alberta
Calgary
Edmonton

British Columbia
Vancouver
Victoria
Penticton

Yukon
Whitehorse

Source: *Organization of the Government of Canada* and documents provided by the department of National Revenue.

Types of taxes assessed and collected for the provinces by
the Taxation division

Tax category	Quebec	Ontario	British Columbia	All others
Personal income tax	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corporation income tax	No	No	Yes	Yes
Estate tax	No	No	No	Yes

The underlying goal of the Taxation division, then, is to obtain public compliance with tax legislation, both federal and provincial. There are two major ways it attempts to do this: first, by acquainting the public, in the clearest terms possible, with the procedures for preparing and filing returns and, second, by making the procedures themselves as simple as possible. The division regards as one of its important functions to assist the ordinary citizen to understand and file the appropriate returns so that he will not run afoul of the law.

While the department of National Revenue is charged with tax collection, the drawing up of tax policy is the job of the department of Finance. Although the two activities are formally divorced, there is still collaboration in the drafting of tax legislation, although the final responsibility for such legislation rests with Finance. The Finance department is concerned with the economic implications of tax regulations, while the Taxation division is concerned with the problems of implementation and administration. There is an attempt to bring the two perspectives together in any new legislation.

Unlike Finance, which is a small, central, powerful unit, National Revenue is a large, regional, service agency. In the Taxation division, under the deputy minister, there is a head office in Ottawa and a field organization consisting of 29 district offices and the Taxation Data Centre. At the end of 1964, the division had a continuing staff of about 5,825 (Table 3.1). The 1966 figure is about 6,585. To this total could be added the seasonal employees, nearly all of whom are used at the Ottawa Data Centre. In average years, they number around 1,600. Of the total continuing staff, a little less than 10 per cent are located in the head office. Well over a half (58 per cent) of the total number of employees in the division are estimated to be earning less than \$6,200 per annum. The number of head office employees falling in this category is only 52 per cent. This indicates clearly that more of the better-paying, senior positions in the division are, as expected, located in the head office.

The Career Study interviews included people working in the Ottawa area at head office, at the Taxation Data Centre, and in the district offices. We will discuss, for a moment, the nature of these three organizations.

Table 3.1
Department of National Revenue (Taxation division) - personnel distribution by job classification and salary level (1964)

Classification	Head Office			District Office			Total	
	Estimated*			Estimated*			Estimated*	
	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above	Total	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above	Total	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above
Deputy, Directors		16	16		29	29	45	45
Assessor 3A & up		92	92		1,036	1,036	1,128	1,128
Assessor 2	7		7	77		77	84	84
Assessor 1	1		1	12		12	13	13
Special Investigator 3A & up		18	18		167	167	185	185
Special Investigator 1, 2	1		1	15		15	16	16
Counsel 1 & Up		23	23		-	-	23	23
Computer Programmer 3 & up		41	41		-	-	41	41
Computer Programmer 1, 2	6		6	2		2	8	8
Taxation Officer 3 & up			-		371	371	371	371
Taxation Officer 2			-		461	461	461	461
Taxation Officer 1			-	574		574	574	574
Administration Officer 3 & up		39	39		75	75	114	114
Administration Officer 1, 2		20	20		35	35	55	55

Table 3.1 (cont'd)

Classification	Head Office		District Office		Total	
	Estimated*		Estimated*		Estimated*	
	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above	Salary below \$6,200	Salary \$6,200 & above
Personnel Officer or Administrator		5		18		23
Collection Officer						
Clerks	164			4	4	4
		164	1,801		1,801	1,965
Stenographers	33	33	228		228	261
Typists	22	22	324		324	346
Other	38	38	70		70	108
Total	272	254	3,107	2,192	5,299	3,379
					2,446	5,825

Percentage distribution

52%	48%	100%	59%	41%	100%	58%	42%	100%
-----	-----	------	-----	-----	------	-----	-----	------

Adapted from: Department of National Revenue, *Selected Tax Data (1965)*, 22.

*Position classifications were allocated to the "\$6,200 and above" grouping when all or a majority of the gradations within the related salary range were at or above that level.

1. Head office

Under the deputy minister are five branch directors who report directly to him. The assistant deputy minister works on complex, non-recurring problems such as the Canada Pension Plan. Although the branch directors in the head office and the major district organizations are responsible directly to the deputy minister, they may refer to the assistant deputy minister certain matters in which he is either currently involved or has special expertise.

The five main branches are the legal branch, assessments branch, administration branch, planning and development branch, and inspections branch. There are between 525 and 550 people in head office.

a. The Legal branch includes the appeals section, the enforcement section, the advisory section, and the registration section. This is one of the smaller branches, with about 12 per cent (67) of the head office staff. It provides legal advice to the division. Over half of its personnel are in the appeals section which is staffed mainly by lawyers. They deal with objections that the taxpayer and the local district office have not been able to settle. This branch, in collaboration with the department of Justice, also prepares the case against persons taken to court for making a fraudulent return.

b. The Assessments branch contains the organization and training section, the operations and development section, the special investigations section, the technical section, the review section, the provincial and international relations section, and the estate tax section. The main function of the branch is to interpret all tax legislation administered by the division and to develop policies and procedures to put the terms of legislation into effect. These policies and procedures must be uniformly applied in all districts of the country. The branch also provides advice and assistance to the district offices on technical matters.

The estate tax section operates quasi-independently of other sections and assumes responsibility, for the purposes of estate tax assessment, for the full range of functions that, in income tax assessments, are divided among a number of different branches.

c. The Administration branch contains the district office administration (including the computer systems section, the collection and technical operations section, and the non-computer systems section), the office of the comptroller (including the personnel section, the organization and classification section, and the financial services section), the Canada Pension Plan section, and head office management. This is the largest of the five branches, with more than a third of the total head office population. It contains four organizational groupings, of which the district office administration is the most important although not the largest. It designs the actual administrative procedures to be used in the district offices. Here, it must take into account the possibilities and limits imposed by using computer techniques.

The comptroller is generally responsible for the personnel policies of the division. The sections here review establishment size, organizational and job classification changes, and division expenditures.

The Canada Pension Plan section, the most recent addition to the division, develops procedures for the collection of contributions under the Canada Pension Plan.

The head office management group provides other head office units with a variety of services: stenographic and typing pool, office supplies, a central registry, and others.

d. The Inspection branch is a small branch, employing about 20 people in three inspection teams. Their main task is to conduct periodic audits of the transactions in the district offices and head office and to present a critical and objective report of the results to the deputy minister. This permits greater central control over divisional efficiency.

There are two types of inspection: a "full" inspection and a "short" one. The first, lasting from two to four weeks depending on the office, is intended to cover comprehensively all facets of an office's operation. The short inspection lasts about a week and is intended to be a follow-up on the full one. In the district offices, full inspections are alternated with short ones, each office being covered at least once every two years.

e. The Planning and Development branch includes the computer programming section, the research section, and the statistics section. This branch is responsible for the execution of studies and the development of long-range plans in the division. It is responsible for developing economic models that can be applied to the national tax system. The branch also gathers, analyzes, and publishes statistical information on taxation revenues and the division's functioning.

The computer specialists located here design programmes for the assessments and administration branches. These permit much of the work of the two branches to be handled at the Taxation Data Centre.

2. Taxation Data Centre

The Centre is the division's centralized computer processing service. Established in 1961, it has become one of the fastest growing units in the division. In early 1964 it had 80 continuing employees and around 1,600 on the seasonal payroll. The Centre has produced a pronounced shift in the decentralization process of the division. It now checks and processes all returns from the district offices.

Although the Centre is responsible for processing and machine operations, the design of the procedures and computer programmes remains the task of the head office branches concerned.

3. District offices

The district office in Ottawa is one of 29 such offices dispersed throughout the country in most major centres. Those in Toronto and

Montreal are the largest, with some 800 or more employees. The typical district office is a self-contained unit capable of assessing and collecting income, corporate, and estate taxes in the geographic area under its administration. Its organization is outlined in Figure 3.4.

A district office is headed by a director who is responsible to the deputy minister. The directors of the districts are placed in grade levels depending on the size of their staff, number of supervisory levels, complexity of the work load, volume of collection, and extent of responsibility for local personnel administration. But while the director is formally responsible to the deputy minister, most of his directives come from the assessments and administration branches. In effect, the task of a district director is to implement the procedures laid out by these two head office branches as part of their uniform policy.

The district office is divided into three main parts, each corresponding to a functional area maintained at head office. The office is subject to central control in the key areas of assessments, administration, and personnel.

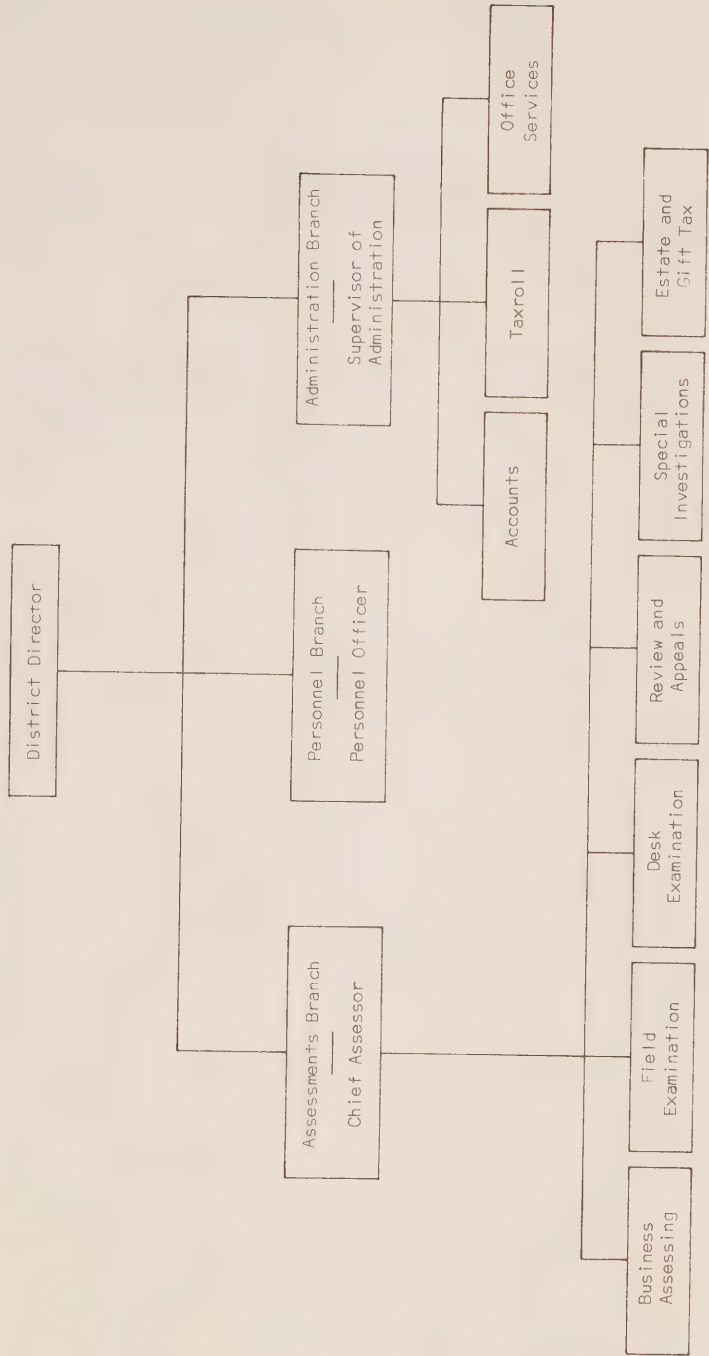
D. The Department of Agriculture

The department of Agriculture's activities touch on most aspects of Canada's agricultural system. In broad terms, it is a dual purpose organization: it is a service organization providing advice and assistance to farmers and safeguarding the quality of agricultural produce put on the market; it is also a research and development organization whose goal is to advance scientific knowledge in the field of agriculture. This dual emphasis is reflected in the departmental organization chart (Figure 3.5). Under the deputy minister are two assistant deputies: one heads the production and marketing branch, the other is in charge of the research branch.

Agriculture is the seventh largest department, with a staff of about 8,000 located across Canada (Table 3.2). The Research branch is the largest branch or division in the department, with about 3,860 persons or 48 per cent of the departmental total. Production and Marketing branch and Health of Animals branch contain, respectively, 26 per cent and 21 per cent of all Agricultural personnel. The remaining 6 per cent of the department is distributed among three small centralized units: the Economics branch, Departmental Administration, and the Information division.

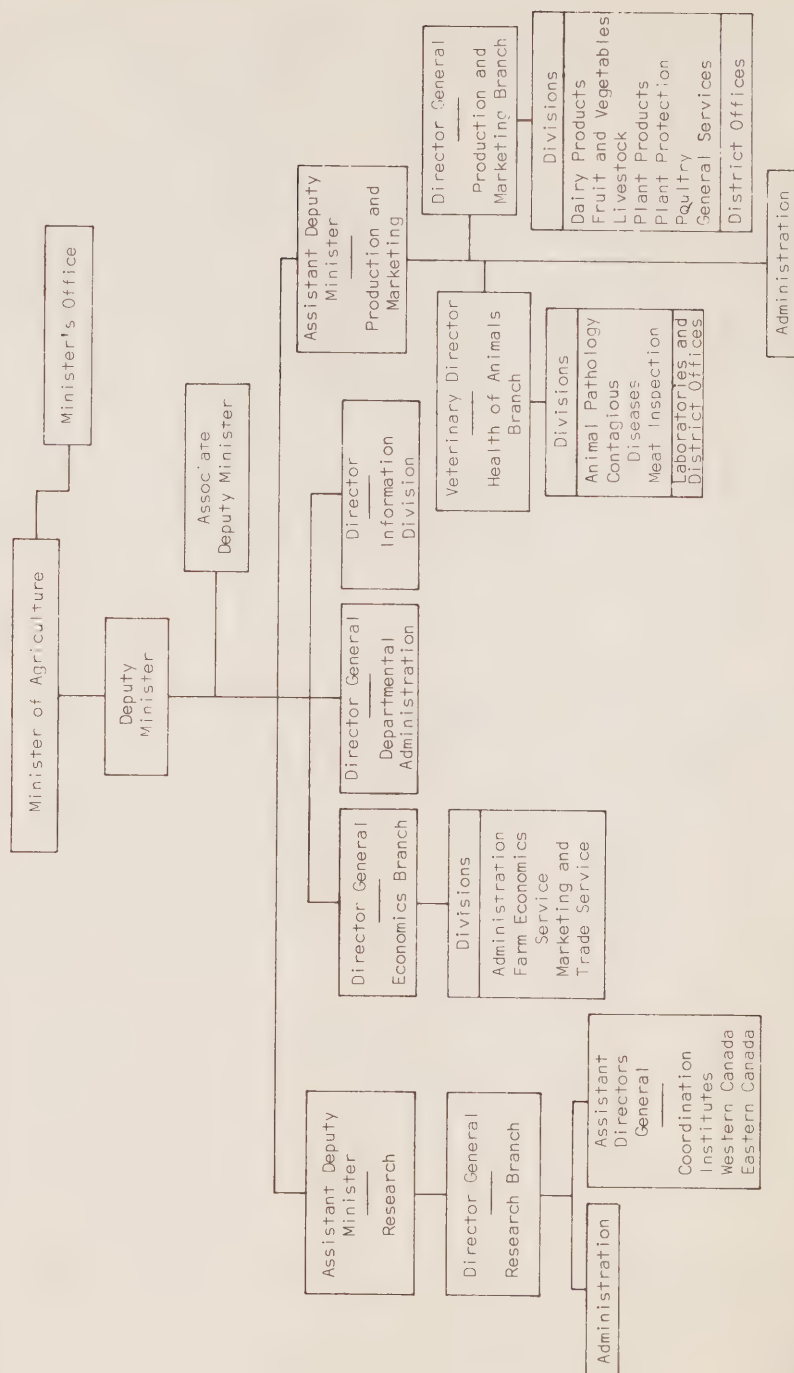
The Research branch contains a high proportion of scientists, with their support staffs, carrying out basic research. They conduct most of the agricultural research in Canada; one senior official estimated it was 70 per cent of all agricultural research in the country. Those choosing to follow a career in agricultural research in Canada find few work settings apart from the department in which to locate themselves.

Figure 3.4
Department of National Revenue (Taxation division): Typical district office organization (October, 1965)



Source: *Selected Tax Data (1965)*, 13.

Figure 3.5
Organization of the department of Agriculture in March 1965



Source: *The Annual Report of the Canada Department of Agriculture, 1964-65* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1965).

Table 3.2
Department of Agriculture - personnel distribution by branch and division (1965)

Location	Research	Departmental Administration	Economics	Information	Health of Animals	Production & Marketing	Total
Ottawa and Hull	1,164	272	105	74	196	421	2,232
London, England						2	2
Alaska	16						16
N.W.T.	9						9
Newfoundland	41				5	16	62
P.E.I.	85				8	94	187
Nova Scotia	174	1	5		35	71	286
New Brunswick	158	1			64	111	334
Quebec	282				308	259	849
Ontario	497	3			451	504	1,455
Manitoba	186	1	7		154	110	458
Saskatchewan	394	1	10		109	131	645
Alberta	491	1	9		229	176	906
British Columbia	362	2	8		110	184	666
Total	3,859	282	144	74	1,669	2,079	8,107

Prepared for the R.C.B.&B., 1965.

The Production and Marketing branch, as its name suggests, attends to two main activities. On the production side, the branch assists producers in developing animals and plants which will give the greatest amount of high-quality return in the shortest time. It checks out the feeds, fertilizers, and chemicals (insecticides, pesticides, etc.) used in agriculture. On the marketing side, it grades and inspects agricultural commodities. Part of this task involves inspecting the quality of goods in retail stores and attempting to find new and attractive ways of using Canadian food products so as to extend the use of these products.

The Health of Animals branch contains three major divisions: Animal Pathology, Contagious Diseases, and Meat Inspection. The first two are responsible for studying, controlling, and eradicating contagious diseases of livestock. The Animal Pathology division investigates the causes and control of diseases and parasites infecting farm animals, poultry, fur-bearing animals, and wildlife. It maintains laboratories that provide diagnostic services and also manufacture serums for injection into diseased animals. The Contagious Diseases division is staffed by a large number of veterinarians who are in the field watching out for outbreaks of disease. The Meat Inspection division examines all meat and poultry slaughtering, eviscerating, and processing plants registered in Canada. Inspectors examine the animals before and after slaughter, and ensure that all diseased or otherwise unwholesome meat intended for food is destroyed.

These three principal branches are all regionally organized.

In the Ottawa-Hull area, the Research branch maintains its administrative headquarters and seven of its nine major institutes. The remaining two are at Belleville and London, Ontario. The "field" research units consist of 14 research stations, 19 experimental farms, one research laboratory, and 19 substations spread from coast to coast and north into the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

The Production and Marketing branch consists of six commodity divisions (Dairy Products, Fruit and Vegetables, Livestock, Plant Products, Plant Protection, and Poultry), with staff working in every province of Canada. A regional district is usually equivalent to one province, or, in some commodity divisions, two provinces.

Similarly, the Health of Animals branch has staff distributed throughout Canada. The Contagious Diseases division and the Meat Inspection division maintain seven district offices, each one headed by a district officer who is responsible within his district for both contagious diseases work and meat inspection. The district offices listed roughly in order of decreasing size are as follows: Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and the Maritimes. The Animal Pathology division maintains its head laboratory in Hull and it has eight laboratories in the provinces.

The remaining three subunits of the department are centred in the national capital.

The Economics branch examines the place of agriculture in the Canadian economy. It came into existence in July 1964 and has been engaged in research on the productivity of Canadian agriculture, the nature of farm incomes and expenditures, the impact of foreign agricultural and trade policies, and a great variety of other studies of the economic dimensions of Canadian agriculture. About 73 per cent of its personnel (105 out of 144) are located in Ottawa, yet it maintains five small regional offices, one in each of the four western provinces and one in the Atlantic provinces.

The entire Information division of 74 persons is based in Ottawa. It covers two main fields of operations: publications and news. The publications section edits, designs, publishes, and distributes departmental books and pamphlets; does studies of their effectiveness; and operates copy preparation, duplicating, and mailing-list pools for the department. The news section produces press articles, tape recorded radio programmes, films, slide kits, and exhibits.

The departmental Administration services the operations of this rather large and complex organization. Over 95 per cent of its people (272 out of 282) are in the Ottawa area. They are divided among six divisions. Two divisions—Organization and Personnel, Property and Finance—manage the human and physical resources of the department. Management Services assists branches and units in achieving and maintaining efficient administration and operation. A Data Processing service is available to the rest of the department. Of the remaining two units, one is the Library and the other is a small group in Emergency Measures Planning which designs programmes that would be implemented in the event of a nuclear disaster.

In general outline, this is the formal structure of the department of Agriculture. It harbours a large research establishment and animal specialists, as well as a considerable number of administrative generalists. The administrators interpret the findings and enforce the standards of the department for the agricultural community. They carry on the work of the department in diverse localities where their services are required by the agricultural industry.

E. The Department of Public Works

The department of Public Works is now in the process of transition from one bureaucratic form to another. The Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission) in 1962 recommended that the department consider a fairly substantial delegation of authority to its field offices. In accordance with this directive, a team of management consultants was hired. In July 1965 they delivered their proposals to the department. The broad outlines of the reorganization were accepted and it is anticipated that the entire department will be restructured by 1970.

The department, with about 8,300 persons, is sixth in order of size among the departments of the Public Service. The principal function of the department is the construction and maintenance of all federal government buildings, roads, bridges, wharves, and other properties. The account here will discuss the current arrangement of organizational units that discharge this function and the proposed scheme.

1. Organizational structure - 1965

The hierarchy at the time of the interviews had, at the top, the deputy minister; his two assistants, each responsible for several broad areas of operations; and four support staffs that report to the deputy (economic studies, legal services, information services, financial services). (Figure 3.6.) The bulk of the department lies under the two assistant deputies.

The assistant deputy minister (technical) is responsible for three major operating branches: the Development Engineering branch, the Harbours and Rivers Engineering branch, and the Building Construction branch. The other assistant deputy supervises one major operational branch—the Property and Building Management branch—and four lesser administrative units: Fire Prevention branch, Administrative Services, Personnel branch, and Management Services.

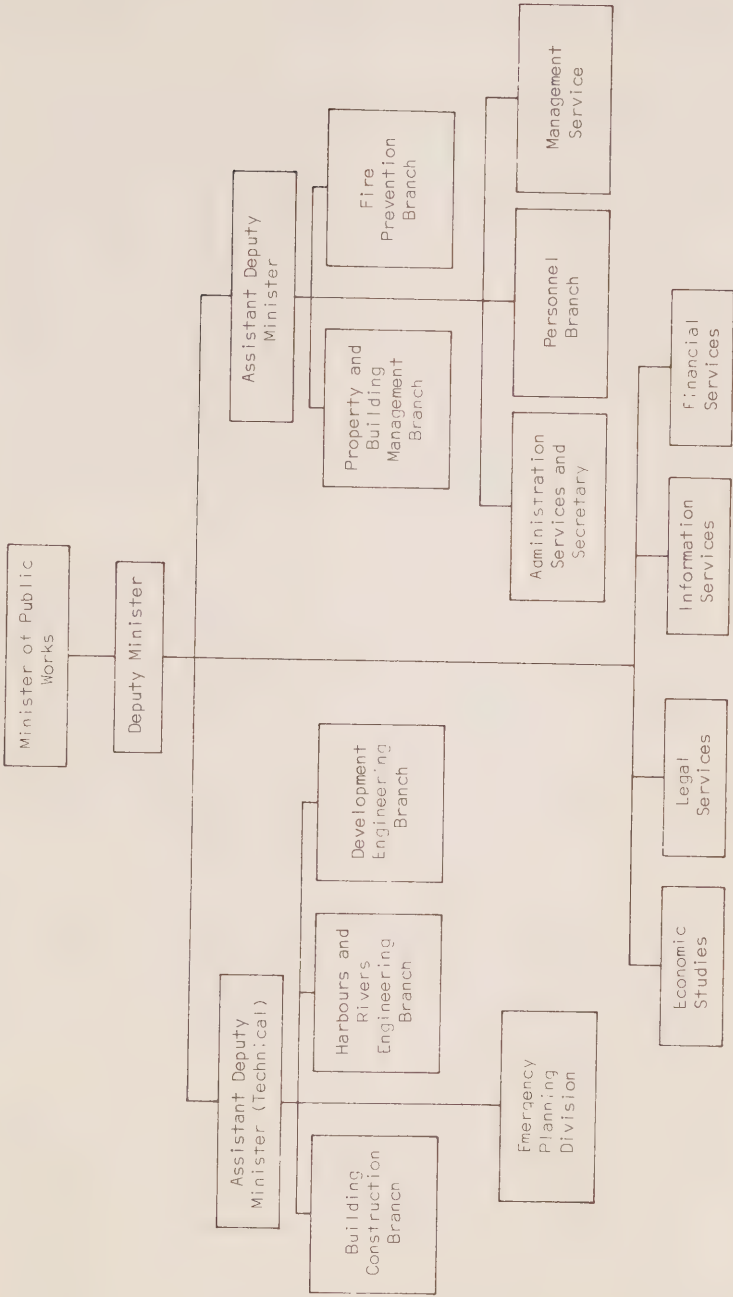
Each principal operating branch has a central staff as well as personnel in the field.

The Development Engineering branch is involved in two kinds of programmes. The first includes federal-provincial shared cost programmes where the provinces do the construction and the federal government shares the cost. Examples are the Trans-Canada Highway and the Roads to Resources programme. Second, there are the projects which the branch carries out directly. The construction of inter-provincial and international bridges, construction in the national parks, and the building of roads and bridges in the Northwest and Yukon Territories falls here. The branch has 10 district offices. Plans and specifications are prepared locally and then reviewed at headquarters in Ottawa, except for plans for bridges and parks which are done in Ottawa.

The Harbours and Rivers Engineering branch has two responsibilities: first, building and repairing marine works, harbours, wharves, breakwaters, protection works along navigable waterways, and other marine facilities; second, dredging main channels and harbours throughout Canada, except for the channels of the St. Lawrence Seaway which are under other jurisdictions. The field organization consists of 14 district engineering offices.

The Building Construction branch is the principal federal agency providing architectural, design, and engineering services to all government departments and agencies needing construction or alteration of buildings. It has a headquarters unit staffed by architects and engineers who define project requirements and exercise control over

Figure 3.6
Organization of the Department of Public Works (1965)



Source: *Organization of the Government of Canada.*

the field organization. Beneath the headquarters unit are 10 districts responsible for producing documents (plans and specifications), and for consulting and engineering services, and supervising construction contracts.

The Property and Building Management branch is organized to deal with the management, maintenance, and repair of buildings owned or rented by the government. Its chief concern is adequate accommodations—providing suitable working places for government employees. It does not manage all the property owned by the federal government; rather it concentrates on general purpose or office buildings. Other departments manage specialized buildings: for example, experimental farms are managed by the department of Agriculture, airports by the department of Transport. In addition, the branch is charged with the assembly and operation of a complete inventory of real property (land, buildings, engineering works) owned or leased by the federal government outside the defence sector. To perform these extensive activities the branch has about 6,000 employees, three-quarters of the total personnel in Public Works. They are located at headquarters and in five regions which, in turn, are broken down into district and area offices.

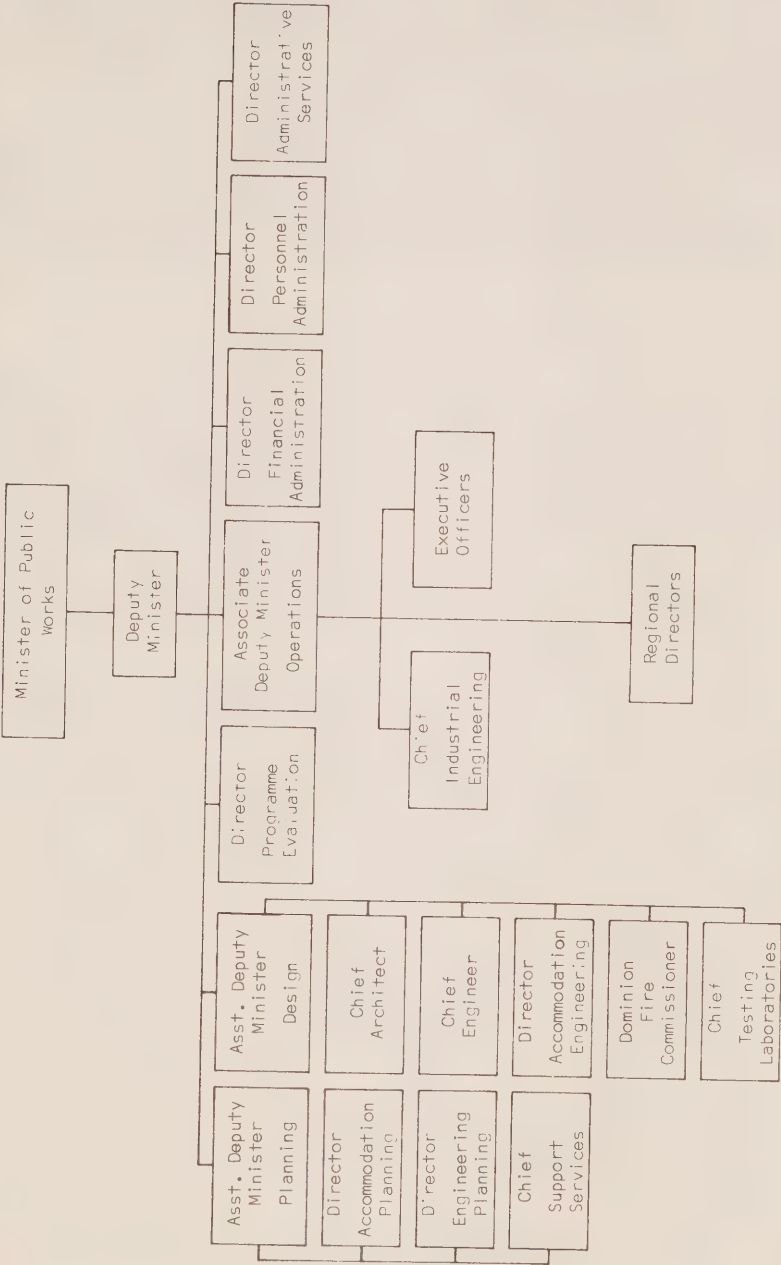
2. Organizational structure - 1970

The new proposals consolidate the trend toward increased authority for regional offices. The organization envisages headquarters groups with staff responsibility for policy, planning, design of all significant or complex buildings, design of bridges, establishment of design criteria for engineering or marine structures, and for fostering the most effective liaison and communication with client departments. The field organization will have the clear responsibility for all construction, design of small buildings, design of engineering structures and marine works, and the day-to-day management of buildings.⁹ The revised organization is outlined in Figure 3.7.

The key figure in the new plan is the associate deputy minister (operations). He directs the construction, property management, and certain design operations in the field in accordance with the overall operating plan approved by the deputy minister. The actual execution of programmes will be done by his six regional directors, one each in western Canada, the Prairies, Ontario, the national capital region, Quebec, and the Atlantic region.

Two assistant deputy ministers, one in charge of planning, the other of design, will head centralized staffs. The planning directorate will maintain effective liaison with other government departments and develop long- and short-term plans for all accommodation matters. The design directorate will concentrate a significant body of persons skilled in architectural and engineering design at headquarters. They will provide designing services for major or complex government buildings, roads, bridges, and marine structures.

Figure 3.7
Organisation of the department of Public Works - proposed for 1970



Source: Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co., "The Proposed Organization, Department of Public Works" (July, 1965).

A management committee will draw together the most senior people so that the co-ordination of the overall construction and maintenance programmes of the department can be accomplished. The deputy minister will act as chairman and the associate and assistant deputy ministers will attend along with certain other key personnel.

The proposed organization represents a significant change in the structural patterns of the department, with a corresponding major transfer of authority and duties to different or new organizational units. The department is now in the midst of this massive overhaul. The actual and proposed changes have already had repercussions on the careers of many personnel in Public Works.

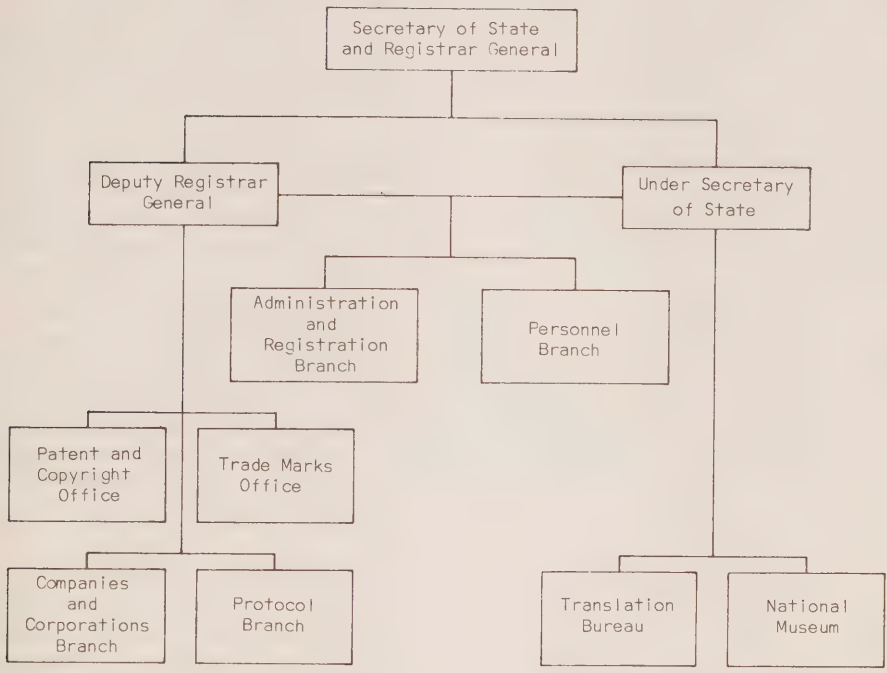
F. The Department of the Secretary of State

On October 1, 1966, the department of the Secretary of State was, in effect, split into two departments. That part of the department administered by the under secretary of State remained; the part under the deputy Registrar General (except for the Protocol branch) was amalgamated with several other units to form the department of the Registrar General, which later (December 21, 1967) formed the basis of the new department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. (Figure 3.8.) Since the Career Study was conducted before the split, we are able to report on organizational units which later became located at the centre of two departments.

The new department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs is concerned with combines, mergers, monopolies, and restraint of trade; patents, copyrights, and trade marks; bankruptcy and insolvency; and corporate affairs. It is clear that those units previously in the Secretary of State—Patent and Copyright Office, Trade Marks Office, Companies and Corporations branch—all fit squarely under the terms of reference of the new department. However, we will treat these units as if they were still part of the department of the Secretary of State. We could only speculate about the effect the transfer from one department to a newly-created one will have on these units.

The remaining part of the department, that controlled by the under secretary, contains the Translation Bureau and the National Museum. This is the "cultural" sector responsible for the study of the Canadian past and present and for assisting the communication of the interests and findings of one official language group to the other. The under secretary is also the intermediary between a cluster of other "cultural" agencies and Crown corporations and the Secretary of State, although he is not legally responsible for these but only their spokesman in the Cabinet and House of Commons. The bodies included here would be the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Gallery, the National Library, the Canada Council, the National Film Board, and several others.

Figure 3.8
Organization of the department of the Secretary of State (1965)



Source: *Organization of the Government of Canada* and documents provided by the department of the Secretary of State.

Concurrent with the separation from the department of the units under the deputy registrar general, there was a gain of new activities. Specifically, the responsibility for the promotion of citizenship, the supervision of elections, the conduct of State ceremonials and correspondence, and the custody of State records and documents fell upon the department of the Secretary of State. However, our study will focus on the Translation Bureau.

The segment headed by the deputy registrar general embraces 480 persons, of whom 400 are in the Patent and Copyright Office. The Trade Marks Office has a staff of between 50 and 55 while the Companies and Corporations branch has about 25 to 30 people. The two units under the under secretary of State—the Translation Bureau and the National Museum—contain respectively 420 and 165 persons. The two main parts of the Secretary of State share common administrative and personnel services.

The National Museum is engaged in the study of man and the world around him, with special emphasis on Canada. The Museum is a centre of learning, an institution to gather, preserve, and study collections of material and to make available the acquired knowledge to the people of Canada and the worldwide scientific community. The work of the Museum includes field studies, research in botany and zoology, enlargement of collections and establishment of new ones, preparation of research monographs and popular publications, and the arranging of exhibits and public lectures.

The National Museum has two main branches—the natural history branch (including the Zoology and Botany divisions) and the human history branch (including the Archaeology, Ethnology, and History divisions, the Canadian War Museum, and the National Aviation Museum, which will form the basis of the Museum of Science and Technology).

The Translation Bureau is strictly a service agency—one which would not exist if there were not two official languages in Canada. The Bureau translates upon request, into English, French, and a number of foreign languages, departmental and other reports and documents, bills, statutes, proceedings, debates, and correspondence for all departments of the Public Service, the Senate, the House of Commons, and various government agencies. Simultaneous interpretation of speeches made in the Senate and House of Commons is also the Bureau's responsibility.

The person in charge of the Bureau is known as the superintendent. The majority of those under him are dispersed throughout the Public Service. More than 20 divisions are located within various departments and agencies to carry out the translation chores of these organizations. Nearly 60 per cent of the personnel is in these divisions.

General translation is done in a central office in Ottawa and one in Montreal. These two offices work for agencies in which the Bureau does not maintain a unit, as well as on overload from departmental units. Also, they handle reports of the committees of the House of Commons. The Montreal office was set up because of the problem of recruiting competent translators to work in Ottawa. Thirty people work there on large blocks of text that have no urgent deadlines.

The largest unit under the deputy registrar general is the Patent and Copyright Office. It is headed by the Commissioner of Patents who administers the Patent Act, the Copyright Act, the Industrial Design and Union Label Act, and the Timber Marking Act. The consideration of a patent application entails a search of previous patents in order to judge the novelty of the invention. The statute provides for the grant of a 17-year exclusive right to the inventor (or his successor in title) in return for disclosing and making available to the public the product of his inventive talents. The Patent Office is divided into three main sections: mechanical, electrical, and chemical.

Persons can also apply to the office for a copyright that proves ownership of an original literary, dramatic, musical, or artistic

work. The copyright is in force during the life of the author and for a period of 50 years after his death. Under the Industrial Design and Union Label Act the office can approve the exclusive right to an industrial design for a period of five years, renewable for a further period of five years.

The Trade Marks Office receives applications for trade marks and after the novelty of the new trade mark is demonstrated, it can be registered. In 1964-65, 7,355 applications were filed and 4,824 were approved for registration. In addition, the office maintains a complete record of all trade marks registered under the Trade Marks Act and publishes the weekly *Trade Mark Journal*. The journal contains, among other things, notices of applications for trade marks in order to give interested parties an opportunity to oppose the application.

The Companies and Corporations branch issues letters patent that incorporate companies. The branch maintains a complete record of the names of all Canadian companies incorporated under or by federal and provincial statutes. Annually there are nearly 10,000 searches made of the records, of which half are to determine the availability of suggested corporate names and half are inquiries as to the existence of companies under specific names. The branch also maintains a registry of Chambers of Commerce.

The small Protocol branch is responsible for the planning of national ceremonies and visits to Canada of distinguished heads of State. The branch is also responsible for producing *The Guide to Relative Precedence at Ottawa* and "Relative Precedence of High Officials of the Public Service at Ottawa."

These, then, are the specialized units that are amalgamated to form two main sectors, one in the "cultural" field, the other in the legal field. As a result of specialization there is little, if any, circulation of personnel among the units or between the major sectors in the department of the Secretary of State.

G. The Environment of the Departments

Now we have portrayed the differing bureaucratic structures of the five departments. But although they vary in structure and operational goals, there is one constant factor they each confront: the government of Canada establishes their conditions of work. All persons within the federal administration are subject to demands and regulations concerning their work, laid down and enforced by the government or its agents. In recent years, this has included demands to increase the use of both official languages in the Public Service and to ensure more active participation of educated Francophones in the Service.

An increase in bilingualism is seen by the government as conferring benefits on two fronts. In the first place, it will guarantee service of equal quality to both language groups. Persons whose mother

tongue is French will be able to deal with the government and receive replies from it in the language with which they are most intimately acquainted. In the second place, an increased French atmosphere in the federal administration will attract what has until recently been an untapped human resource for the government, the educated Francophone Canadian. Both goals are regarded by federal political leaders as making the Public Service a more effective and efficient instrument.

How have the departments responded to these pressures? As one would suspect from their quite different organizational structures and goals, variability is the keynote. These variations will be dissected at a later stage of the inquiry.

A career is a sequence of related positions within either an occupational community, such as medicine or law, or a work organization, such as the Public Service or a large company.¹ The sequence is both socially recognized and, in the long run, persistent enough so that movement from position to position is relatively predictable. To undertake a career means that a person embarks on a recognized route through the work world, while at the same time acquiring a public identity and stable self-image. Individuals are socially identified by the career routes they follow: lawyer, policeman, barber, nurse, artist, and so on. By offering the prospects of both advancement and prestige, careers encourage extensive training and the pursuit of excellence. They also discourage deviation by their occupants from occupational or organizational rules and conventions. In this way careers provide meaning and continuity to personal life.

"Civil Service" obviously cannot be analyzed as a distinctive career, because federal departments contain a complex array of specialties and career patterns. It is possible to construct a seemingly endless list of the strange careers located there. A study of the Canadian Public Service must avoid these extremes. One approach taken here will be to rise above the departmental peculiarities and minor specialties to identify more abstract *career types* that cut across several departments.

A. Career Types

A career type contains persons with similar educational backgrounds who execute similar sorts of work activities. For instance, a recent study of the senior civilian employees of the federal service of the United States developed a threefold classification.² There are "Program Managers" who are "responsible for accomplishing a 'program' (or a distinguishable segment of a program) of direct service to the

public."³ Second, there are "Supporting Staff Managers" who "provide essential administrative and personal support to the presidential appointees or to career executives who serve as program managers."⁴ And, third, there are the "Professionals" who use their skills in law, economics, actuarial science, and physical or natural science to advise the government on problems and policies. The authors demonstrate that these represent three distinctive groups with differing work styles, responsibilities, and career patterns.

Since the Career Study focussed on personnel at the middle level, the categories suggested by this American study of senior officers are not directly relevant. Nevertheless, the approach is suggestive. Our study also attempted to place public servants into distinctive career types. In the first instance we identified three types. When this classification is used to present data, it is called "Career Type A." The schema brings together persons from several departments who have some important career characteristics in common.

1. Professional and scientific

These are careers based on the possession of specialized training at the university level. The scientists usually have one or more post-graduate degrees (M.A., Ph.D.) and are currently engaged in research. Agricultural researchers as well as several chemists, anthropologists, and economic researchers are included here. Professionals provide expert advice for their client, the government, based on their training in an established professional field. In the Career Study, lawyers, architects, engineers, veterinarians, and accountants are classed under the professional rubric.

Persons in these fields have a strong attachment to the discipline in which they received their training. They are interested in keeping abreast of developments in their field. In order to serve competently, they must maintain competence in their specialty.

2. Technical and semi-professional

These are careers in which individuals perform specialized tasks in an area related to one of the sciences or professions. Generally, they lack the university or other credentials that would permit them to obtain senior positions. In this category fall the computer specialists, draftsmen, technical support staff in Agriculture and Public Works, designers, home economists, and translators.

Again, most of these persons, like the professionals and scientists, have specialist knowledge about a complex biological or engineering process. It is on the basis of technical expertise that they build a career.

3. Administrative

This category encompasses the broad area of work in which the principal activity is the development of policy or the management of

operations, or both. Careers in this field usually require skill in developing ideas or in handling men. Administrators are typically generalists with a non-specialist university education (for example, history, commerce, economics, political science). The Finance Officers are in this category as well as a variety of personnel officers, public relations men, and senior administrators and planners. However, this group also includes a number of individuals performing relatively routine administration or paperwork.

These three larger groups can be subdivided into several others. One scheme that is used fairly frequently employs six career types; we refer to it as "Career Type B." The six are: scientists (the researchers in agriculture, economics, and social science), engineers from Public Works and the Patent Office, technicians (the technical staffs in Agriculture and Public Works), semi-professionals (accountants, computer specialists, veterinarians, and translators are the main groups), senior policy-makers (makers of departmental or national policy), and lower administrators (those processing tax returns who lack a university degree, agricultural inspectors, and others performing routine management or supervisory activities).

When pertinent, a fourth broad career type can be extracted from the tripartite scheme. These are persons who have trained and worked in a scientific, professional, technical, or semi-professional field but now have assumed administrative or supervisory roles. They no longer work solely in their special field; they have taken over the task of overseeing the work of others. We follow Dwaine Marvick in referring to these sorts of persons as "Hybrids".⁵ Their careers involve a blending of the work styles of the technical specialist and the administrative generalist. For some limited purposes, it will be interesting to see the characteristics or reactions of those who have risen out of a specialty into a management position. The fourfold scheme is referred to as "Career Type C."

B. Career Categories

In addition to examining the broad career types, it is imperative to look at certain career categories in their departmental settings. Each department contains one or a few specific types of careers whose style of work sets the tone for and whose incumbents dominate internal affairs in their department. Others in the department become subject to the intellectual standards and work practices of the dominant group.

This happens because individuals following a similar career come to share a common attitude about what matters in their work. Consciously or unwittingly, they impose on others definitions of the "proper" way of achieving departmental goals, and they often prescribe the goals themselves. Thus, a study of careers becomes a study of power relations.

Now we will treat the five departments in turn and identify both the dominant and the minor career specialties that are found within them. In the following tables showing the distribution of careers in the population and, where applicable, the random sample drawn from it for interviewing, there is no significant difference between population and sample. The chi-square test was used to assess the "goodness of fit" between sample and population. In no case did the sample differ beyond acceptable limits from the population. The test details are to be found in Appendix III.

1. Finance

The dominant career pattern in the Finance department is that leading from Finance Officer to Senior Officer. These posts made up about 80 per cent of the Anglophone sample and population. Only six Francophones at the required age and salary level were located, but five of the six were either Finance or Senior Officers.

Table 4.1

Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Finance

Career category	Anglophone sample	Anglophone population	Francophone population
Finance Officer	21	32	3
Senior Officer	2	6	2
Administrative Officer	4	8	0
Technical Officer	1	1	1
Accountant	0	1	0
Total	28	48	6

There are six grades of Finance Officers and two levels in the Senior Officer category. At the lower levels the Finance Officer is mainly involved in analyzing and preparing information on economic matters pertinent to the department's operations. The officer usually works alone or in a small group on a fact-finding project for his superiors. As he proceeds upwards in the department he is more likely to participate in dealings with other government bodies and perhaps spend some time abroad working with an international body.

The remaining Administrative and Technical Officers are located in two marginal units in the department: Guaranteed Loans and Municipal Grants. They carry out fairly low-powered administrative responsibilities in connection with several financial acts supervised by the department.

2. National Revenue

The key positions in the department are held by people following two types of professional careers: accountants and lawyers. As indicated below, the Assessors, who must have a chartered accountancy certificate, and the Counsels (lawyers) make up a sizable proportion of the personnel. However, a technical specialist—the computer expert—is rapidly gaining in importance. For instance, the one person listed in the sample as a Director attained this position at an early age because he was involved in the early planning of the Ottawa Data Centre. The professionals are nearly all located at the head office and therefore hold powerful posts at the centre of departmental activities.

Table 4.2

Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of National Revenue (Taxation division)

Career category	Anglophone sample	Anglophone population	Francophone population
Assessor	12	55	9
Taxation Officer	4	10	10
Computer Programmer	3	29	5
Director, Taxation	1	3	0
Administrative Officer	11	37	4
Special Investigator	1	9	2
Tax Counsel	1	2	2
Special Counsel	0	4	1
Other	0	5	0
Total	33	154	33

By contrast, the Taxation Officers are found in the Taxation Data Centre and Ottawa district office. Their main tasks are to audit income tax returns or to provide advice to the public and business firms about the filing of returns. A background in commerce at the university level is favoured for this job, but persons with an education as low as second year high school can gain entry. The Tax Officer career line can be ascended to a fairly high level but personnel are encouraged to get an accountancy certificate and move into the Assessor stream.

The Administrative Officers are spread throughout the three main parts of the Taxation Division in the Ottawa area. It is a "catch-all" classification that encompasses persons with fairly low education. Some of them are following careers similar to the Tax Officers while others are in general supervisory functions.

3. Agriculture

There are two major occupational groupings in Agriculture. One numerically dominant career pattern at headquarters in the national capital is the agricultural researcher: Research Officers and Research Directors. These two categories contributed about 52 to 54 per cent of the Anglophone sample and population, and 43 per cent of the Francophone population. Assisting the researchers in carrying out their investigations are Technical Officers, Technicians, and Chemists. A later chapter will be devoted to this research group.

The other important collection of careerists includes those that execute the service activities of the department: Veterinarians, Agricultural Commodity Officers, Home Economists. There are a few Veterinarians at head office but most are in the Hull area either doing meat inspection at Canada Packers or working in the Hull laboratory. The Hull lab contains persons with veterinary training who perform service activities, but many are conducting research. The Agricultural Commodity Officers at head office supervise those in the field who test animals and examine the feeds, seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides brought on the market. They also license and register those who ship produce. Their careers involve moving up through various levels of administrative responsibility. The Home Economists develop methods of food preparation and preservation, and disseminate their findings so that Canadian citizens can get greater use out of native foods.

Table 4.3

Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Agriculture

Career category	Anglophone sample	Anglophone population	Francophone population
Research Officer	18	139	12
Research Director	2	6	0
Technical Officer	5	16	1
Technician	2	5	2
Chemist	0	7	1
Veterinarian	0	11	5
Agricultural Commodity Officer	3	18	1
Home Economist	1	3	1
Economist	3	17	1
Public Information Officer	1	3	0
Personnel Administrator	0	5	1
Administrative Officer	0	21	2
Management Analyst	0	1	1
Draftsman	1	4	0
Engineer	0	6	0
Other	0	17	0
Total	37	279	28

The few remaining positions are in several head office career lines out of the mainstream of departmental activities. They work to provide expert advice about agricultural matters (Economists) or support services for the operating branches of the department (Information Officer, Personnel Administrator, Administrative Officer, Management Analyst, Draftsman, Engineer).

4. *Public Works*

Engineers and Architects dominate Public Works. They hold the key positions and their style of work and thought permeates the department. In conducting their projects they oversee a corps of Technical Officers and Draftsmen. The Technical Officers usually lack professional certification but they work on special aspects of engineering and building projects and design work under the supervision of a professional employee.

Table 4.4

Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of Public Works

Career category	Anglophone sample	Anglophone population	Francophone population
Engineer	13	52	9
Architect	5	18	0
Technical Officer	12	63	11
Draftsman	1	5	
Administrative Officer	1	10	4
Personnel Administrator	0	2	2
Information Officer	0	0	1
Economist	0	0	1
Other	0	16	0
Not given	0	7	0
Total	32	173	28

The small remaining collection of persons are mostly following careers in general administration as Personnel Administrators or Information Officers.

5. *Secretary of State*

There are two quite distinctive and dominant career routes in this department, one for Francophones and one for Anglophones. It is the only department of the five studied in which there were enough Francophones to call for the use of sampling techniques.

On the Francophone side, more than two-thirds are in careers as Translators or Interpreters. On the Anglophone side, two-thirds are in the Patent Office. Patent Examiners, who are mainly engineering

Table 4.5

Career categories of middle-level personnel in the department of the Secretary of State

Career category	Anglophone sample	Anglophone population	Francophone sample	Francophone population
Patent Examiner	27	76	7	10
Translator	3	7	21	37
Interpreter	0	1	2	4
Biologist	4	15	0	0
Technical Officer	2	6	0	1
Solicitor	1	2	1	1
Administrative Officer	1	3	1	2
Special Assistant	0	0	1	1
Other	0	4	0	1
Total	38	114	33	57

graduates, and Translators are each the subject of special chapters further on in the study.

Among the balance of the Francophones, about a fifth of the total are engineers in the Patent Office. The remaining few are administrators, either Administrative Officers or lawyers, one of whom is a special assistant to the minister.

The third of the Anglophones who are not Patent Examiners are carving out careers as Translators, social or natural scientists and curators in the Museum (classified as Biologists or Technical Officers), and departmental administrators.

6. Summary

These, then, are the major careers which dominate their respective departments. Consider the variety and range of the strategic careers in the five departments.

Finance:	Highly educated makers of economic policy
National Revenue:	Accountants, lawyers, and computer specialists
Agriculture:	Research scientists and technical experts who serve the agricultural industry
Public Works:	Engineers and architects
Secretary of State:	Translators, engineers (Patent Examiners), and culture specialists (museum curators, social scientists, historians).

To grasp the inner workings and practices of the various departments we will turn often to these influential careers and see how the feelings of those in these careers determine the ethos of their departments.

C. Representative Bureaucracy

The theory of representative bureaucracy as expressed by such writers as J. Donald Kingsley,⁶ Norton Long,⁷ and Paul P. Van Riper⁸ is that, the more the federal administration mirrors its containing society, the greater is its responsiveness to social needs and problems. As Van Riper phrases it:

. . .to be representative a bureaucracy must (1) consist of a reasonable cross-section of the body politic in terms of occupation, class, geography, and the like, and (2) must be in general tune with the ethos and attitudes of the society of which it is a part. . . .If we can maintain the ideal of representativeness in our civil service and maintain it consciously, we are more likely to control bureaucratic behavior at its source by a sort of internal thermostat. . . .All this is meant to suggest that the concept of representative bureaucracy offers one of the few positive approaches toward a new theory of administrative responsibility and perhaps even of public administration in general.⁹

This suggests that it is relevant to compare the composition of public bodies to the composition of the total population or labour force and thus assess the degree of "openness" and "responsiveness" of the public body. The theory underlines the fact that high intelligence is not the monopoly of any particular group in a society; since every group has a stock of able people, these people ought to be able to gain access to the upper ranks of the federal administration in numbers that reflect their group's proportion of the total population. At base, then, concern with representativeness reflects a concern about the degree of exclusiveness of the middle and elite level of the federal administration.

The representation of various groups can only be attained when a number of social conditions are present: 1) the members of the several groups must have equal access to an education of the right sort and duration to equip them for office; 2) properly trained persons from the various groups must have equal motivation and interest in seeking particular jobs; 3) recruiting procedures must be uniformly applied throughout the society; 4) willingness to undergo geographical movement, often between communities of quite different characters, must be evenly distributed among the groups; 5) the degree of adjustment required to fit into the work patterns must be roughly equivalent for all groups; and 6) the rate of advancement for persons with equivalent training but from different groups must be equal. It is rare, of course, when any or all of these conditions are met. Therefore, when a group is underrepresented it is important to determine the one or more conditions that do not pertain.

A study of the representative character of a bureaucracy leads, then, to a study of the social characteristics of the groups that are trying to gain access to the upper ranks of the system, and the type of reception they are receiving. In the Canadian federal

administration and its careers, educational background and recruitment procedures are important; there is a pressing need for persons with technical training and university degrees in engineering and in the physical and social sciences. Groups which have greater access to such education and training are also more likely to obtain jobs in the Public Service. But this is only one side of the process. It is also necessary to examine the experiences of those who have already joined. For, despite varying levels of availability, persons of many backgrounds do pursue careers in the federal bureaucracies; they are subject to formal rules and informal practices which assist some in advancing faster and farther than others. The collective fate of these various sorts of persons has important implications for the Canadian federal Public Service: it shows in part how effective the federal administration is in attracting and holding able men of various backgrounds and developing the full range of their talents. Furthermore, prospective participants learn, directly or indirectly, what happens to people like themselves; naturally, what they hear greatly influences their attitudes toward and availability for government employment. Thus, the past performance of the Canadian educational system, coupled with the current performance of the Canadian Public Service as recruiter and employer, accounts for much of the imbalance in representation.

Our focus here is more on the work experiences of Anglophones and Francophones in the federal administration than on Canadian education. It is important to consider whether those of comparable ability from both groups receive equal treatment in the federal administration. It is commonplace that persons at work are evaluated not only in terms of what they do and how they do it, but also by factors which may be irrelevant to job performance. Age, sex, and, especially in the federal Service, language or cultural background may colour judgement and block the careful assessment of ability.

These patterns of differential success are based first of all on the realities of group differences in training and skills; but they are also based on stereotypes which suggest who are considered suitable for what work and what status. To a certain extent the stereotypes merge with the realities of genuine group differences and even reinforce them. In this sense we speak of them as self-fulfilling, as contributing to the perpetuation of group differences. Thus, the stereotypes colour the whole conceptual environment of an organization or career. Various clues are provided by the stereotypes—clues which subtly affect the fates of persons of different backgrounds. The clues influence who gets encouraged, who ignored; who imbued with self-confidence and aggressiveness, who with reticence and alienation. The result is not simply that men of ability or potential ability are overlooked (though this frequently happens), but that the conceptual environment itself determines the nature of ability and identifies those who have it by giving different clues to different types of men.

By another avenue, we have found that the study of careers in organizations leads into a study of power relations. Not only do persons in some careers wield influence over those in different careers, but also, within a single career or organization, decisions are made as to what categories of persons are suitable for advancement. Those in the command posts in the division of labour can facilitate or veto the upward climb of various categories of persons. The present concern is with the extent to which Francophones have penetrated the departments, senior posts, and careers in the federal administration.

D. Francophone Presence

It is easy enough to show that the Francophones are underrepresented in the Public Service, and we shall do so in the next chapter. It is more relevant to determine the nature of the Francophone presence in the Service—that is, the relative concentration or absence of Francophones in various careers and departments. Figure 4.1 shows some findings from a survey of all departmental personnel,¹⁰ and indicates the Francophone presence in some of the larger governmental units in 1965. Unlike the Career Study, which considers current linguistic-cultural identity in defining a Francophone, the survey uses mother tongue: the language first used in childhood and still understood. Since it is probable that some persons of French mother tongue will have shifted into the English cultural world and not have been replaced by persons of English mother tongue who have developed allegiance to French culture, data on those of French mother tongue are likely an overestimate of Francophone presence. But even these "padded" findings show a generally low Francophone representation.

Of all departmental employees, 21.5 per cent are of French mother tongue: this is our baseline for determining presence. Organizations or careers with 21.5 per cent or more of their numbers of French mother tongue will be described as having a strong presence of Francophones. A deviation of up to 10 per cent below this level (between 11.5 and 21.4 per cent) will be considered as a medium presence. A deviation of 10 per cent or more below 21.5 (11.4 per cent or lower) is termed a weak presence. On first inspection it appears that 10 of the 20 units have a strong presence, and only one department has a weak presence. However, it is pertinent to note that the three departments with the lowest numbers of Francophones—Northern Affairs, Mines and Technical Surveys, Agriculture—all have heavy concentrations of personnel with engineering, technical, or scientific training; these are exactly the sort of people that the educational systems of French Canada have not been turning out in great numbers until recently.

Some interesting variations appear when we examine Francophone presence at low and high salary levels. Among those earning under \$10,000 per annum, 10 of the departments for which adequate results are available have a strong presence (Figure 4.2). By contrast, in

Figure 4.1

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies (1965)

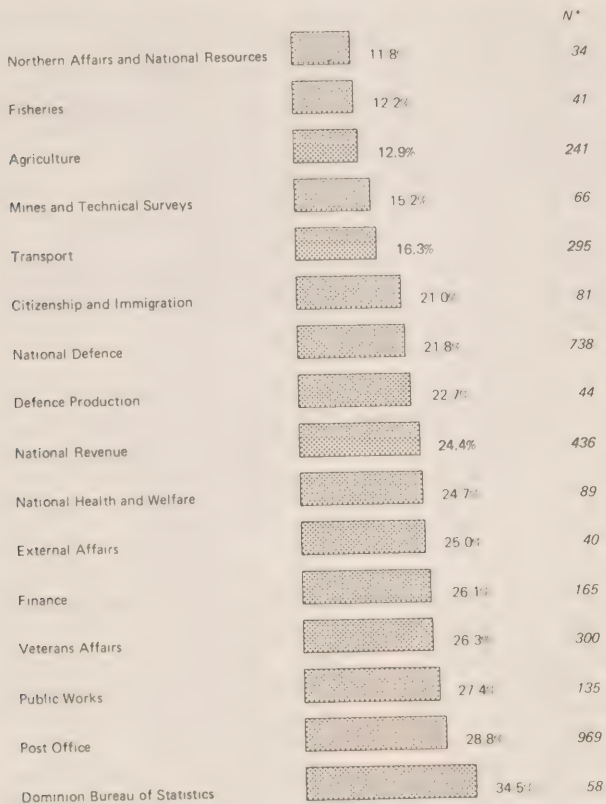


Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed from weighted bases. (See Appendix VI.)

Figure 4.2

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies who earn less than \$10,000 a year (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

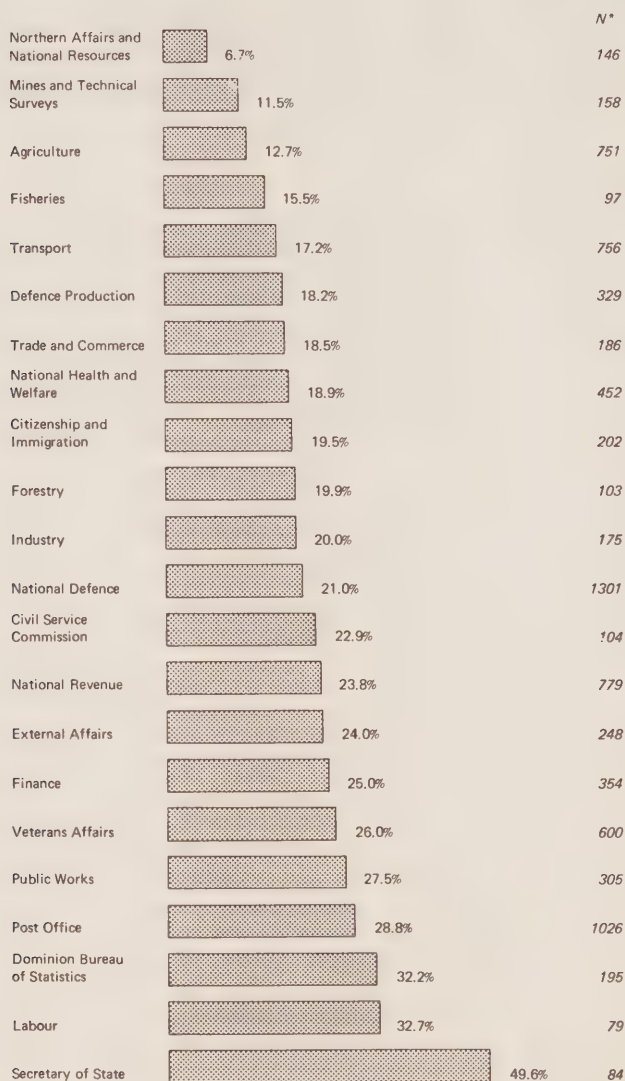
*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed from weighted bases. (See Appendix VI.)

the over-\$10,000-a-year level, only two of 22 units have a strong presence of Francophones (Figure 4.3). These two, the Post Office and the Secretary of State, are both service departments of limited national influence. These findings clearly demonstrate that Francophones are considerably more likely to be found in the lower than in the higher ranks of the departments.

A further look at Francophones at higher salary levels reveals that they are especially scarce in departments where research and policy development predominate: Fisheries, Mines and Technical Surveys, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, and Finance. Also, there is only

Figure 4.1

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed from weighted bases. (See Appendix VI.)

Figure 4.2

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various federal departments and agencies who earn less than \$10,000 a year (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed from weighted bases. (See Appendix VI.)

the over-\$10,000-a-year level, only two of 22 units have a strong presence of Francophones (Figure 4.3). These two, the Post Office and the Secretary of State, are both service departments of limited national influence. These findings clearly demonstrate that Francophones are considerably more likely to be found in the lower than in the higher ranks of the departments.

A further look at Francophones at higher salary levels reveals that they are especially scarce in departments where research and policy development predominate: Fisheries, Mines and Technical Surveys, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, and Finance. Also, there is only

Figure 4.4

Presence of employees of French mother tongue at two salary levels in various federal departments and agencies (1965)

Higher salary levels (\$10,000 or more)			
Lower salary levels (under \$10,000)	Strong presence (21.5 per cent or higher)	Medium presence (between 11.5 per cent and 21.4 per cent)	Weak presence (11.4 per cent or lower)
Strong presence (21.5 per cent or higher)	Post Office	External Affairs National Revenue Veterans Affairs Health and Welfare National Defence	Finance Public Works Dominion Bureau of Statistics Defence Production
Medium presence (between 11.5 and 21.4 per cent)	None	Citizenship and Immigration	Fisheries Northern Affairs Mines and Technical Surveys Transport Agriculture
Weak presence (11.4 per cent or lower)	None	None	None

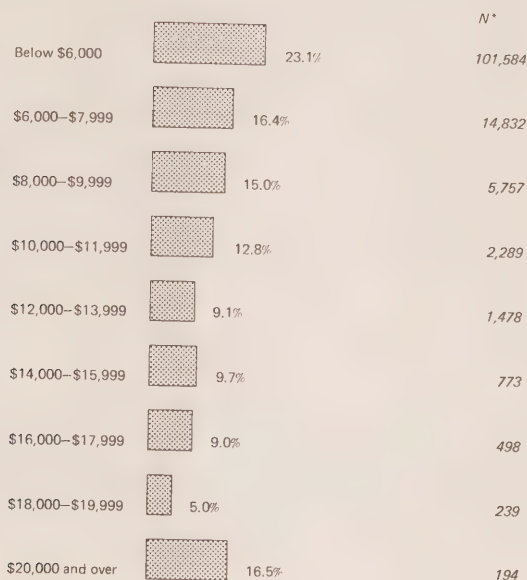
Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

careers (Figure 4.7).¹² Technical, semi-professional, and administrative careers generally have lower pay and prestige than the professional and scientific careers. In general, they are either directly serving professionals or scientists, or in some way facilitating their work. This means that in most work settings Francophones are involved in duties more peripheral to the main goals of the department than Anglophones.

At the middle level the distribution of Francophones varies markedly both between departments and within careers in a single department. It will be recalled that 920 persons fell within the established age and salary brackets in the five departments (*see* Table 1.1). Generally, Francophones have a medium presence here since only 152 persons (16.5 per cent) could be located at the middle level. But, at one extreme, the departments of Agriculture and Finance contain only 9 and 11 per cent respectively at the middle level. Public Works, with 14 per cent, and National Revenue (Taxation division), with 18 per cent, hold the middle ground. At the other extreme, a third of the middle-level personnel in the department of the Secretary of State

Figure 4.5

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue at various salary levels in the federal Public Service (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

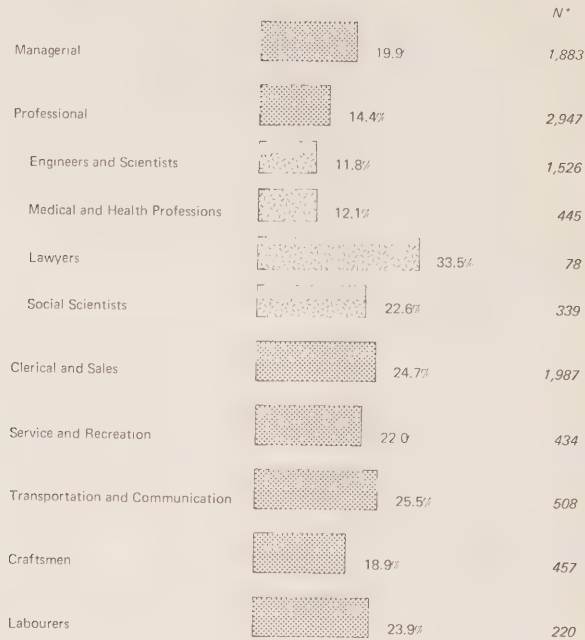
*Weighted case based (See Appendix VI.)

are designated as Francophones. However, the Francophones in State are located largely in one sector, not randomly distributed throughout the department. In the segment including the Translation Bureau and National Museum, 42 (55 per cent) of the total 76 persons are Francophones. Forty-one of the 42 are in the Translation Bureau, where they compose 82 per cent of the middle-level employees. That part of State under the Registrar General (Patent and Copyright Office, Companies and Corporations branch, Trade Marks Office) has but 12 per cent Francophone personnel. Hence, while Finance, Agriculture and the segment of State under the Registrar General are largely Anglophone preserves, Francophones dominate the Translation Bureau.

As well, in Public Works, 42 per cent of the Anglophones at the middle-level, but only 32 per cent of the Francophones, are professionals (either engineers or architects). It is the professionals who execute the main functions of the department and here Francophones are relatively less numerous. In National Revenue, 27 per cent of the Francophones but 36 per cent of the Anglophones are qualified Assessors (chartered accountants). Again, the Francophones are

Figure 4.6

Percentage of employees of French mother tongue in various career categories in the federal Public Service (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

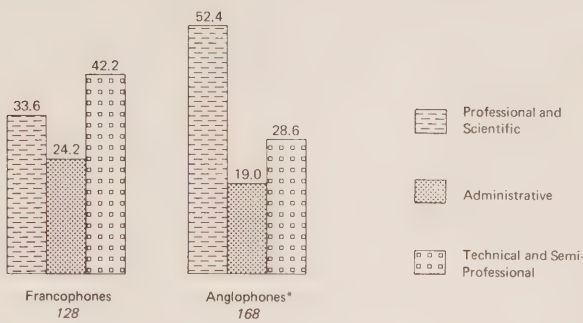
*These are the unweighted case bases. Percentages are computed on weighted bases. (See Appendix VI.)

relatively absent from these key posts. Finally, in Agriculture Francophones tend to be involved in administration or in providing veterinary inspection services. While the majority (52 per cent) of Anglophones are researchers, only 43 per cent of the Francophones are involved in the department's main research activities. This suggests that at the middle level, Francophones not only are concentrated in low-powered units providing services to the rest of the federal administration (Translation Bureau) or the public (National Revenue, Public Works), but also they are less likely to be in those careers which are at the vital centre of their departments.

E. Explaining the Francophone Presence

What is to explain the generally low level of Francophone participation at the middle and upper levels of the federal administration? Why is it that the few Francophones that are there are concentrated in departments or departmental sectors marginal to the active and

Figure 4.7
Career categories (career type A) of middle-level public servants (1965)



*The results for all Anglophones have been weighted in this and all subsequent figures and tables. By this we mean that the samples from large departments were given extra weight while the samples from small departments were devalued in arriving at a total for all Anglophones.

dynamic activities of the Public Service? In Section C of this chapter, we offered some initial general explanations of underrepresentation; now we apply these to the Francophone situation in the Service, but in a slightly different manner. Essentially, there seem to be two types of causal factors involved: those pertaining to the characteristics of the Francophone personnel who pursue careers in the Public Service, and those pertaining to the policies and essential features of the departments themselves. To be more specific, in the following pages we will emphasize and explore the following conditions that are related to the nature of Francophone representation at the middle and upper levels of the Public Service:

1. The character of the personnel:
 - a) the scarcity, until recently, of Francophones trained to work in scientific and technical fields;
 - b) the low attraction of a career in the federal administration to many Francophones from Quebec;
 - c) the reluctance of many Francophones from Quebec—even those positively disposed toward the central government—to move to the federal capital, an area which they felt lacked a French culture and which would not provide adequate schooling in French for their children;
 - d) the dependence for staffing the middle-level on Franco-Ontarians who, as a result of their minority position in the province of Ontario, come to the Public Service with limited educational resources and a readiness to work in an "English" setting;

2. The character of the organizations:

- a) the unilingual conception of efficiency and merit which grips the Service;
- b) the lack of any expression of the French language or culture in most of the administrative arrangements in the Public Service of the capital region, and a low interest in developments in French Canadian society among most Anglophone personnel;
- c) an increasing pressure to use the English language, and to do so with facility and an ability to express nuances, as one ascends the hierarchies in the Service;
- d) the difficulty of senior Anglophones in the centres of power and research in trusting and supervising those whose philosophy or style of work differs markedly from their own—a difficulty which leads to a reluctance to appoint or promote Francophones;
- e) the legacy of prejudice and discrimination against Francophones which was endemic in the Public Service before 1960 (and even now exists in muted form) and which blocked the movement of many persons aspiring to follow the career routes through the middle level;
- f) the necessity, in the face of a poorly developed career system for Francophones, to parachute into the upper level Francophones who had few qualities to recommend them apart from having political connections and being assimilated to English culture.

In stark outline these are the conditions explaining the pattern of Francophone federal participation that we will be considering. Each requires much more elaboration and the marshalling of supporting evidence. Presented in this form, however, they may serve as a useful guide to what follows. In the final chapter we will return to these factors again and attempt a synthesis.

The analysis will now take a chronological tack. It will treat in order the social origins and education of these careerists, their work experience outside the government, and the reasons they join the Public Service. Then we consider the Public Service as a work organization: its career ladders and the speed with which they are climbed by Francophones and Anglophones, the conceptions held by public servants of their workplace, and their satisfaction with their careers and the community—Ottawa-Hull—in which they live. In a final section we will assess how the recent emphasis on bilingualism has impinged on their careers.

Unlike the rather homogeneous elite of the Canadian federal Public Service, the middle-level is quite open and heterogeneous. It draws amply from a wide range of significant social categories in the Canadian mosaic—new and old-stock Canadians, the several regions of Canada, rural and urban areas, the various social class levels—all sectors, in fact, except the Francophone population of Canada. This, then, is the theme we explore in the present chapter.

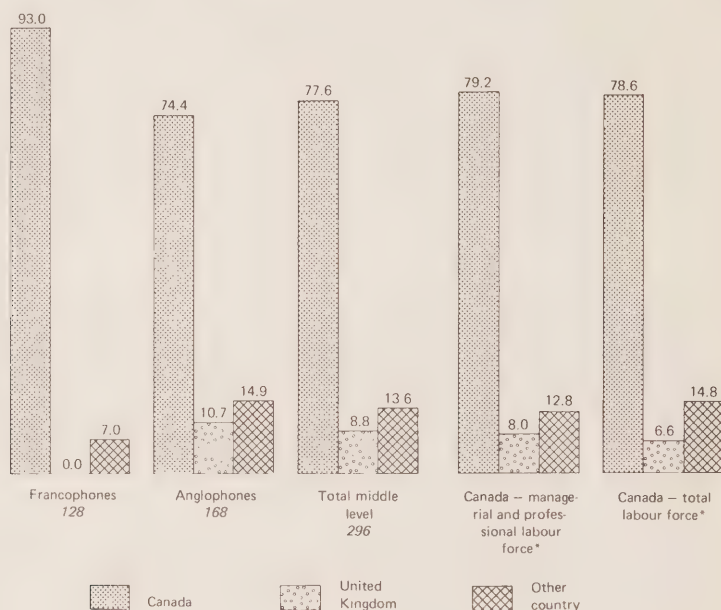
The question for the future is whether the diversity of the middle level will seep upwards into the elite. Indeed, there are pressures afoot to increase the openness of the elite, but the results so far are uncertain. For instance, there are certain mechanisms that protect elite exclusiveness. A subtle selective process sorts prospective elite members out from the rest of the sub-elite; the outcome is that only persons who possess traits favoured by the elite gain entry. One important device here is the crucial function of certain departments like Finance and External Affairs as "feeders" into the elite. In the chapter on the Finance Officer, the manner in which minority group members are subtly eased out of the running for elite positions is thoroughly considered. Here we wish only to demonstrate the dramatic contrast between the elite and the middle level.

A. Place of Birth and Geographic Origin

The middle level of the Public Service contains a substantial proportion of "new Canadians," persons born abroad who represent a "brain gain" for Canada. In this, it is in the same position as the labour force. In both the total labour force and the managerial and professional-technical labour force, slightly more than a fifth of the persons are born outside Canada (Figure 5.1). At the middle-level of the Public Service, about 22 per cent are born abroad.¹ Those born in the United Kingdom make the largest contribution: fully 9 per cent of *all* middle-level public servants were raised in that country.

Figure 5.1

Place of birth of middle-level Anglophone and Francophone federal public servants, of the total managerial and professional-technical labour force (1961) and total labour force (1961) in Canada



*Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

A different picture emerges when one compares Anglophone and Francophone public servants. Ninety-three per cent of the Francophones are born in Canada, but only 74 per cent of the Anglophones. Nearly 11 per cent of the Anglophones are born in the United Kingdom, and 15 per cent come from other foreign countries. Francophones are more homogeneous, but there is some infusion of non-French Canadian elements. It is apparent, then, that while the Anglophone group contains a sizable contingent of persons born abroad, such an extensive influx of new talent does not exist for the Francophones.

Of the public servants born in Canada, nine out of ten of the Francophones are from either Ontario or Quebec (Table 5.1): over 50 per cent of the Francophone middle level is from Quebec and 40 per cent from Ontario. This represents a decided overrepresentation of Franco-Ontarians, since less than 10 per cent of the total Francophone population resides in Ontario. The Anglophones at the middle level, on the other hand, contain a large corps (32 per cent) from western Canada. Like the Francophones, a majority of the Anglophones

Table 5.1

Province of birth of Canadian-born middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Place of birth				Total
		Atlantic provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Western Canada	
Francophones	119	5.0	51.3	39.5	4.2	100.0
Anglophones	125	12.0	6.4	50.4	31.2	100.0
Total middle level	244	10.5	15.3	48.5	25.7	100.0

come from the central provinces of Ontario and Quebec. However, unlike the Francophones, only 6 per cent were born in Quebec and 49 per cent were born in Ontario. The Quebec figure is not exceedingly low when one considers that only 6 to 7 per cent of Canadians of English mother tongue live in Quebec. There are relatively more Anglophones than Francophones drawn from the Atlantic provinces, but the proportion in both groups is quite small.

In comparing the regional origins of the public servants and the distribution of the general population, Porter found that only one region—Ontario—is overrepresented in the bureaucratic elite.² While the Prairie provinces are close to proportional representation, British Columbia, the Atlantic provinces, and Quebec are underrepresented. Quebec is the most underrepresented of all. Taking Career Study findings and the 1961 census, we find a slightly different pattern. Only one province—Quebec—is underrepresented but, again, Ontario is the only province overrepresented, with 34.2 per cent of the 1961 population but 48.5 per cent of the middle-level personnel. The Atlantic provinces and western Canada approach parity. The Atlantic provinces have 10.4 per cent of the population and 10.5 per cent of the public servants; the western provinces (British Columbia is included here also) share about 26 per cent of both the general population and the middle level. Quebec, again, is solidly underrepresented, with 28.8 per cent of the Canadian population but only 15.3 per cent of the middle-level public servants. Porter's comments about this situation in the elite would also seem to apply to the middle level: "The under-representation of Quebec can be considered an ethnic and educational factor rather than a regional one."³

It is commonplace that the highly trained and talented in industrial societies are likely to be mobile and that large-scale economic organizations, both public and private, encourage geographic movement. A mobile labour force is conducive to economic growth, permitting both easy expansion in one part of the country and the curtailment of production in another. Of course, it is also true that geographic

mobility has its costs, especially in terms of the disruption or even severing of ties with family and friends, and the difficulties of adjusting to strange environments.

With the widespread geographic mobility of the Canadian population, individuals may easily be born in one locality, yet come to maturity and perhaps form early attachments to another. We decided, therefore, that the most meaningful way to determine the geographic origins of public servants would be to consider place of family residence during the years of secondary education. Data of this kind on middle-level personnel now working in the Ottawa and Hull area indicate a sharp contrast between Anglophones and Francophones (Table 5.2). Among Anglophones, 18.5 per cent grew up in Ottawa-Hull and 52 per cent originated from points outside Ontario and Quebec, including 21 per cent from foreign countries. Among Francophones, the high proportion (43 per cent) from Ottawa and Hull is the most noteworthy fact. The narrow base of Francophone recruitment is even more striking when the numbers from the proximate French-speaking areas of Ontario are added to it, bringing the total to 51 per cent. In contrast, only 37 per cent originated from Montreal or other points in Quebec (outside Hull). These data suggest that the Public Service has a good deal of success in recruiting Anglophones from all over Canada and even the world for work in the capital, but the Francophones located in the middle reaches of government service are to a large extent natives of the capital region or its immediate environs.

Table 5.2

Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Geographic origin	Francophones	Anglophones	Total middle level
<i>N</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>296</i>
Ottawa and Hull	43.0	18.5	22.3
Rest of Ontario	7.8	23.2	20.6
Montreal	13.3	4.2	5.7
Rest of Quebec	23.4	1.8	5.4
Atlantic provinces	3.9	8.3	7.8
Western Canada	3.1	23.2	19.9
Foreign country	5.5	20.8	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is noteworthy that the capital region serves as a greater source of Francophone talent for those departments like Public Works (61 per cent from Ottawa and Hull) and National Revenue (58 per cent) where routine "housekeeping" functions predominate and where there are few work milieux in which either policy-planning or research predominates (Table 5.3). By contrast, Agriculture, which carries out important

Table 5.3
Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants in five selected departments (percentages)

Department	N	Geographic origin						Total
		Ottawa- Hull	Rest of Quebec	Rest of Ontario	Atlantic provinces	Western Canada	Foreign country	
<i>Anglophones</i>								
Finance	28	25.0	7.2	7.1	3.6	39.3	17.9	100.0
State	38	7.9	0.0	28.9	13.2	26.3	23.7	100.0
Agriculture	37	21.6	5.4	21.6	2.7	27.1	21.6	100.0
Public Works	32	12.5	12.5	21.9	12.5	9.4	31.2	100.0
National Revenue	33	24.2	3.0	27.4	12.1	24.2	9.1	100.0
<i>Francophones</i>								
Finance	6*		4	1		1		6
State	33	30.3	39.4	3.0	9.1	3.0	15.2	100.0
Agriculture	28	32.2	50.0	7.1	0.0	3.6	7.1	100.0
Public Works	28	60.7	25.0	3.6	7.1	3.6	0.0	100.0
National Revenue	33	57.5	27.3	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

*Base too small for tabulation.

scientific activities, draws half of its Francophone personnel from Quebec (excluding Hull). In terms of career types, only 21 per cent of Francophone professionals and scientists come from Ottawa and Hull, but 65 per cent of the administrators and 48 per cent of technical and semi-professionals do (Table 5.4). It is clear that the capital region trains few skilled Francophone scientists and professionals for government work. This reflects the limited French-language educational and cultural resources of Franco-Ontarian communities.⁴

Only 8 per cent of the Anglophone professionals and scientists, but 26 per cent of the administrators and 29 per cent of the technical and semi-professionals, come from the capital area. The rest of Ontario, apart from Ottawa, is the place of origin of a fifth of the professionals and scientists and 31 per cent of the technical and semi-professional personnel.

Western Canada is the place of origin of a large corps of Anglophones in certain departments and careers. Except for Public Works, a quarter or more in each department studied is from one of the western provinces (Table 5.3). Administrators more than the other two career types are drawn from here: nearly four in ten of them (38 per cent) are from western Canada compared to 23 per cent and 17 per cent among the professionals and scientists, and technicians and semi-professionals, respectively. One type of administrator—the Finance Officer—draws 44 per cent of his numbers from the West.

Table 5.4 indicates that those who grew up in foreign countries were disproportionately likely to be pursuing scientific and professional careers. In fact, 29 per cent of those in the Anglophone sample and an estimated 25 per cent of the total sample pursuing careers of this type are of foreign origin. This lends strong support to a point made by John Porter: because of the inadequacy of the professional, scientific, and technical training found in Canada, the country must rely heavily on the products of other countries. In this respect Canada is doubly fortunate. Not only does it reap the benefits of these highly trained immigrants, but it also manages to avoid the costly burden of educating them.⁵

B. Mother Tongue and Ethnic Descent

Mother tongue refers to the language that one first learned in childhood and still understands. Even though a person may conduct most of his current affairs in a language different from his original childhood tongue, his first language remains an integral part of his personal identity. It is a reference point from which he evaluates the course of his life history.

In this section we first review and then elaborate on some findings presented briefly in the previous chapter. In the total Canadian population and in the population group comparable in age (25 to 44 years old) to the public servants that are the focus of the Career

Table 5.4
Geographic origin of middle-level federal public servants in career type A (percentages)

Career Type A	N	Geographic origin					Total	
		Ottawa-Hull	Rest of Quebec	Rest of Ontario	Atlantic provinces	Western Canada		Foreign country
<i>Anglophones</i>								
Professional and scientific	84	8.3	4.8	21.4	14.3	22.6	28.6	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	28.6	7.2	31.0	0.0	16.6	16.6	100.0
Administrative	42	26.2	4.8	14.3	7.1	38.1	9.5	100.0
<i>Francophones</i>								
Professional and scientific	43	20.9	58.2	9.2	4.7	2.3	4.7	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	48.1	27.8	7.4	5.6	1.9	9.2	100.0
Administrative	31	64.5	22.5	6.5	0.0	6.5	0.0	100.0

Study, those of French mother tongue make up 28 per cent (Figure 5.2). If this is taken as a baseline, then those of French mother tongue are underrepresented in the Public Service, and especially at the middle level.⁶ Two studies of the total Public Service locate about 22 per cent of French mother tongue. At the middle level there are only 16 per cent.

Those of English mother tongue are solidly overrepresented in the Public Service, while the "third force" (those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English) nearly hold their own. While between 54 and 59 per cent of the larger populations are of English mother tongue, seven in 10 of the Public Service populations are so designated. Although members of the third force are underrepresented in the Public Service as a whole, they approach parity at the middle level. For instance, those whose mother tongue is a European language other than English or French (German, Dutch, Polish, etc.) make up about 10 to 11 per cent of both the population at large and the middle level of the federal administration.

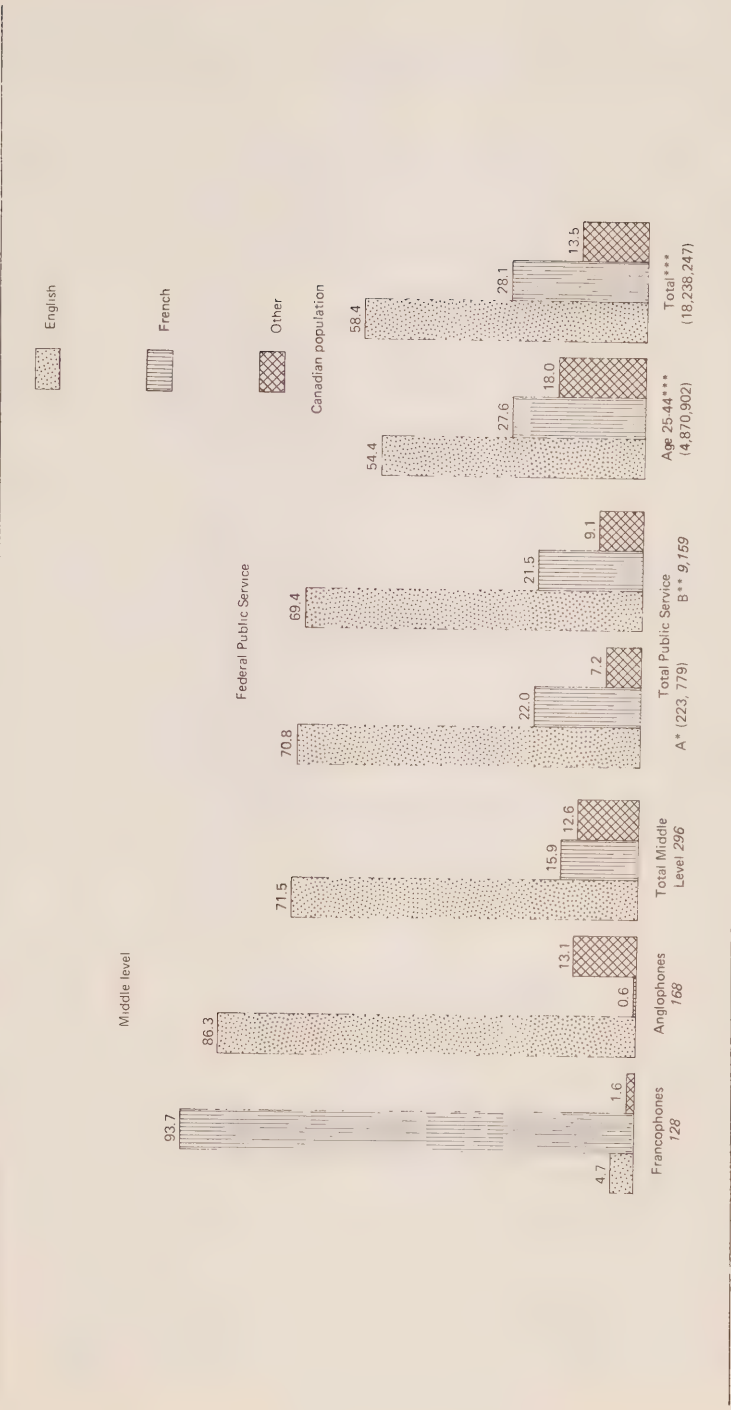
Turning to ethnic descent, the managerial-professional-technical labour force contains a greater preponderance of persons of British descent than does the total labour force (Figure 5.3). In turn, the middle level of the federal Service is even more British-dominated.

Although the non-French, non-British ethnic groups are generally underrepresented at the middle level, they are certainly more prominent there than in the elite. John Porter tells us: "Other ethnic groups in Canada, with the exception of Jews, are scarcely represented at all in the higher bureaucracy."⁷ At the middle level not only Jews but a variety of other ethnicities are present. While 2 per cent of the middle level are Jewish, 20 per cent are of ethnic backgrounds other than the dominant British and French or Jewish. This is one indication that the middle level has greater heterogeneity than the layer above it.

Again, the middle-level Anglophone group is more heterogeneous than the Francophone group in terms of mother tongue and ethnic descent (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Fourteen per cent of all Anglophones have a language other than English as their mother tongue, while 27 per cent are of non-British descent (including 10 per cent of Northwestern European origins, 6 per cent of Middle European or Slavic origins, and 2 per cent of Jewish origin). By contrast, only 6 per cent of those who currently identify themselves as Francophones have a mother tongue other than French, and 97 per cent of the Francophones are of French descent. There is but a meagre trickle of persons of non-French mother tongue or ethnic origin into the Francophone group.

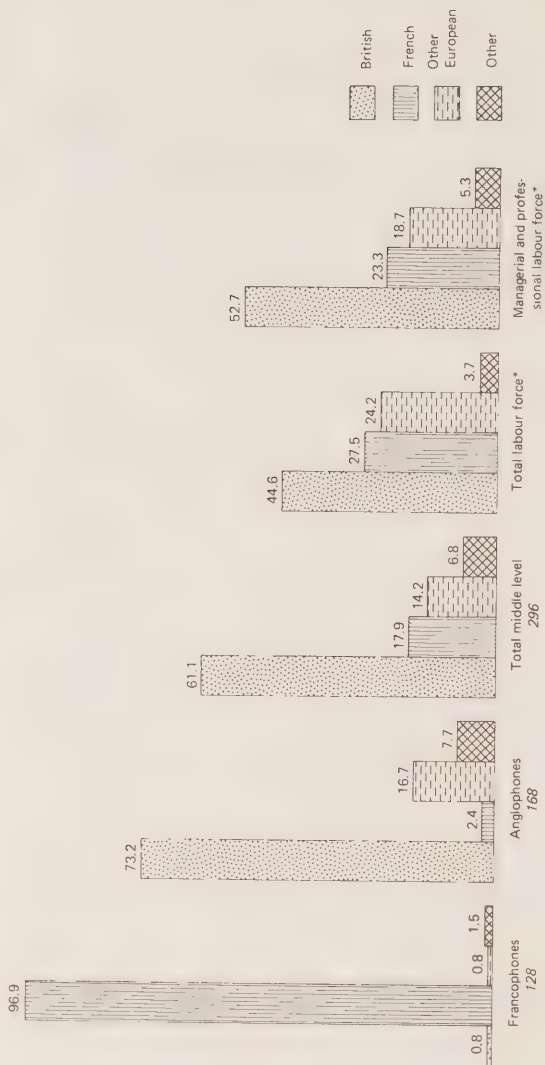
Particular career categories are either more attractive to or more readily accommodative of third-force Canadians (Table 5.5). This appears to be particularly true of engineering careers in the Patent Office and Public Works. More than a third of the Anglophone Patent Examiners first learned a European language other than English or French. On the other hand, certain career routes are travelled by no

Figure 5.2
Mother tongue of middle-level federal public servants, of the total federal Public Service, the Canadian population aged 25-44 (1961), and the total Canadian population (1961)



*Based on 1961 Census: W. Klein and D. Ledoux, *Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada (1961)*, Internal research report of the R.C.B.&B., 1965.
**Based on 1965 sample survey. Johnstone, Klein, Ledoux, *Public Service Survey*.
***Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-556.

Figure 5.3
Ethnic origin of middle-level federal public servants and of the managerial professional-technical labour force (1961) and the total labour force (1961) in Canada



*Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

Table 5.5
Percentage of employees of non-French, non-English mother tongue in selected career categories among middle-level public servants

Career category	N	Per cent European	Career category	N	Per cent European
Anglophone Finance Officer	23	4.3	Anglophone Agricultural Scientist	23	4.3
Anglophone Patent Examiner	27	37.0	Francophone Agricultural Scientist	13	7.6
Francophone Translator	23	0.0	Anglophone Revenue Professional	20	0.0
Anglophone Public Works Professional	18	11.0	Francophone Revenue Professional	18	0.0

one, or almost no one, of other than French or English mother tongue. This is the case among Anglophone Finance Officers, Francophone Translators, and the professionals from both linguistic groups in National Revenue (Accountants, Lawyers, Computer Specialists).

Among middle-level Francophones, the three broad career types are equally ethnically homogeneous (Figure 5.4). In each category those of French descent make up 96 per cent or more. The Anglophones show wider variation. Persons of British origin are generally dominant but their presence is least among professionals and scientists and greatest among administrators. As a corollary, the administrators have the lowest participation of persons of European (non-British, non-French) background of the three groups.

C. Rural-Urban and Social Class Background

We have determined the geographic origins of the middle-level personnel—that is, the area where they spent their teenage years. Now we report on whether they came from rural or urban environments. The places were categorized according to their size in 1941, when many of our respondents would have been in their teens.

It appears that the Anglophone officers were more likely than the Francophones to live in large cities during their teenage years. Eighteen per cent of the Francophones but 26 per cent of the Anglophones are from cities which had a population of over 250,000 in 1941 (Table 5.6). However, more than half the Francophones, but only a third of the Anglophones were raised in medium-sized cities (between 50,000 and 250,000). The high figure for Francophones is largely accounted for by heavy government recruitment from the Ottawa-Hull

Figure 5.4
Ethnic descent of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A

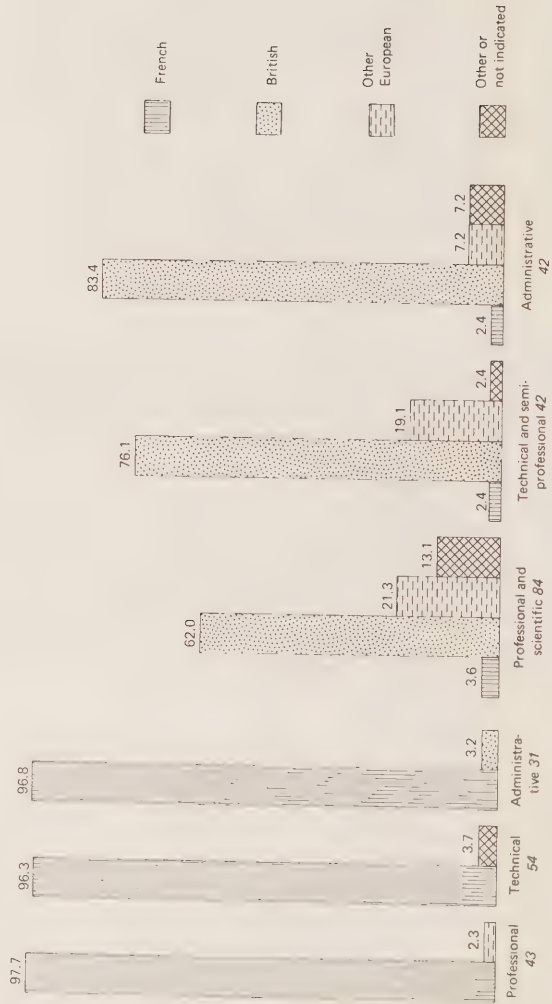


Table 5.6
Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Size of place of origin					Total
		Large city (250,000 or more)	Medium city (50,000-250,000)	Small city (10,000-50,000)	Town (2,500-10,000)	Village or rural	
Francophones	128	18.0	53.1	12.5	2.3	14.0	100.0
Anglophones	168	26.2	32.1	13.7	10.1	13.1	100.0
Total middle level	296	25.0	35.5	13.5	8.7	13.2	100.0

area. Thus, the Francophones are more "urbanized" than the Anglophones, if we take an urban environment to mean either a large or medium-sized city. Seven in 10 of the Francophones are from such settings, compared to six in 10 of the Anglophones. About 13 to 14 per cent of both language groups spent their early days in a small village or a rural area.

There is a strong similarity between the three Anglophone career types in terms of rural-urban origins (Figure 5.5). Among the Francophones, those in the professional-scientific category are more likely to have a rural origin than are those in the other two categories. As well, a smaller proportion of the administrators than those in the other types of careers are from large cities.

Looking at the careers which dominate their department, we find that certain ones contain a larger proportion of persons from urban or rural roots than others. About 44 per cent of the Anglophone professionals in Public Works and 35 per cent of the Anglophone Finance Officers are from large cities (Table 5.7). Conversely, 39 per cent of the Francophone scientists in Agriculture and 33 per cent of the Anglophone Patent Examiners are from rural areas or small towns. In two career categories—Francophone translators and Francophone professionals in National Revenue—the majority of persons in the field come from the same type of setting: medium-sized and small cities.

An attempt was also made to assess the class origins of the middle-level personnel. Social class is basically determined by examining the objective but changeable differences between persons. The most important differences are economic: a social class is a stratum consisting of families or individuals who share a common economic position as indicated by occupation, wealth, or the ownership of property. The differences are changeable in that social classes, unlike castes which are entered and fixed at birth, are relatively "open": a person or family can move up or down in class levels in the course of a generation. In the first instance, then, social classes are rooted in economic differences between persons. But economic differences become the basis of subjective awareness. Those in a social class share a definite life-style, are more likely to mix with others who share the same life-style, and develop a sense of who is like themselves, who superior, and who inferior. Whether or not class becomes subjectively experienced, the economic differences on which it rests affect a wide range of behaviour and attitudes. Certain lines of action are more likely to be available or blocked, and certain beliefs either affirmed or denied, depending on class position. It is this aspect of social class which is of interest here: we attempt to determine whether class origin has a significant bearing on gaining entry to the federal Public Service.

In the present analysis, social class background is measured by the occupation, income, and education of the respondent's father.⁸ Those of upper or upper-middle class origins include individuals whose fathers were in managerial or professional occupations, usually

Figure 5.5
Size of place of origin of middle-level federal public servants, by career Type A

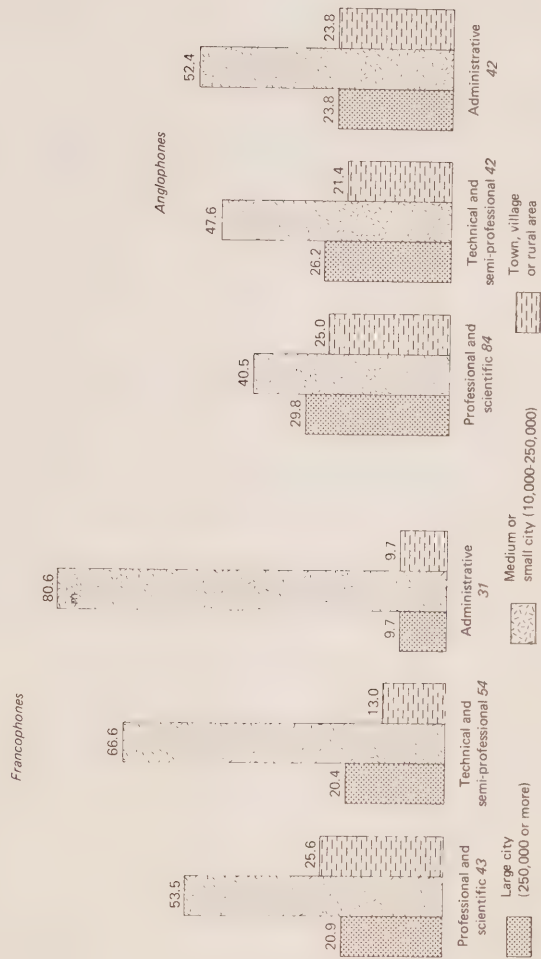


Table 5.7
Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level federal public servants, by career category
(percentages)

Career category	N	Size of place of origin				Total
		Large city (250,000)	Medium or small city (10,000- 250,000)	Town, village or rural	Not determined	
Anglophones						
Finance Officer	23	34.8	34.8	30.4	0.0	100.0
Patent Examiner	27	22.2	44.5	33.3	0.0	100.0
Public Works Professional	18	44.5	33.3	11.1	11.1	100.0
Agricultural Scientist	23	26.1	43.5	21.7	8.7	100.0
Revenue Professional	20	30.0	45.0	25.0	0.0	100.0
Francophones						
Translator	23	26.1	56.5	17.4	0.0	100.0
Agricultural Scientist	13	23.0	38.5	38.5	0.0	100.0
Revenue Professional	18	27.8	66.6	5.6	0.0	100.0

possessed a university degree, and received a high salary. The lower-middle class encompasses persons with fathers in "white-collar" work of a non-professional variety (for example, sales, clerking, low-level administration). Typically, these persons have some secondary school education and may even have completed high school, but they have not attended university. Those with a working-class background include those whose fathers were skilled or semi-skilled tradesmen, or industrial labourers. Public servants with a farm background had fathers who were farm owners or farm labourers. The distribution of Francophones and Anglophones among these four classes is shown in Figure 5.6.

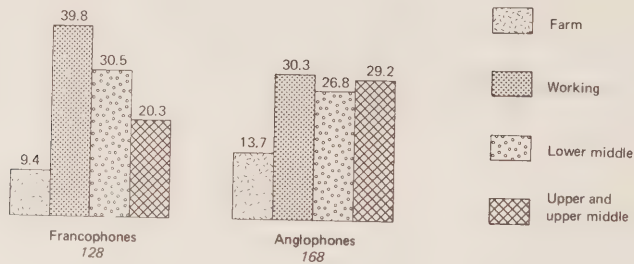
The Anglophone group contains a relatively higher proportion of persons of upper and upper-middle class backgrounds than does the Francophone group. This is not surprising, given the relatively recent industrialization and urbanization of the French-Canadian community. Especially noteworthy is the role of the Public Service as an avenue of upward mobility for many Canadians of both linguistic communities. It offers respectable "white-collar" positions to those from farming or working-class backgrounds: 49 per cent of the Francophones and 44 per cent of the Anglophones. Although these proportions are sizeable, we will see in a moment that they still reflect an unequal distribution of offices among the social classes. The figures do indicate, however, that the middle level is clearly not the sole preserve of a privileged group of officials drawn exclusively from the upper end of the class system. Furthermore, there is a rather low level of organizational inheritance: only about 15 per cent of both linguistic groups had a father employed by the federal Public Service.

When the linguistic groups are broken down into career types, we find that the professionals and scientists in both groups are more likely to be of upper or upper-middle class backgrounds than the other two career types (Figure 5.7). This tendency is especially marked among the Francophones. In fact, the proportion from the upper end of the class scale among Francophone professionals and scientists is as great as in any Anglophone category. This indicates that the overall linguistic difference pointed out above is chiefly to be accounted for by the lower origins of Francophone technical, sub-professional, and administrative employees.

Since entry to the middle and upper ranks increasingly requires the possession of university training, the composition of these ranks will reflect the unequal distribution of educational opportunities in Canadian society. As Porter⁹ and others have shown, given that a university education in Canada is still largely the privilege of a small, wealthy group at or near the top of the occupational scale, it is not surprising that the Public Service should draw heavily from the upper end of the class system. "The demand of technical competence has narrowed the recruiting base to that fragment of the population who are willing and financially able to go to university."¹⁰ However, despite a similar reliance on educated personnel at both the

Figure 5.6

Social class background of middle-level federal public servants



elite and middle levels, the elite seems to be more exclusive in terms of the educated persons it admits.

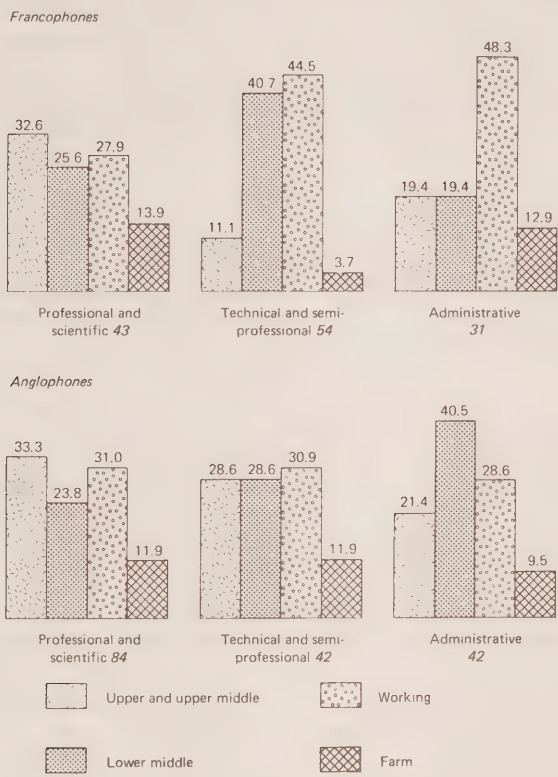
Porter indicates that the bureaucratic elite draws heavily from those of middle-class origins or higher. He found that, in 1953, 18.1 per cent came from upper-class backgrounds while 68.7 could be considered middle class.¹¹ Thus, those who had come from families in the middle or higher classes numbered 86.8 per cent of the bureaucratic elite. By contrast, background data on the middle level of the Public Service indicate that less than six in 10 are from middle- or upper-class origins. Even if the criteria used to identify the middle or higher classes differ slightly between the two studies—and they do not appear to do so—this is still a striking difference indicative of the greater openness of the middle level.

Even so, while those of working-class or farming origins constitute 45 per cent of the middle level, they probably make up about two-thirds of the Canadian labour force (those in skilled and semi-skilled, labouring, or agricultural occupations). Thus, while the middle level does not reflect the class distribution of the Canadian labour force, it is certainly more open to persons from lower strata than is the elite.

D. Religious Membership and Marital Status

Participation in a particular religion usually begins early in life. For the Francophone public servants at the middle level, this overwhelmingly means the Roman Catholic faith, in which 94 per cent claim membership (Table 5.8). On the Anglophone side, six out of 10 belong to one of the Protestant religions, but nearly a quarter are

Figure 5.7
Social class background of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A



Roman Catholic. Interestingly, 8.9 per cent of the Anglophones declare they are either agnostics or atheists, making this the largest group in the "other or not determined" category. Only one person among the Francophones (0.8 per cent) made such a declaration.

Compared to the total Canadian population, the Protestants and Jews are overrepresented while the Roman Catholics are underrepresented. While the Roman Catholics form 46 per cent of the total population, they contribute only 36 per cent to the segment of the federal Public Service under study. However, as we will see in a moment, this is not due to a general lack of Roman Catholics but rather to the absence of one specific type of Catholic—the French Catholic.

Table 5.8

Religious membership of middle-level federal public servants and the total Canadian population, 1961 (percentages)

Linguistic group	N	Religious membership				Total
		Roman Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Other or not determined	
Francophones	128	93.7	1.6	0.8	3.9	100.0
Anglophones	168	24.4	59.5	3.0	13.1	100.0
Total middle level	296	35.8	50.0	2.7	11.5	100.0
Total Canadian population* (18,238,249)		45.7	41.2	1.4	11.7	100.0

*Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-546.

A comparison of the religious membership of the bureaucratic elite and the middle-level is hampered by the fact that Porter lacked information about religious affiliation for 35 per cent of the elite.¹² The data on the remainder show 22.7 per cent belonging to the Roman Catholic church and 66.6 per cent belonging to various Protestant faiths: United Church (28.8 per cent), Anglican (22.7 per cent), Presbyterian (9.8 per cent), and Baptist (5.3 per cent). Porter compares these findings to the religious composition of the economic elite. "First, the nonconformist Protestant denominations replaced Anglicanism as the dominant faiths, and, secondly, the Roman Catholic church had a greater proportion of adherents in the bureaucratic than in the economic elite, although it was still very much under-represented when compared to the Catholic proportion of the general population."¹³ We could add that there are also relatively fewer Roman Catholics in the elite than there are at the middle level. The middle level contains a smaller proportion of Protestants and a larger proportion of Roman Catholics than the elite, proportions which more nearly reflect the distribution of religious membership in the Canadian population. Thus, the middle level shows greater religious variety than the elite; it is not as dominated by Protestantism as is the elite.

We would disagree with the emphasis of Porter's assertion that the Catholic underrepresentation "can probably be attributed to inadequate educational facilities and the lower social class base of Catholicism."¹⁴ More importantly, Catholic underrepresentation in the Public Service is accounted for by the scarcity of French Canadians, who are mostly Roman Catholics. In fact, a rough comparison between the proportion of middle-level Anglophones who are Roman

Catholic and the proportion of Catholics in the non-French Canadian (i.e. Anglophone) population at large shows no difference. In other words, Anglophone Catholics are adequately represented in the Public Service; it is the lack of Francophone Catholics that accounts for the overall underrepresentation of the Roman Catholic faith in the federal administration. The important thing is not that Catholics in general lack adequate educational facilities and come from low social origins—although this may be true— but rather that Francophone Catholics, for reasons that would include educational and class factors among others, have a considerably lower rate of participation in the Public Service.

Some work organizations attract or require single persons, while others are populated by settled, married people. The Public Service is of the latter variety (Table 5.9). Married persons account for 84 per cent of the Canadian population between 25 and 44 years of age but 90 per cent of the middle level. There is a larger proportion of single persons among the Francophones than among the Anglophones—15 per cent compared with 9 per cent.

An examination of those who are married shows that both linguistic groups have about the same proportion of childless marriages—9 to 11 per cent—but that the Francophones are more likely to have large families than the Anglophones (Table 5.10). While a third of the married Francophones have four or more children, only a fifth of the married Anglophones have families this large.

Table 5.9

Marital status of middle-level federal public servants and of the total Canadian population 25 to 44 years of age (percentages)

Linguistic group	N	Marital status			Total
		Single	Married	Widowed or divorced	
Francophones	128	14.8	84.4	0.8	100.0
Anglophones	168	8.9	90.5	0.6	100.0
Total middle level	296	9.8	89.5	0.7	100.0
Canadian population aged 25-44* (4,870,921)		14.4	84.2	1.4	100.0

*Census of Canada, 1961.

Table 5.10

Size of family (only those married) of middle-level federal public servants

Linguistic group	N	Size of family			Total
		No children	1-3 children	4 or more children	
Francophones	108	9.3	57.4	33.3	100.0
Anglophones	151	11.3	66.9	21.8	100.0

There are some quite marked differences between career types concerning marital status among the Francophones. More than a fifth (21 per cent) of the professional and scientific group are not married, compared with 15 per cent of the technical workers and 10 per cent of the administrators. But not only are the professionals and scientists less likely to be married, they also have smaller families (Figure 5.8). Among those that are married, about a fifth (21 per cent) have four or more children, compared with 30 per cent of the technical and semi-professional category and 54 per cent of the administrators. It would seem then that the overall larger size of French families is largely accounted for by the latter two career types, since Francophone professionals and scientists are as likely as the Anglophones to have smaller families.

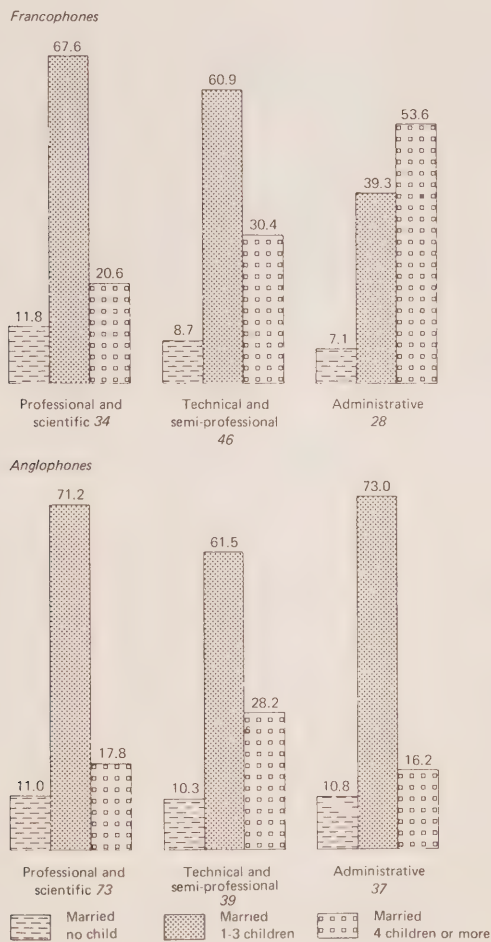
Among the Anglophones, those who are not married are fairly evenly distributed among the three career types. However, among the married Anglophones there is a tendency for technical and semi-professional employees to have larger families. In fact, the proportion with four or more children in this group exceeds the proportion among the Francophone professionals and scientists. Apparently, the familiar stereotype of large French-Canadian families is not supported by these findings. Career type and other factors seem to be more closely linked than linguistic or cultural identity to family size.

E. Education

With its emphasis on objective criteria for selecting and promoting its personnel, the Public Service makes much of education and training qualifications. In the future such qualifications will receive even more stress. As departments expand or take on new tasks and as organizational planning and rationality increase, educational qualifications, as against seniority, "practical" experience, or simple favouritism, will become even more crucial in determining an individual's fate.

How do Anglophone and Francophone public servants compare in the amount of education they possess? Findings for the total Public

Figure 5.8
Size of family (only those married) of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A



Service reveal that those of French mother tongue are relatively more numerous among those with low educational credentials. About a third of the Francophones but 46 per cent of the Anglophones had 12 years of schooling or more—the amount required for obtaining a secondary school diploma in most Canadian provinces. The Anglophones were relatively more numerous than the Francophones at every level from 11 years of education and upwards. Nineteen per cent of the Anglophones

have 14 or more years of schooling but only 11 per cent of the Francophones do so. Thus, it appears that the Francophones as a group contain a lower proportion of highly trained personnel than do the Anglophones in the Public Service (Table 5.11).

The upper levels of the federal Public Service, according to Porter, contain "what is probably the most highly trained group of people to be found anywhere in Canada."¹⁵ Among the 202 elite members (out of 243) for whom information was available, 78.7 per cent had university degrees; of those with degrees, 55 per cent had a higher degree (a degree beyond the "bachelors" or first degree level).¹⁶ Also, nearly one in five (18.3 per cent) had taught in a university. Thus, the higher bureaucracy has about it the atmosphere of academe. "A medal from a learned society, an important article, a brief on some important economic, social, or scientific question enhances the individual's reputation within the system. In the departmental committee and at the less formal luncheon or social evening where ideas are put into circulation by some and evaluated by others, individuals become assessed on their intellectual abilities."¹⁷ This commitment to education and intellectual pursuits is a distinctive feature of the bureaucratic elite.

It is not surprising that although the level of education at the middle level is high, it is not as high as in the elite. Overall,

Table 5.11

Years of formal schooling among departmental public servants of French and English mother tongue (1965)

Years of formal schooling	Per cent in each category		Cumulative per cent	
	English	French	English	French
18 years or more	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.2
17 years	3.1	1.5	7.4	5.7
16 years	3.2	1.3	10.6	7.0
15 years	3.3	1.9	13.9	8.9
14 years	4.7	2.5	18.6	11.4
13 years	7.9	6.1	26.5	17.5
12 years	19.5	16.2	46.0	33.7
11 years	18.8	17.3	64.8	51.0
9 or 10 years	24.0	29.3	88.8	80.3
8 years or less	11.2	19.7	100.0	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0		
N*	6,829	1,473		

Source: Johnstone, Klein, and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

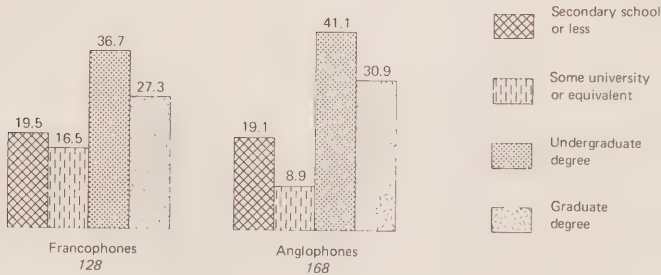
*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed on weighted bases.

about 71 per cent have university degrees compared to 79 per cent in the elite. And this comparison favours the middle level since it is more than 10 years ago (1953) that the data on the senior levels were obtained. We can assume that the level of education in the elite has risen in the interim, so the gap is probably wider than these figures suggest.

One gauge of the high level of education at the middle level is to compare it with the managerial and professional-technical labour force. Here, 20 per cent possess university degrees. As we have seen, the educational level is more than three times greater in the middle stratum of the Public Service.

There is a difference in level of education between the two linguistic groups at the middle level (Figure 5.9): only 64 per cent of the Francophones but 72 per cent of the Anglophones possess such degrees. As in the total Public Service, the Anglophones bring better educational credentials to their work.

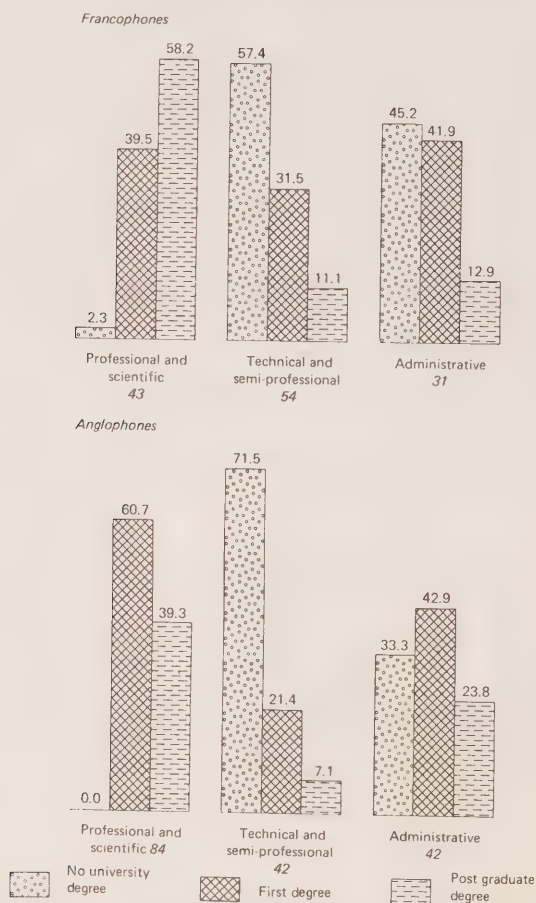
Figure 5.9
Last level of education attained by middle-level federal public servants



It is easier for individuals without a university degree to reach the middle level in the large service-oriented departments (National Revenue, Public Works) than in the others. In National Revenue, 66.7 per cent of the Anglophones and 51.5 per cent of the Francophones lack university degrees; in Public Works, 31 per cent of the Anglophones and 43 per cent of the Francophones do not have degrees. Those without degrees are considerably less prominent in other departments. Among the Anglophones in Finance and State, 10 per cent or fewer are without degrees. In the department of Agriculture, 16 per cent of Anglophones and 18 per cent of Francophones lack university credentials. It is clear, then, that certain departments—those charged with policy, research, or engineering tasks—have a markedly higher level of education than those in which routine administration predominates.

Figure 5.10

Level of education of middle-level federal public servants, by career type A



When the linguistic groups are divided into career types, it is obvious that the professionals and scientists have the highest level of training (Figure 5.10). On the other hand, a majority of the technical and semi-professional personnel in both linguistic groups lack university degrees.

Perhaps the most arresting finding concerns the difference in level of education between natives of the Ottawa-Hull area and those from elsewhere (Table 5.12). The majority of Francophones from the capital region have not obtained a university degree. There are two main

Table 5.12
Level of education of middle-level federal public servants, by
geographic origin (percentages)

		Level of education			
Geographic origin	N	Some university or less	First university degree	Post-graduate degree	Total
<i>Anglophones</i>					
Ottawa-Hull	30	53.4	33.3	13.3	100.0
Rest of Quebec	9	33.3	33.3	33.3	99.9
Rest of Ontario	37	32.4	35.2	32.4	100.0
Atlantic provinces	15	13.3	73.4	13.3	100.0
Western Canada	42	14.3	57.1	28.6	100.0
Foreign country	35	14.3	48.6	37.1	100.0
<i>Francophones</i>					
Ottawa-Hull	55	50.9	40.0	9.1	100.0
Rest of Quebec	47	17.0	34.0	49.0	100.0
Rest of Ontario	10	40.0	40.0	20.0	100.0
Rest of Canada*	9	3	4	2	
Foreign*	7	3	1	3	

*Base too small for percentage tabulation.

reasons for this: the high dropout rate of Francophones from the primary and secondary school systems in the Ottawa-Hull area (to be discussed at greater length in a moment) and their easier access to government jobs not requiring a university degree. Francophones in the Ottawa-Hull area have a comparative advantage over their brethren from further afield in hearing about federal positions for which a university degree is not a prerequisite. Such positions are rarely advertised in centres distant from the capital. The main recruiting in Quebec is for degree-holders, so it is not surprising that among those from the province of Quebec, eight out of 10 possess degrees. But it should also be mentioned that Francophones in Quebec have readier access and easier adjustment to local educational institutions than do the Franco-Ontarians.

On the Anglophone side we also find a high proportion of individuals without university degrees among those who grew up in the capital. Obviously, knowledge about and access to posts where a university degree is not a prerequisite are greater for the local residents, both Anglophones and Francophones. Those Anglophones raised in areas distant from Ottawa contain in their ranks considerably larger proportions with university degrees.

Now we consider the types of educational routes which the two linguistic groups follow. Since the educational routes provided for Francophones and Anglophones are quite different, it can be expected that those who pass through them will emerge with differing aspirations and attitudes. Table 5.13 indicates the contrasts in educational experiences at the secondary school level.

Table 5.13

Type of secondary school attended by middle-level federal public servants

Francophones (128)		Anglophones (168)	
Type of School	Per cent attending	Type of School	Per cent attending
Classical college	32.8	English public school (outside Quebec)	72.0
French private school	23.4	English private school	7.7
French public school (in Quebec)	18.0	English separate school (in Quebec or English Catholic outside)	7.1
French separate school (publicly supported outside Quebec)	6.3	French system	0.0
English system	13.4	Other not indicated	13.2
Other or not indicated	6.1		
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

On the Francophone side there is diversity in the educational systems followed. Nearly a third of the Francophones are graduates of classical colleges, which are run by the religious orders and concentrate their training in the humanities and liberal arts. More than a fifth (23 per cent) attended private schools. Only 24 per cent received a public education in French, and 13 per cent went through the English-language system. There is less educational diversity among Anglophones. Seven in 10 (72 per cent) attended the English public school system. Only a handful (8 per cent) have gone through private schools such as Upper Canada College, Ridley College, or Trinity College School. None of the Anglophones received a considerable portion of their secondary education at French-language schools.

The impact of these several educational channels can be partially seen by examining the careers which their graduates entered. For the Anglophones the effects seem to be minimal. Those of public- and private-school backgrounds are fairly evenly spread among the three career types, except that a larger proportion of administrators had public-school backgrounds than public servants in the other two categories (Table 5.14). There is a stronger impact of educational

Table 5.14

Type of secondary school attended by middle-level Anglophone federal public servants, by career type A

Career type A	N	Type of school			
		English public	English private	Other*	Total
Professional and scientific	84	71.4	9.5	19.1	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	71.4	11.9	16.7	100.0
Administrative	42	78.6	4.8	16.7	100.0
Total Anglophone middle level	168	72.0	7.7	20.3	100.0

*Includes those who attended English technical or separate schools, some "other" school, or for whom relevant information is not available.

stream on career choice among the Francophones. Those from classical colleges are overrepresented in the professional-scientific category (Table 5.15). This is not surprising since a degree granted by a classical college was 10 or 15 years ago a prerequisite for entering a French university. Both the other two career types drew more heavily from the private-school system. A substantial percentage—23 per cent—of administrators are products of the English-language system; with a French background and English schooling, they would undoubtedly have bilingual skills that would be important for supervising employees. In fact, it is likely that the bilingual skill was instrumental in obtaining an administrative position.

What of the substance and quality of the education received by Francophones and Anglophones at the middle level? Earlier we reported that Anglophones have a slightly higher level of education than do Francophones (Figure 5.9). Further differences exist in educational specialization. As Figure 5.11 reveals, 72 per cent of Anglophones but only 40 per cent of Francophones who have gone to college or university have specialized in science or engineering. Francophones are more likely to have university training in arts, commerce, or law. This suggests one of the major reasons behind a later finding that Anglophones receive larger remunerations on the average than do Francophones. In the federal administration, as in most large-scale, modern organizations, graduates in science and engineering command higher salaries than those in most other fields.

The educational situation at the middle level mirrors the output of Canadian universities. English-language universities grant a much larger proportion of their degrees in science fields than French-language universities.¹⁸ Thirty-three per cent of all bachelor and

Table 5.15

Type of secondary school attended by middle-level Francophone federal public servants, by career type A

Career type A	N	Type of school				Total
		Classical college	French private	English system	Other*	
Professional and scientific	43	44.2	11.6	11.6	32.6	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	25.9	29.6	9.3	35.2	100.0
Administrative	31	29.0	29.0	22.6	19.4	100.0
Total Francophone middle level	128	32.8	23.4	13.3	30.5	100.0

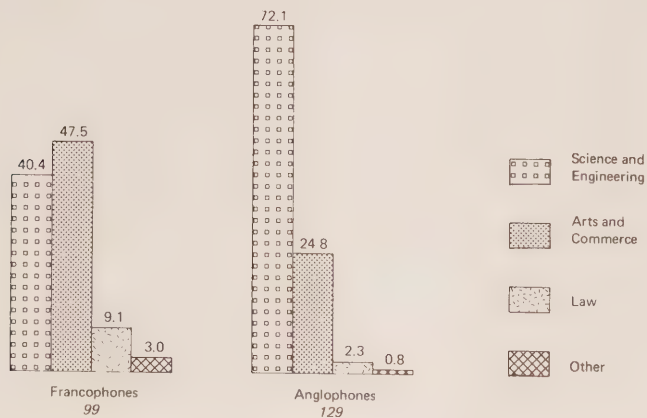
*Includes those who attended French public, technical, or separate schools, those from some "other" system, and those for whom relevant information is not available.

first professional degrees granted by English-language institutions during 1962-5 were in natural sciences, compared to 15.3 per cent of degrees from French-language institutions¹⁹ during the same period.²⁰

Information provided about the bureaucratic elite reveals that those with science and engineering backgrounds are not so dominant as they are at the middle level. Members of the elite with specialized university training are fairly evenly distributed between the three areas of science and engineering, law, and the social sciences.²¹ Of the 159 with degrees, 26.4 per cent had science or engineering degrees, 25.2 per cent law degrees, and 23.9 per cent a degree in one of the social sciences. The remaining 24.5 per cent had either general arts degrees or a specialty that could not be determined. Law, in particular, is not as prominent at the middle level as it is in the elite.

Another way of determining differences in the nature of the education obtained by Francophones and Anglophones is to examine the "prestige" of the universities they attended. For instance, in English Canada it is often argued, and sometimes demonstrated, that the top levels of business enterprises, universities, or the federal Public Service are the preserve of persons drawn from a short list of prestigious universities in Canada (Toronto, Queen's, McGill), the United States (the "Ivy League"), or England (Oxford and Cambridge). This is certainly not the state of affairs at the middle level of the Public Service, as Table 5.16 suggests. Four in 10 of the Anglophones are from non-prestigious English-language universities in Canada, and about the same proportion of Francophones are educated in non-prestigious French-Canadian universities. On the other hand, just over a quarter (26 per cent) of the Anglophones and—surprisingly

Figure 5.11
Type of educational specialization of middle-level federal public servants*



*Excludes those who have no university degree.

11 per cent of the Francophones went to one of the leading English-Canadian universities (Toronto, Queens, McGill). A fifth (22 per cent) of the university-educated Francophones come from one of the two major French-Canadian universities, Université de Montréal or université Laval. A prestigious American or European centre figures in the university background of 7 per cent of the Francophones and 13 per cent of the Anglophones. In short, half or more of both the Francophones and Anglophones with university experience have attended non-prestigious institutions either in Canada or abroad. This suggests that the Public Service is an especially congenial workplace for those who do not come from "name" universities.

English-language universities have in the past placed more stress on the scientific and technological fields, thus producing a larger proportion of graduates with such training. Until recently these fields were relatively neglected in French-language or bilingual universities. The impact of the reforms launched in Quebec's higher education after 1960 came too late for the Francophones in the Career Study, most of whom obtained their higher education during the 1940's and 1950's. Many of these Francophones acknowledge the weakness and gave this as their reason for seeking training in science or engineering at English-language universities in Canada or the United States. Those that did so appear to have done better in both salary and promotions than those who completed all their university education in French-language institutions.²²

Table 5.16

Prestige of the universities attended by middle-level federal public servants

Prestige of university	Linguistic group	
	Francophones*	Anglophones*
Prestigious English Canadian (Toronto, Queens, McGill)	11.4	26.4
Other English Canadian	14.8	41.6
Prestigious French Canadian (Montréal, Laval)	21.6	0.0
Other French Canadian	38.6	0.8
Prestigious American (Ivy League, Chicago)	1.1	4.0
Prestigious European (Oxford, Cambridge, Sorbonne, Bordeaux, Strasbourg)	5.7	8.8
Other foreign	6.8	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	88	125

*Includes only those who attended university for more than 2 years.

The weakness of French-language scientific and technical training is one factor detrimental to Francophone advancement in the Public Service; so, it would appear, is the inadequacy of primary and secondary schooling for Francophones in Ottawa and other French-speaking parts of Ontario, if not in nearly all regions in Canada outside Quebec. For instance, in the Ontario secondary school system (including public, private, and separate schools) only 23.1 per cent of Francophone students who entered Grade IX continued in school for five years.²³ Among the Anglophones, the percentage retained is twice as large—46.6 per cent managed to stay in high school for five years. In Ottawa, the Francophone group fared less well than in the province as a whole, while the Anglophones did markedly better. Fifth-year enrolment for the Francophones was 20.0 per cent of the original enrolment, while 55.6 per cent of the Anglophone Grade IX entrants were still there five years later. As well, less than 2 per cent of the original French-language group received an honour graduation diploma—that is, they completed the five-year secondary school course in five years—while 15.5 per cent of the English-language group did so.²⁴ The relative differences between language groups in Ontario as a whole and in Ottawa were consistent at all occupational

levels. Among those whose fathers were "professionals" or "executives," and also among those of "farm" backgrounds, the proportion of Anglophones staying in secondary school for five years was consistently twice as high as the proportion of Francophones. Since the federal administration relies so heavily on Franco-Ontarian recruitment, the upshot is that the Public Service contains a large corps of Francophones with limited educational backgrounds.

In sum, part of the Francophone underrepresentation at the middle level and general salary disadvantage must be attributed to certain areas of neglect in the educational systems of both Quebec and Ontario. It is important not to push this point too far, however, for educational disadvantage is only one of a host of identifiable factors which hold Francophone public servants back. In the next section of this chapter we have more to say on this theme. But, in one sense, it would be strange indeed if English-language universities did not do a better job than French-language ones in preparing graduates for careers in what is an almost totally English-speaking work environment. The obvious consequence is that almost by definition Francophones are not prepared to occupy posts in this milieu.

F. Summary and Conclusions

A recurring theme has been the homogeneity of the elite and the heterogeneity of the middle level of the federal administration. Does the elite contain social types who are quite similar and express a common ideology? Porter thinks so.

These senior public servants have, by and large, a common background in the social class and educational systems of Canada. Their high level of education and their link with the universities would suggest commonly held intellectual values. . . . There are many areas of formal and informal interaction common to, and at times exclusive to, the bureaucratic elite. For one thing, they live in a relatively small and occupationally homogeneous city. In their formal roles they come together in a large number of inter-departmental committees at home and abroad. . . . Senior civil servants consult with one another and for this purpose the informal settings at dinners, receptions, and evening parties are as important as the formally constituted committees. . . . the higher bureaucracy has some cohesiveness as a group and an orientation to intellectual values, particularly among those concerned with economic and social policy.²⁵

The middle level of the Public Service, not only because of its size but also because of its greater heterogeneity, lacks this cohesiveness. In professional, scientific, technical, and administrative fields as opposed to the senior management level, the federal Public Service is a relatively open and talent-hungry organization. It draws amply from all geographic regions of Canada (Quebec excepted),

rural and urban areas, and, with some favouring of the top levels, the several social classes in the country. Most important, it has an attraction for Canadians of non-French, non-British origin.

Another striking feature is that over a fifth of the middle-level public servants are newcomers to Canada. No doubt, one of the major reasons behind this influx involves the fact that the Public Service, in comparison with private industry, is seen as providing more career security and stability. It is not only these new Canadians, prone as they are to the insecurities of adaption to a strange land, who choose the Public Service for these reasons. As we shall see, many careerists, especially those who have been jostled about in private enterprise or have struggled up the class ladder, are looking for a resting place.

Thus, we have found at the middle level of the federal Public Service a healthy openness to the talented of at least the English-speaking Canadian community. By contrast, it demonstrates a remarkable failure in attracting Francophones. This is seen in various ways: the underrepresentation of those of French mother tongue or ethnic descent, the lower rate of recruitment from the province of Quebec, the lack of Roman Catholics, largely to be accounted for by the absence of French Catholics. The failure is especially remarkable when one considers that the federal administration can hardly afford not to be open, because it competes in job markets where trained people are scarce and where the salaries or prestige it offers often compare unfavourably with those offered by other employers.

What accounts for the relative lack of Francophones? In the previous chapter, several factors were briefly suggested and we consider two of them now: first, the lack of or inaccessibility to educational facilities of the sort that can equip them with the appropriate skills for obtaining a position; and, second, a lower motivation to serve in the federal administration than that possessed by other groups, as a result of the cultural character of the Public Service or the political ends it is serving, or both.

Much has been said in this chapter about the type of education afforded to Francophones; here we want to temper these remarks slightly. For it is a popular argument in English Canada to attribute the lack of Francophones in the upper reaches of the public and private sectors to an educational system unfitted for the modern world. John Porter gives this view some scientific support in a comparison of provincial educational systems: "The least adequate educational facilities for an industrial society, as census data later presented show, have been those of Quebec where education for French Catholics has been not only costly but at the secondary level concentrated within the tradition of the classical college."²⁶ Classical colleges, it seems, did not until recently emphasize science and technology, necessary fields for moving into the world of industry. Then Porter adds a thought about the lack of Francophones in the federal bureaucratic elite: "It must be remembered, however, that French-Canadian

education has not provided a large reservoir of administrators who could eventually be promoted to the higher levels."²⁷ This carries the argument a little too far. It is hard to judge what is a "large reservoir," but certainly the classical colleges have turned out a steady flow of persons with training in the liberal arts and the professions—exactly the stuff of which administrators are made. Nathan Keyfitz makes the point while remarking on the new emphasis on science in Quebec colleges and universities: "As one offers the old system a regretful salute and farewell, however, one notes that it teaches a curriculum similar to that which formed many an empire-builder at Oxford before he went out to India to be the absolute ruler of a district containing a million people, or to London to start climbing to the chairmanship of a large railway or bank."²⁸ Yet, if the classical colleges have long turned out persons with administrative capacity, why does the view persist that the French Catholic educational system is in an abysmal state? We seem to be in the presence of a defensive overstatement about French-language education in Canada. It permits Anglophones to explain the absence of Francophones from positions of power, not in terms of Anglophone resistance or even discrimination, but by shifting the blame to the Francophones themselves. Anglophones assume that when Francophones get better educations and strive harder, they will make it. This denies the fact that there already is an untapped source of able Francophones available for government work.

It is not strictly education, but rather language and culture which are the real issues. In the senior reaches of the federal government and most large companies, English is the language of work. Competence in the use of language and the expression of ideas are valued among managers. A person working in a language not his own is at a disadvantage from the start. A Francophone candidate "is genuinely unable to do the work as well as the English candidate wherever that work consists in large part in the manipulation of symbols in English. To say otherwise would be to assert that French Canadians are capable of learning to speak and think in English as well as the English themselves."²⁹ Although this may well happen to some Francophones, most of those who retain any semblance of a French Canadian identity do not reach the state of complete confidence and competence with English. This means that they are systematically excluded from high office. Either as a result of the uncertainty of Anglophone senior managers about the competence of Francophones or as a result of outright indifference, the Francophones have not fared well in large-scale organizations. As well, Francophones are not blind. Young Francophones observe that their elders meet resistance in certain careers and organizations, and they choose their own fields of training and work in this light. Thus the barriers posed by the use of English and occupational and organizational choices of Francophones reinforce each other; the result is the absence of Francophones from various work spheres.

This brief aside contains themes that will be developed in much greater detail in later chapters. The themes have been introduced at this juncture to indicate that laying the major blame for the failure of Francophones to become economic successes in Canada on French-language education is too simple-minded. Despite this *caveat*, it is nevertheless the case that the emphasis of Quebec education in the 1940's and 1950's and the lack of success of Francophones in the educational system of Ontario have meant that a large proportion of Francophones were poorly equipped for working in the federal administration.

As to attraction toward work in the federal government, a national interview study conducted by the Social Research Group of Montreal contained enquiries about people's perceptions of job opportunities available at the federal level.³⁰ It asked whether the respondent felt that Francophones or Anglophones have more chances, or whether all have an equal chance, of getting the "top" jobs in the federal government. Thirty-six per cent of the total sample felt that persons from all ethnic groups have equal opportunity. However, significantly fewer Francophones (18 per cent) felt that there was equal opportunity. Also, while 38 per cent of all respondents felt that Anglophones have more chances for the best jobs, 62 per cent of the Francophone respondents felt that this was the case. Only 4 per cent of the total sample and 2.5 per cent of the Francophone respondents felt that Francophones have more chances. Francophones, then, are much more likely than other respondents to think that Anglophones have more chances than other groups of getting the best jobs in the federal administration.³¹ On the grounds of perceived work opportunities alone, the Francophones are less likely to consider federal employment. When this is added to the prospect of moving to Ottawa and having to live and work much of the time in English surroundings, it is not surprising that they are less highly motivated to join the federal Public Service.

A national survey of Canadian youth 13 to 20 years of age provides further supportive findings.³² The young people were queried about their attitudes to different levels of government. One question asked: "Which government would be best to work for—if the salary was the same on each job?" The results are presented in Table 5.17.

Both groups of non-Francophone youth rated the federal government highest as a congenial working environment. These same two groups also rated their provincial governments lowest on this standard. This indicates that the English- and other-language groups view the provincial government as the one least attractive to work for. On the other hand, the French-speaking youth regard the provincial government as the most promising employer and rated the federal government on a par with local government.

The same study found regional and age differences in attitudes toward the three levels of government. The Francophones from Quebec held much more negative views of the federal government than other

Table 5.17

Orientation to different levels of government among Canadian youth aged 13 to 20, by language spoken at home (1965) (percentages)

Which government would be best to work for, if the salary was the same on each job?	Language spoken at home		
	English	French	Other
The government of your city, town or township	28	27	27
The government of your province	22	34	19
The government of Canada	39	28	38
I'm not sure	11	11	16
Total	100	100	100
N*	793	529	37

Source: Johnstone, *Young People's Images of Canadian Society*, Table 1-15, 18.

*All percentages computed from weighted case bases. These are the unweighted bases.

groups. The strongest positive feelings for a provincial government were registered by the Anglophones of British Columbia, followed by the Quebec Francophones. However, unlike the Quebec Francophones, who downgraded the federal government, the British Columbia Anglophones directed negative sentiments towards local government.

Unlike the Quebec Francophones, the Quebec Anglophones gave the provincial government a negative evaluation: they saw their primary source of positive aid located at the federal level.

In both language groups, increasing age is accompanied by higher positive ratings for the provincial government. Among the Francophones, increased age is also associated with increasing negative views of the federal government. It becomes clear, then, that as Francophone youth approach the age when they enter the work world, the federal government is increasingly seen as an unattractive workplace.

It is evident, therefore, that differentials in education and motivation have a telling effect on reducing the number of Francophones who come forward for federal employment. But apart from Francophones, the middle level of the Public Service contains ample proportions of persons who have experienced English Canadian society in all its diverse forms—regional, rural-urban, class level, religious, and so on. This suggests that the federal administration has the capacity of being knowledgeable about and responsive to the varied needs and interests of most sectors of Canadian society. The varied backgrounds of persons at the middle level provide special

wisdom on two fronts. If they are involved in the formulation of policy for their department, they can offer suggestions based on past experiences. Their "feel" for the nature of the Canadian social structure aids them in sorting out the workable policy from the unworkable one. Second, this same "feel" can affect the way those policy items left to Public Service discretion—timing, priorities, regional variations in administration—are handled.

On both fronts, then, the social backgrounds of the public servants affect the enactment of government decisions. Since the federal administration contains few Francophones at the middle and upper levels, it can be expected to be less sensitive to the needs of the French-Canadian public and the interests of French Canadian organizations. On the other hand, since the middle level approximates being a microcosm of the English-speaking segment of Canada, it contains one of the important ingredients for a sympathetic understanding of developments in that sector of the country.

To pursue a professional, technical, or administrative career in an industrial society like Canada almost inevitably means to move from one region of the country to another, from one employer to another, from one type of work to another. In the federal Public Service there are employees who joined right after finishing their education and have stayed on in the same location and type of work. Many others have worked for another employer, sometimes a great variety of them, before entering the Public Service. Still others start off in the federal administration, but then shift between departments or cities, or leave for a while and then return again. There are many variations on the movement theme. The result is that a government department receives many employees who have worked in various parts of the private sector or in other units of the federal administration, and regularly releases many of its employees who depart for other work units.

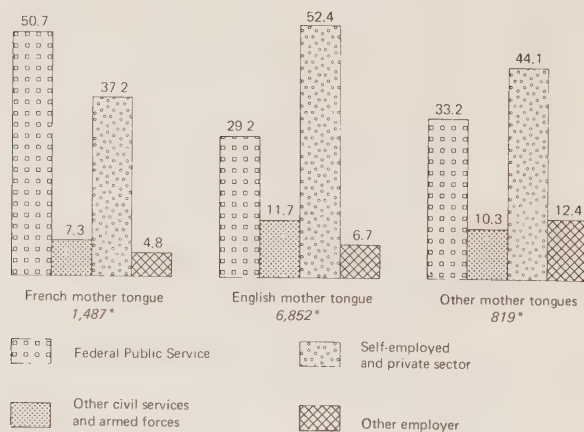
This chapter reports on the amount and type of working experience that public servants have had in workplaces "outside" the Public Service. Since our data are drawn from two surveys, each taken at a single point in time, they include a cross-section of persons of varying ages. Thus this is a "snap-shot" of the accumulated experiences in outside employment of current public servants, including not only some who are well launched on their careers (perhaps nearly finished) but also some who have just entered the work world.

A. The General Picture: All Departmental Personnel

Those of non-French background are much more likely to have employment experiences outside the federal Public Service (Figure 6.1). Half the Francophones joined the federal administration as their first permanent job after finishing their schooling. The pattern is quite different for the employees of English mother tongue: about a third of them entered government work directly, but more than half entered private business or set up their own business when they first entered

Figure 6.1

First permanent job of male federal public servants (1965)



Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*Unweighted case base. The percentages are based on weighted bases.

the labour market. Only 37 per cent of the Francophones followed this route into private or self-employment.

It is apparent that the federal administration has a certain attraction for some Francophone Canadians, who regard it as a more appealing or accessible place to start their career than the private sector. We suspect that these are principally individuals with low levels of education and those outside major urban centres, particularly in the Ottawa Valley and northern Quebec. As we have already indicated, educated and talented Francophones are much in demand and they, in turn, are unlikely to be strongly attracted by government work.

Table 6.1 shows the accumulated outside experience of the language groups including time spent both prior or subsequent to first entry. Again, the groups of English and "other" mother tongues have lengthier periods, on the average, in non-federal work settings. For instance, about a third of the non-Francophone personnel, but only a fifth of the Francophone group, have spent 11 years or more in employment outside the federal Service. Clearly, those of French mother tongue have more restricted careers than those of the other two linguistic categories; they are more likely to come to the federal administration for their first job and are less likely to gain experience in other work places either before or after entry.

These data also give some indication of the amount of movement between employment sectors characteristic of public servants. Most

public servants of English mother tongue, who are dominant at every level of the federal administration, were in other types of employment before they came to the federal Service. Only three in 10 indicate that the federal government was their first employer. And, although we do not have exact findings, it is apparent that a great many leave the federal administration and return, perhaps several times. By contrast, the Francophones reveal less experience in other sectors of employment. Their work histories tend to differ significantly from those of the Anglophones whose career style permeates the departments.

Table 6.1

Years of employment experience outside the federal administration for all departmental personnel (1965), by mother tongue (percentages)

	Mother tongue		
	English	French	Other
1. Discrete categories (number of years)			
None	22.8	33.9	20.2
4 or less	21.0	24.7	21.4
5 to 8	15.7	13.3	17.5
9 to 12	12.7	10.8	12.7
13 to 16	9.4	6.3	9.0
17 or more	18.4	11.0	19.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N*	6,852	1,487	879
2. Cumulative experience (number of years)			
19 or more	14.4	8.7	16.6
15 or more	23.1	14.5	23.0
11 or more	33.1	21.1	34.0
7 or more	47.6	33.7	49.7
3 or more	65.6	50.7	68.3
Less than 3	77.1	66.2	79.9

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

*Unweighted case base. The percentages are based on weighted bases.

B. The Picture at the Middle Level

The average age of middle-level Anglophones at the time of joining is 29.0 years; Francophones are somewhat younger at 26.4. As well, a majority in both groups enter some type of employment other than the federal Public Service immediately after finishing their schooling. This suggests that, despite the extensive recruiting programmes of the Public Service aimed specifically at university students, most of the current middle-level employees started their careers elsewhere. However, there is a marked difference between Francophones and Anglophones. Francophones are considerably more likely to enter the federal administration immediately after completing their schooling: 41 per cent did so compared with 24 per cent of the Anglophones. And, as Figure 6.2 indicates, a much larger proportion of Anglophones than Francophones — 45 per cent compared with 28 per cent — joined while in their thirties or forties. Thus, the pattern of entry that pertains for all departmental personnel also holds at the middle level.

As expected, the Anglophones generally spend a longer period of time in employment outside the federal administration than Francophones. Table 6.2 reveals that 12 per cent of Francophones as opposed to 21 per cent of Anglophones have 10 or more years experience working outside the federal Public Service, including time either prior or subsequent to their initial entry. As measured by median years of outside service, the Francophones have 1.6 years while the Anglophones have 4.3 years. Thus it is quite evident that Francophone public servants tend to enter the Public Service earlier in their careers, after a fairly limited experience in other jobs. However, as we will see in a later chapter, they tend to depart after a relatively short time. Experiences in the career systems of the federal Public Service discourage them and the attraction government work held for them early in their work-life fades.

Figure 6.2

Age at entry of middle-level federal public servants

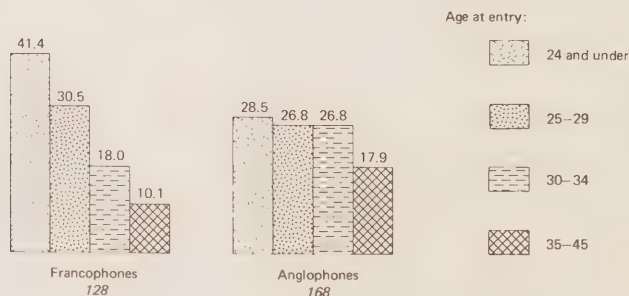


Table 6.2

Years of employment experience outside the federal administration of middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	N	Years of outside experience						Total	Median years
		Direct entry	3 or less	4-6	7-9	10-12	13 or more		
Anglophones	168	24.4	22.6	15.5	16.7	8.3	12.5	100.0	4.3
Francophones	128	40.6	27.3	11.7	8.6	1.6	10.2	100.0	1.6
Total middle level	296	27.0	23.3	14.9	15.5	7.1	12.2	100.0	3.6

There is considerable variation among career types in the pattern of outside work (Table 6.3). In fact, the variation is such that it indicates that the Francophone-Anglophone differential does not hold up across career types. Anglophone administrators, for instance, are more likely to enter government work directly from school than are the Francophone technical and semi-professional employees. They also have less outside experience than the Francophone administrators as indicated by median years of service. Thus, one category of Francophone careerist is more experienced than one category of Anglophones; the difference between linguistic groups does not cut across all career types.

Interestingly, it is the technical and semi-professional employees in both linguistic groups who have had the most extensive outside experience. To be more precise, the technicians have had lengthy work histories outside, as Table 6.4 shows. One type of professional — the engineer — also has a relatively extensive period of outside work. On the other hand, it is the lower level administrators in both linguistic groups who tend to join the federal administration after short sojourns or none at all in other employment settings. However, Francophone scientists have the least outside experience of all careerists: eight in 10 of them entered government employment as soon as they had finished their schooling. Since Anglophone scientists experience longer periods of outside employment, it would seem that either the Francophone scientists are more restricted in their career movements or are more strongly attracted to federal employment, or both.

The differences in outside experience among the career types also are reflected in differences between departments (Table 6.5). The department of Public Works, with its preponderance of technical and engineering employees, contains relatively many people who have lengthy work histories in work settings outside the federal administration. The majority of the Anglophones interviewed are late arrivals

Table 6.3
Years of employment experience outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

Linguistic group and career type	N	Years of outside experience					Total	Median years	
		Direct entry	3 or less	4-6	7-9	10-12			13 or more
<i>Anglophones</i>									
Professional and scientific	84	19.0	23.9	19.0	13.1	13.1	11.9	100.0	4.8
Technical and semi-professional	42	16.7	19.0	19.0	21.5	4.8	19.0	100.0	6.5
Administrative	42	40.5	30.9	4.8	9.5	4.8	9.5	100.0	2.0
<i>Francophones</i>									
Professional and scientific	43	51.2	23.2	11.6	4.7	0.0	9.3	100.0	1.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	27.8	29.6	11.1	13.0	3.7	14.8	100.0	3.2
Administrative	31	48.4	29.0	12.9	6.5	0.0	3.2	100.0	1.1

Table 6.4

Median years of employment experience outside the federal administration and percentage having at least 10 years of such experience, among middle-level federal public servants, by career type B

Career type	Francophones			Anglophones		
	Median years	Percentage with 10 years or more	N*	Median years	Percentage with 10 years or more	N*
Scientists	0.6	7.1	14	3.5	14.3	35
Senior policy-makers	0.9	11.8	17	2.8	24.0	25
Semi-professionals	2.1	15.7	51	5.0	14.3	28
Engineers	4.0	8.3	12	5.0	30.0	40
Technicians	4.5	16.7	18	9.2	38.1	21
Lower administrators	1.4	0.0	16	1.3	10.5	19
Total	1.6	11.8	128	4.3	20.8	168

*This is the case base on which the percentage is computed.

to government service. The department of the Secretary of State, with its concentration of engineers in the Patent Office, also registers a relatively high proportion of both Anglophone and Francophone employees with lengthy outside service. By contrast, among the Francophones in Agriculture there is but a meagre store of experiences accumulated in outside employment, largely because of the high direct entry rate of Francophone scientists. Thus, departmental differences are largely a product of their career-type composition.

Table 6.5

Years of employment experience outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by department

		Years of outside experience					
Department	N	Direct entry	3 or less	4-8	9 or more	Total	Median years
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Finance	28	21.4	35.8	21.4	21.4	100.0	2.8
Agriculture	37	32.4	18.9	32.4	16.3	100.0	2.5
State	38	28.9	18.4	26.3	26.4	100.0	4.3
Public Works	32	6.3	18.7	18.7	56.3	100.0	9.5
National Revenue	33	27.3	33.3	27.3	12.1	100.0	2.9
<i>Francophones</i>							
Finance	6	4(66.6)	1(16.7)	0.0	1(16.7)	6(100.0)	0.7
Agriculture	28	71.4	14.4	7.1	7.1	100.0	0.7
State	33	24.2	36.4	15.2	24.2	100.0	2.8
Public Works	28	21.4	21.4	42.9	14.3	100.0	5.0
National Revenue	33	42.4	36.4	18.2	3.0	100.0	1.4

C. Experience in the Armed Forces

Service in the Armed Forces is one type of experience that has special relevance for a career in the Public Service. Public Service regulations require that certain types of candidates eligible for positions be given an offer ahead of other eligible persons. In appointments for which an open examination (either written or oral, or both) is held, those who are successful are ranked by order of marks, but within each of the several grade levels what is called "veteran's preference" is applied. The order is (1) Canadian residents who were disabled in the course of service in wartime, (2) other veterans or widows of veterans, (3) other Canadian citizens, and (4) aliens. Thus, it is clear that, within each grade level,

individuals with a background of military service are favoured in promotion or appointment decisions by being brought to the top of that level.

The implication for Francophones is obvious. They are considerably less likely than Anglophones to have served in the Armed Forces. Table 6.6 shows that while about 43 per cent of Anglophones have been in the Canadian forces at one time or another, only 22 per cent of the Francophones have done so. Hence, Anglophones are nearly twice as likely as Francophones to benefit from the "veteran's preferences."

D. Geographical Moves and Job-switching

It is a characteristic feature of an industrial society like Canada that the sprawling corporations and the rapid development of certain regions call forth considerable mobility among those in the labour force with specialist skills. Such persons move regularly between geographical areas and often out of one field of work into another, in response to shifts in the demand for labour. The backgrounds of those currently employed at the middle level of the Public Service are certainly in tune with this pattern.

Forty-six per cent of those at the middle level have moved themselves, and their families if any, from one area to another two or more times in the course of their work outside the government¹ (Table 6.7). Since this figure applies only to public servants at mid-career, it grossly understates the amount of movement that these people will have experienced by the end of their working lives. However, it is indicative of the sort of shifting about that persons go through early in their work lives while trying to establish a secure position for themselves.

At first glance, there appears to be large linguistic variation. The Francophones are more likely to have no geographic moves and the Anglophones to have three or more. However, the difference is minimized, although it does not disappear, when we control for the extent of outside experience (Table 6.8). Among the early entrants to the federal Public Service, there is no major difference between Anglophones and Francophones in their movement experiences. It is only among those with lengthy periods of outside work that the Anglophones are more mobile. The Anglophones who enter the federal administration when they are over 30 have moved around much more than their Francophone counterparts. Thus, among both Francophones and Anglophones who enter the government at an early age, there is an equally small proportion of individuals who moved around a great deal; the Anglophones who enter later in their careers contain a higher proportion of those who have moved a considerable amount than do the Francophones.

Table 6.6

Experience in the Armed Forces among middle-level federal public servants

Type of experience in Armed Forces								
Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	None	Wartime service (1939-46)	Peace-time service (after 1946)	Both war and peace	Service in foreign force	Other	Total
Franco-phones	128	76.6	18.7	3.1	0.0	0.8	0.8	100.0
Anglo-phones	168	53.6	36.9	3.0	1.8	4.7	0.0	100.0

Table 6.7

Number of geographical moves during employment outside the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Number of geographical moves						
Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	None	One	Two	Three or more	Total
Francophones	128	42.2	31.3	14.8	11.7	100.0
Anglophones	168	24.4	25.6	17.3	32.7	100.0
Total middle level	296	27.4	26.4	16.9	29.3	100.0

Table 6.8

Number of geographical moves during employment outside the federal administration among middle-level public servants, by age at entry (percentages)

		Number of geographical moves				
Linguistic group and age at entry	<i>N</i>	None	One	Two	Three or more	Total
<i>Age 29 or less at entry</i>						
Francophones	92	47.8	32.6	12.0	7.6	100.0
Anglophones	94	39.3	38.3	12.8	9.6	100.0
<i>Age 30 to 45 at entry</i>						
Francophones	36	27.8	27.8	22.2	22.2	100.0
Anglophones	74	4.0	14.9	21.6	59.5	100.0

One obvious fact that explains the larger proportion of immobile Francophones is the large proportion raised in the Ottawa-Hull area (43 per cent of all Francophones). Of these, four in 10 entered the federal administration directly after finishing their education. As many of them reported, it was the natural thing for those raised in the capital region to do. Surprisingly, however, a *larger* proportion (49 per cent) of those raised in Montreal or other parts of Quebec (excluding Hull) reported that they came directly from an educational institution into federal employment.

Anglophones from the capital region mentioned the same process as the Francophones, but not as many came directly to the government. Thirteen per cent have worked for nine years or more outside the federal Public Service, but a third entered directly. This contrasts with the lower score of 19 per cent of Anglophones from Western Canada who directly entered the federal administration. Hence, Anglophones from the Ottawa-Hull area are more likely to go directly from school to government service than are Anglophones from other regions, but Francophones, no matter the part of the country they are raised in, have a higher incidence of direct entry than any Anglophone group.

Among those who did have outside working experience, we were also interested in the number of job changes and the amount of disruption to personal life that these changes caused. In short, our concern was the dimension of orderliness/disorderliness: the incidence of disruption and discontinuity experienced by each respondent in his

occupational history *before* joining the Public Service. The resulting measure took account of the number of moves between different organizations in which the person either continued to do roughly the same sort of work or made a clean break and started on a quite different career. Obviously, the latter type of move was indicative of greater disorder. As well, a control for number of years of outside work was built into the measure. This meant that a person who made several moves over a long period of time would be regarded as switching jobs in a more orderly fashion than someone who made the same number of moves within a short period. The resulting measure when applied to the two linguistic groups in the federal administration is seen in Table 6.9.²

There is no major difference between Anglophones and Francophones in disruptive working experiences outside the federal administration: the majority of both groups shift jobs in an orderly fashion or with only slight disorder. Only 7 per cent of the Francophones and 5 per cent of the Anglophones have undergone extremely disruptive changes. And certain career types are overrepresented among those with very disorderly work histories. Among the Anglophones, there are relatively few professionals and scientists who have had a chaotic work history before joining (Table 6.10). It is principally the technical, semi-professional, and administrative employees who do so. On the Francophone side, it is rare indeed to find professionals and scientists, and also administrators, whose early work history is marked by considerable job-switching; only the technical and semi-professional employees have such experiences. In this category of personnel the Translators have the most varied previous work histories of all the careerists in both linguistic groups: eight out of 19 of them have work histories that

Table 6.9

Incidence of disorderly job-switching done by middle-level federal public servants with employment experience outside the federal administration (percentages)

Incidence of disorderly job-switching						
Linguistic group	N	Orderly	Slight disorder	Medium disorder	High disorder	Total
Francophones	76	22.3	56.6	14.5	6.6	100.0
Anglophones	128	15.6	59.4	20.3	4.7	100.0
Total						
middle level	204	16.7	58.8	19.6	4.9	100.0

Table 6.10

Incidence of medium and high disorderly job-switching done by middle-level federal public servants with employment experience outside the federal administration, by career type A

Career type A	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Percentage medium or high in disorder	N*	Percentage medium or high in disorder	N*
Professional and Scientific	9.5	21	17.6	68
Technical and semi-professional	35.9	39	34.3	35
Administrative	0.0	16	32.0	25
Total	21.1	76	25.0	128

*These are the bases on which the percentages are computed.

are either medium or high in disorderliness. To a certain extent this outcome flows from the type of man attracted to the work (often those who have tried to pursue careers in journalism, law, or the church) and in the nature of translation tasks: the work requires considerable intellectual skills yet often is routine and boring and, hence, it is a "last resort" sort of job. In addition, demands for translation services have risen sharply in recent years, yet most departments still regard this work as a nuisance — merely an added cost in time and money of carrying out the government's business, and something to be avoided when possible. In short, the type of work and status offered by a translation career means that these posts are sought mainly by persons who have failed in "better" careers or who have left a field for personal reasons; in any case, most have had an unsettling experience and are in dire need of employment and security. A later chapter will be devoted to a full examination of the typical work histories of translators.

A close examination of the work histories of those who were first employed outside the Public Service indicates that the decision to join the federal administration often came after the experience of sharp, sometimes unpredictable, disruption of ties to job or local community (for example, after precipitously quitting a job for personal reasons, after a job lay-off, or after immigration). For this type of employee the Public Service often became a type of refuge — a place which held few prospects for advancement but did provide a

stable and undemanding employment situation. Thus, a significant minority come to the federal administration not so much to build a career as to stabilize their occupational situation after defeat or disappointment in the private sector. Francophones are less likely to have this experience. Although the Francophones who were employed outside the Public Service are as buffeted as their Anglophone counterparts, relatively fewer of them seek outside employment in the first place. In general, Francophones join the federal Public Service earlier in life. Anglophones, with their greater employment opportunities in the Canadian economy, are more likely to work first in the private sector rather than coming to the Public Service directly from school. However, once in, Anglophones stay on; Francophones join earlier but are much more likely to leave soon after their arrival.

In the next and following chapters we examine further the social forces that have induced these persons to join the federal administration and the experiences they have as they move up the career ladders in their departments.

A. Main Reason For Joining The Public Service: Work or Benefits

Why do some people seek out jobs in the federal administration rather than the private sector or other non-profit work area? We asked the middle-level personnel to tell us about their reasons for joining the Public Service. The following are some of the most prominent.

(1) Career opportunities — the work appeared attractive and the chances for promotion, for assuming a position of responsibility, and for making a high salary looked good.

(2) Unique field — the Public Service was the only place or one of the few places in which to pursue a specialized interest.

(3) Training experience — the job provided an opportunity to learn new skills that would be useful in the future, often in a career outside the Public Service.

(4) Public service — a desire to do valuable and important work and serve the "public good" could be fulfilled.

(5) Security — the Public Service offered job security, a steady income, better working hours, or less pressure.

(6) Ottawa and Hull attraction — the federal government was the main employer in the capital region and the individual wanted to stay in the area or to return to it after being away for some time.

(7) Only job — the Public Service made the only acceptable offer at a time when immediate employment was a necessity.

(8) Language — a few Francophones either wanted to work in French in a unit where that language predominated or saw government employment as an opportunity to learn English.

The above reasons contain a fundamental distinction: some join the Public Service because of opportunities for career development, creativity, or the interest and enjoyment in the work; some enter primarily for security or other factors unrelated to the character of the

work they do. The latter reasons mainly revolve about the benefits afforded by the Public Service as an employing organization. Entry motivations of the former type, represented by reasons (1) to (4), were termed "work" factors; the latter, as seen in reasons (5) to (8), as "benefit" factors.

This distinction is patterned after one made by Dwaine Marvick in a study of a federal agency in the United States.¹ Marvick identified two distinctive and opposite attitudes towards work: one was a "task" orientation, the other a "benefit" orientation.² The important thing about a job for those with a task orientation was the challenging content and prospects for enjoyment offered by the work. Those with a benefit orientation were more concerned about the by-products of working in the organization: salary, security, prestige. Following Marvick, this dichotomy provides us with a way of exploring the motives that propel persons into the federal administration.

B. The Nature and Importance of Creative Work

Those concerned about work factors seek opportunities for creativity and self-expression in their tasks. They are more likely to seek out or be found in work settings and careers where creativity is at a maximum. "Work settings" can refer to anything from the small work unit to a whole department; however, it is usually the departmental branch or division which is implied. The diversity of work settings and the variable combination of the creative and the routine that they contain need emphasis, because popular images of the "civil service" picture endless bureaus of clerks going through the motions of handling routine paperwork. There are, of course, a great many routine functions conducted by federal bureaucracies; every department has its personnel and payroll to take care of and forms to process. But the special problems handled by government and the specialized skills that they require for their solution should also be noted. Certain work settings abound in opportunities for creativity in the handling of government problems.

What characterizes those work settings or careers in which creativity and attraction to the work are greatest? Creative work, as conceived here, has three facets:

- (1) The typical work tasks — creativity is maximized in work settings concerned with drafting policy or conducting research;
- (2) The pace of work — in a milieu where persons set their own pace and pursue their own ideas, creativity is at a maximum;
- (3) The type of supervision — when personnel work on their own or in collegial groups for weeks or even months at a time without supervision, then creativity is called for.

In short, we can expect creativity to be at a maximum in a setting where public servants develop ideas or test theories, working at their own pace in an autonomous manner and assuming personal responsibility for bringing the various projects to fitting conclusions.

As indicated, all Public Service work settings, from the ubiquitous "steno pool" to the small, intimate, and autonomous research group, have elements of both the creative and the routine in their operations. However, some divisions and, indeed, some departments have more creative functions than others. This is seen in the preponderance of people within them who seek interesting work that offers scope for them to develop their abilities or pursue a career. Thus, in the following pages, we identify the work settings or careers where creative work is of paramount importance as the ones in which the majority of the personnel there claim to have entered government service for "work" reasons.

The recent history of the federal administration has seen the increasing prevalence and importance of units in which creative work prevails. In the past, the Government of Canada, at least in its domestic operations, was largely concerned with routine "housekeeping" tasks such as providing postal service and collecting taxes. Recently, added planning, research, and regulatory functions have led to changes. While the government's routine tasks have far from disappeared, the ratio of creative to non-creative work settings is being substantially altered in favour of the former. Now, as never before, the federal government must compete for first-rate professional, technical, and administrative talent. Such talent is often scarce in Canada. It follows that the federal administration is under considerable pressure to develop working arrangements that will be attractive to trained and talented Francophones and Anglophones alike.

C. Variations in Reasons for Joining

Anglophone personnel are generally more oriented toward their work and the creative aspects of their employment than are Francophones (Table 7.1). Fifty-one per cent of Anglophones join for work reasons, compared with 34 per cent of the Francophones. In particular, relatively more Anglophones are attracted by the career opportunities available. On the other hand, although a larger proportion of Francophones are concerned about marginal benefits, there is still a sizeable contingent of Anglophones who view the federal administration as a haven of security.

Figure 7.1 verifies that it is the professional and scientific workers in both linguistic groups who most desire creative work. The linguistic difference persists, however. Within each broad career type a larger proportion of Anglophones than Francophones join the Public Service because of the attraction of the work. The difference is especially marked among those in technical and semi-professional careers. Here, the Anglophones are almost as strongly motivated by their work as are their fellows in professional-scientific fields. More than half the Anglophones name work factors, but only 29 per cent of the Francophones do so. Among administrators the linguistic difference is considerably less sharply drawn. Thus, the main points are that those in professional and scientific careers are especially

Table 7.1

Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal administration (percentages)

Main reason for joining	Francophones	Anglophones	Total middle level
Career opportunities	17.2	23.2	22.3
Unique field	9.4	19.7	17.9
Training experience	6.2	6.5	6.4
Public service	0.8	1.8	1.7
Total work factors	33.6	51.2	48.3
Security	18.7	23.2	22.3
Ottawa-Hull attraction	11.7	7.7	8.4
Only job	21.9	8.9	11.2
Language	1.6	0.0	0.3
Total benefit factors	53.9	39.8	42.2
Other reasons or not determined	12.5	9.0	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	128	168	296

likely to find the federal Public Service a congenial place in terms of the opportunities for creative work it offers; those in administrative careers and Francophones in technical and semi-professional fields are especially drawn to the Public Service for its marginal benefits; and in every career type, the Anglophones are more motivated by work factors than the Francophones.

A rough ordering of careers according to the proportion of persons they contain who join the government for work reasons is provided in Figure 7.2. As expected, scientists and senior policy-makers are most likely to enter government service for work factors. They are followed in order by semi-professionals, engineers, technicians, and, last of all, administrators. The position of the engineers is slightly anomalous. As a professional group it would be expected that they would be high in their desire for creative work. Instead, they stand below the semi-professionals. It appears, then, that government engineers are especially likely to view their employer as offering security and stable employment. The extreme examples of this, however, are the Francophone technicians and administrators; approximately eight out of 10 enter the federal administration to take advantage of the fringe benefits it affords.

Figure 7.1
Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by career type A

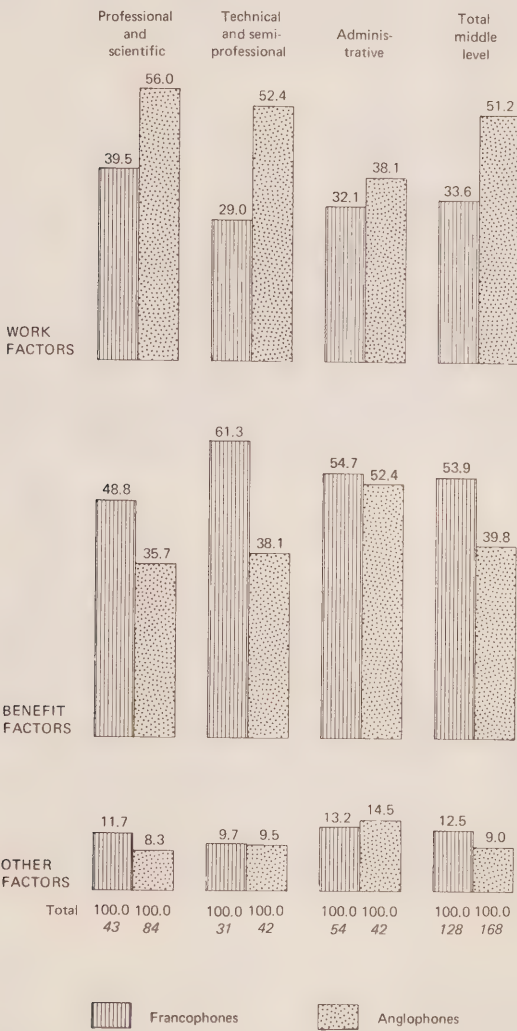
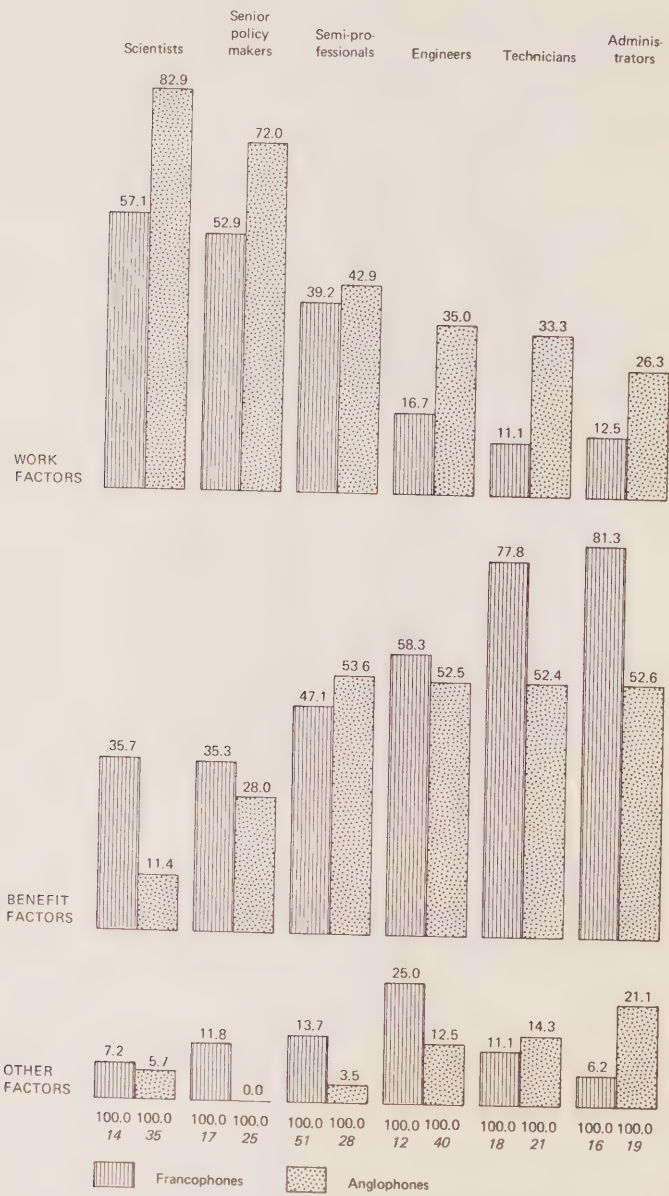


Figure 7.2
Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by career type B



It is important to note again that in every career the Anglophones are more concerned about the quality of government work than are their Francophone colleagues.

In these two variables — linguistic group and career type — we seem to have arrived at strategic tools for dissecting work settings in the Public Service. The nature of the careers they contain will tell a great deal about their ethos. Also, within any specific career it can be expected that the Anglophone group will contain a larger proportion of persons enthusiastic about their work than the Francophone group.

In addition to the influence of language and career, departmental ethos seems to be related to job motivation. Despite the fact that Francophones are generally in positions of less influence and careers of less importance than Anglophones, as Figure 7.3 reveals, in four out of five departments there is a similar orientation to work expressed by members of the two linguistic groups. Fringe benefits are equally relevant to both language groups in Public Works, National Revenue, and State. This reveals much about the essential character of these departments. Since they perform routine service functions, there are few opportunities for deriving satisfaction from the nature of the work, whatever the language background of the employee. On the other hand, in Finance both the Anglophones and the Francophones (few as they are) are excited by the policy-planning and fact-finding that goes on there.

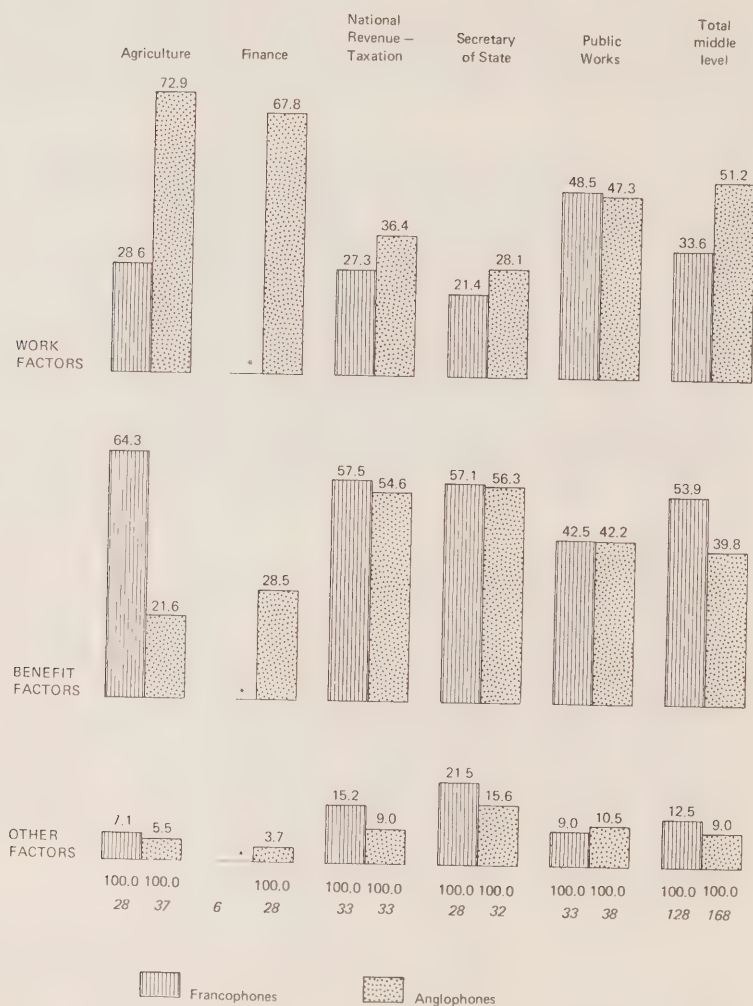
Agriculture appears to be a deviant case; only here does a gap between language groups exist. However, this may be seen to support the thesis about the importance of a departmental ethos.³ As we show in the chapter on the Agricultural Researcher, the Francophones are a great deal more isolated from the mainstream of this department than is the case elsewhere. In particular, the Francophone researchers have a somewhat different style of work and do not embrace some of the intellectual concerns which dominate the department and which they consider "English." Thus, the case of Agriculture, rather than devaluing the importance of a "departmental" factor, shows that it can be important in explaining attitudes and behaviour.

D. Further Anglophone-Francophone Comparisons

A further consideration of those who entered the Public Service for "benefit" factors reveals interesting English-French differences. Anglophone personnel were more likely to state that it was a desire for more security and fewer job pressures which drew them to the Public Service. This is especially true of those Anglophones whose mother tongue was not English. While 36 per cent of these persons sought security, only 21 per cent of the Anglophones of English mother tongue did so. Many security-seekers had had adverse experiences in private industry or had recently arrived from abroad. The federal Public Service was felt to be a fair employer. Salaries might not be as high as private industry, but raises and promotions (often involving a reclassification of position without change in responsibilities) were regarded as frequent.

Figure 7.3

Main reason of middle-level public servants for joining the federal public service, by department



*Base too small for percentage.

Among the Francophones who cited "benefit" factors, the striking thing is the high number who admitted that they entered the Public Service mainly because they could not find employment elsewhere and it offered the only position at the time. More than one in five (22 per cent) of the entire Francophone middle level entered the Public Service under these extreme circumstances. This makes comprehensible the strong feelings of many Francophones about the benefit aspects of their employment. There are, of course, Anglophones who value security, but few — only about 9 per cent — who recounted the sort of desperate job-hunting undergone by Francophones.

While Francophones at all seniority levels talk about the benefits derived from government employment, among the Anglophones it is mainly those with long-term service who feel this way (Table 7.2). These Anglophones entered government service in the 1940's and early 1950's, generally with inferior professional or technical training. They are usually grateful that they have been able to go so far despite their lack of education. Here is how a draftsman with 20 years service and only a few technical courses beyond high school phrased his answer:

Round about the end of the war, you're young and you've had big ideas, but then the war ends, and you have to get a job. And there are hundreds of servicemen looking for jobs. Suddenly, security, whether you like it or not — and even at eighteen things are made more vivid by war — becomes important. You get security conscious. Put quite bluntly, there was a feeling of large groups of people somehow crawling into security.

Table 7.2
Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for benefit reasons, by years of government service

Francophones			Anglophones		
Years of service	<i>N</i>	Percentage giving benefit reasons	Years of service	<i>N</i>	Percentage giving benefit reasons
5 years or less	36	55.6	5 years or less	60	30.0
6 to 14 years	63	50.8	6 to 14 years	73	41.1
15 years or more	29	58.6	15 years or more	35	57.1
Total	128	53.9	Total	168	39.8

The younger Anglophones who have recently joined are much more likely to view the federal administration as an exciting workplace, than are the older generation. Six in 10 of the Anglophones with short-term service joined for work reasons. Of course, these younger men are also more likely to have university degrees and to move directly into work areas where individual responsibility and creativity are called for.

The benefits attached to government employment are viewed differently by those from different geographic areas. Among the Anglophones, those raised in Quebec (excluding Hull) or the Atlantic provinces are most attracted by employment benefits. Among the Francophones, those who grew up in the capital region seek out benefits much more so than their compatriots from Quebec (excluding Hull) (Table 7.3). In fact, the Quebec Francophones are remarkably similar to the Anglophones in the reasons they give for entering government service. Exactly the same percentage — 40 per cent — of both Quebec Francophones and all Anglophones cited benefit factors as their main reason for joining the Public Service. This figure is much lower than that for the Francophone group as a whole (54 per cent) and substantially lower than that for the Francophones from the Ottawa-Hull area (64 per cent). It would seem that it is primarily the corps from Ottawa-Hull that makes the Francophone group appear more concerned about benefit factors than the Anglophones. The Ottawa-Hull public servants of French background seem to be jarringly out of tune not only with the Anglophones but also with their fellow Francophones from the Province of Quebec.

It is chiefly those raised in the Ottawa-Hull area who give as their reason for entering the government a desire to stay in or return to that region. A fifth of the native Anglophones and nearly a quarter (24 per cent) of the Francophones from the region gave a wish to be in their "hometown" as their main motive for seeking out a job there. An answer like the following regularly appears:

I guess the main reason that I joined the Civil Service was that in Ottawa where else do you go? The Civil Service was always held up to me as a place of security, the ultimate place for a young man to go after school.

The overall greater preference for Ottawa-Hull among Francophones is not surprising when it is recalled that some 44 per cent of those in the Public Service grew up in the Ottawa-Hull region.

Very few individuals raised elsewhere in Canada are specially attracted to the national capital as a place to work. In particular, few Anglophones from western Canada or Francophones from Quebec (excluding Hull) ever state that it figures as a main motive for taking up federal employment. For these people it is the character of the work that counts most. This leads us into a consideration of those who join the Public Service for work reasons.

Above all it is the Anglophones from western Canada and the Francophones from Quebec who are attracted by the work of the government

Table 7.3
Percentage of middle-level public servants giving selected reasons for joining the federal administration, by geographic origin

Geographic origin	N	Selected reasons for joining					Total benefit factors
		Career opportunities	Total work factors	Security	Ottawa-Hull attraction	Only job factors	
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Ottawa-Hull	30	10.0	40.0	23.3	20.0	3.3	46.7
Quebec (excluding Hull and the Atlantic provinces)	24	29.2	41.7	20.8	4.2	29.2	54.2
Ontario (excluding Ottawa)	37	21.6	43.2	35.1	10.8	2.7	48.6
Western Canada	42	35.7	61.9	19.0	2.4	11.9	33.3
Total Anglophones	168	23.2	51.2	23.2	7.7	8.9	39.8
<i>Francophones</i>							
Ottawa-Hull	55	9.1	23.6	20.0	23.6	20.0	63.6
Quebec (excluding Hull)	47	25.5	46.8	14.9	2.1	23.4	40.4
Total Francophones	128	17.2	33.6	18.7	11.7	21.9	53.9

rather than its marginal benefits. More than six in 10 of these Anglophones and 47 per cent of these Francophones mention that they were attracted by the career opportunities offered by the Public Service. By contrast, those from the Ottawa-Hull region, both Anglophones and Francophones, rarely mentioned that career opportunities played a large part in their decision to join.

It appears, as well, that both Francophones and Anglophones from large cities are more interested in government work than their fellows from smaller centres (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4

Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by size of place of origin (as of the 1941 census)

Size of place of origin	Percentage joining for work reasons			
	Francophones	N*	Anglophones	N*
Large city (250,000 or more)	47.8	23	58.7	46
Medium city (50,000-250,000)	27.9	68	48.2	56
Towns and rural areas	35.1	37	48.3	60
Total middle level	33.6	128	51.2	168

*These are the case bases on which the percentages are calculated.

But it is education which shows most clearly the genesis of a concern for creative work. First, we find there is a direct relationship between level of education and joining the government for work reasons (Table 7.5). In both linguistic groups, those with higher university degrees are most likely to be in the federal administration because of the challenging work going on there. Second, it is those with university training in the arts or humanities, rather than in science, engineering, commerce, or law, who talk most often of pursuing a government career because of the interesting work (Table 7.6). Those with a "generalist" education seem to be more interested in getting a job with intellectual appeal than those with specialist training.

Table 7.5

Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by level of education

Level of education	Percentage joining for work reasons			
	Francophones	<i>N*</i>	Anglophones	<i>N*</i>
Some university or less	21.7	46	29.5	44
First university degree	29.8	47	48.7	78
Postgraduate university degree	54.3	35	73.9	46
Total middle level	33.6	128	51.2	168

*These are the case bases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 7.6

Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by university specialization

University specialization	Percentage joining for work reasons			
	Francophones	<i>N*</i>	Anglophones	<i>N*</i>
Arts and humanities	56.5	23	71.9	32
Science and engineering	32.5	40	53.1	81
Commerce and law	21.2	33	44.4	18
Total middle level	33.6	128	51.2	168

*These are the case bases on which the percentages are calculated.

After leaving full-time education, the experience of job-changing and switching in one's employment outside the federal administration has a differential impact on the two linguistic groups. Of course, a considerably smaller proportion of Francophones were likely to have a chaotic work history, but those that did so were unlikely to join the Public Service for work reasons (Table 7.7). The experience of holding a series of often unrelated jobs, and jobs that sometimes came to an abrupt end, made them yearn after more security. The same experience had the opposite effect on Anglophones. The Anglophones with disorderly work histories are more likely to be attracted by the work itself than are other Anglophones. After switching among jobs and work areas they then tended to regard the Public Service as just another employer with an interesting job offer. One reason for the difference between the linguistic groups is the scope of the opportunities available to each. For Francophones without a job there is a considerably narrower range of possibilities than there is for Anglophones. The Anglophones have access to the whole of North American industry. Francophones, particularly if they wish to work in French or avoid work settings that are totally English, have to select within a limited framework and their search is made more desperate as a consequence. They need the steady job and income offered by the government; Anglophones know that if the work is not interesting they can easily leave and pick up something else.

Table 7.7

Percentage of middle-level public servants joining the federal administration for work reasons, by the nature of their work histories outside the federal administration

Nature of work history outside federal administration	Percentage joining for work reasons			
	Francophones	<i>N*</i>	Anglophones	<i>N*</i>
Direct entry — no work history	38.5	52	45.0	40
Orderly work history — no or few job changes	31.7	60	51.0	96
Disorderly work history — a great deal of job- switching	25.0	16	56.3	32
Total middle level	33.6	128	51.2	168

*These are the case bases on which the percentages are computed.

There are two further themes that are fairly prominent among those who join for work reasons. First, there are those who find government work specially attractive, either because it is one of the only agencies in the country doing important work in their field, or because it offers training that can be gained nowhere else and which is crucial for a later career in the private sector. The scientists in the department of Agriculture very often feel this way about federal employment. These men are strongly concerned about scientific accomplishment and gaining recognition in the scientific community. In certain areas of agricultural research, the federal government is the main employer. Here are several representative accounts of the reasons these scientists give for joining the federal Public Service:

At the time (1948-49) the Research Branch of the department (Agriculture) contained at least 95 per cent of the entomologists employed in Canada. It was an exciting time in entomology in the Civil Service then, too. . . . That influenced me away from private industry or teaching. So, I suppose the main reason was that if you wanted to do entomology you automatically went into the Civil Service in those days. It might be different now.

Je n'ai aucun sentiment envers le gouvernement fédéral; c'est pas que j'aime ça ici, la fonction publique. Mais c'est que je peux y faire de la recherche fondamentale.

Well, I don't think it was a case of joining the Civil Service as much as having a chance to work in this lab. It had top people and a top reputation. I have a good opportunity to gain experience in research work, and to build up a reputation of my own. It was the quality of the research that attracted me.

The scientific orientation of these men is strong; their organizational attachment is weak. The guiding theme of their working lives is to do good research and, as it happens, it is the federal government which offers this opportunity. Unlike another type of worker that we will consider in a moment, they are rarely moved by any sense of "public service" or "national duty."

The federal government offers a special training experience to others. It appears that a period spent doing government work is a virtual necessity for moving into certain careers in the private sector. Such is the case, for example, among those who work for private firms that draw up patent applications or that go to court on behalf of businesses involved in a tax suit with the government. Here is how one of these men describes his sojourn in government service:

Right now I represent the government in tax litigation. Before, while I was with the law firm in Vancouver, I had a good amount of work in this field. I became really interested in it and decided I should get out and see the other side of the operation. I came here for the experience, you might say. Most lawyers in this field go through the department [National Revenue] at some time.

Like the research scientists, these men also take a rather opportunistic view of federal employment: as long as they are learning and doing advanced work they will stay on; when it appears that they have picked up enough skills or that their upward career movement has slowed, they will leave.

Contrast with this, men who sound the second important theme: Je voulais venir à Ottawa pour contribuer, via la politique fédérale, au relèvement du niveau de vie et des conditions économiques des Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard.

At university I became interested in social and economic problems. I decided then I wanted to tackle the world's problems by working in the public sector, not for industry. Some professors steered me into economics but an athletic coach was the person who started my interest in community work.

This is not a common motive — it is expressed only by 1 or 2 per cent of Anglophones and Francophones — but it is one that figures importantly in certain work settings that are training grounds for the elite, such as the department of Finance, the Treasury Board, and the department of External Affairs. Indeed, this sort of attitude seems to be assumed of those officers whose careers are leading to upper-level positions. Paradoxically, even though such attitudes are assumed, it is often difficult for public servants to be articulate about them. Most felt somewhat modest about voicing what could appear as overly selfless and public-spirited sentiments. Nevertheless, the theme of "public service" is an important part of the ethos of the federal administration, and it especially underlies the efforts of many of its senior personnel.

The foregoing discussion of the "discipline" and "public service" orientations covers the two themes which are most prominent in the dynamic and creative work settings of the federal administration. One important question remains: Do Anglophones and Francophones equally share these types of attitudes? Rare though they are in these settings, the Francophones appear to be imbued with many of the same feelings. The problem is rather that the federal administration has been able to attract and retain only a few talented Francophones who could work in these areas. Is the absence based on a relative paucity of trained and creative Francophones in the general population or on the refusal of those of real talent to join the federal Public Service? There is probably some measure of accuracy on both sides. However, on balance, and especially in recent years, it appears that the refusal to join on the part of Francophones is the more compelling reason. Those who might consider coming know that they must operate within an English cultural ambience. Creative and dynamic as such settings are, due to their unilingual English nature they do not permit the full expression or development of the creative capacity of Francophones.

E. Department Selection

To anyone outside of Ottawa, the government is the government. It doesn't break down into departments. I just joined the government.

Information Officer, age 41, with seven years of service and a salary of \$11,000.

Many persons just "drift" into government employment and are not really attracted by a specific department. However, certain departments contain a much smaller proportion of men like these than others. Such departments are either specifically sought out by persons with particular interests or the departments themselves have evolved mechanisms by which they contact outsiders and bring them in. Often both processes operate in those departments which have few "drifters."

Although we do not have quantified findings, it appears that those with advanced training and specialized interests are most likely to be attracted by a specific department. This has already been suggested by the discussion of the scientists who seek out the department of Agriculture, the tax lawyers in the department of National Revenue, and the patent examiners in the Patent Office. Before joining, these men already know a great deal about the job they will be doing. In the same category would probably fall the natural scientists at the National Research Council, and the social workers and medical personnel at the department of National Health and Welfare.

A less-focussed but quite definite selection is also made by those who want to get into a department "where the action is." These individuals generally divide government departments into two classes — the stuffy, routine ones and the powerful, exciting ones — and they, of course, opt for the latter. The places most commonly named in this regard are the departments of Finance, External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, and sometimes the Treasury Board.

I grew up in Manitoba and had no contact with the federal Public Service there. But one summer I worked in Ottawa at D.B.S. [Dominion Bureau of Statistics]. That summer for the first time I gained a little bit of a feel for what it was like in Ottawa. . . . Then my specific interests in international affairs and the Far East ruled out D.B.S. and Trade and Commerce. . . . I went to the University of Toronto and learned about the department of Finance from an assistant deputy minister. His personal influence was an important factor. . . . He told me about Finance being at the centre of things and I've found it to be true.

Some departments are considerably more aggressive than others in going after the type of person they want. The type of procedure at their disposal ranges from making available summer employment to university students or faculty, to sending out top officials to the training grounds, up to having a senior person encourage a promising outsider and make special arrangements for his employment. As the

last quotation may suggest, it is typically the work settings that regularly need injections of new people with the latest training where the officers are continually searching for able recruits. There is one special case of this that we will consider at length in a later chapter: the "parachutist." The parachutist drops into the upper levels of the federal administration after developing a career in the private sector or a public service other than the federal one. For these men, special arrangements are made by Cabinet order and they move immediately into a high government post, but not necessarily a powerful one. (Many of these people are appointed to Boards and Commissions and, although they draw large salaries, they have limited power). The relative rates at which those of French and English background have gained entry to government circles by this mechanism will be examined. Here, we can anticipate the findings by saying that, because of the slower rate of upward mobility of Francophones at the middle level, the parachuting process is used extensively by the government to redress the imbalances at the top which result from the inequities of the career systems of the departments. Thus, Francophones with long experience outside the government are often able to get into the department of their choice by taking advantage of this situation.

F. A Retrospective View of Joining the Public Service

We asked our respondents to look back to the period immediately after they first joined the Public Service. How did they feel about the place? Were they committed to staying on and pursuing a career? Of course, their views about the past may be inaccurate, flavoured as they are by their present feelings. This is not important. We are chiefly interested in the ways Francophones and Anglophones react to their work environment. Answers to these questions reveal something of such differences and similarities between the linguistic groups.

Nearly equal proportions — 31 per cent of Francophones and 32 per cent of Anglophones — report that their initial feeling was one of firm commitment, that they liked the work and the thought of moving elsewhere never crossed their minds (Table 7.8). Turning to the uncommitted, we find the Francophones slightly but not significantly more prevalent here — 49 per cent of Francophones and 43 per cent of Anglophones state that they were uncommitted at the time of joining. The interesting finding is the differing distribution of the linguistic groups within the uncommitted category. The Francophones are more likely to claim that they had definite plans of leaving, while the Anglophones assert they were just indifferent. In short, the Francophones were considerably more likely than the Anglophones to consider abandoning a career in the federal administration soon after it began. This difference is a substantial one; it holds up within the several career types and seniority groups that we employ in the study.

Table 7.8

Degree of commitment of middle-level public servants to staying in the Public Service at the time of entry (percentages)

Degree of commitment at the time of entry	Francophones	Anglophones
Firmly committed — felt they would definitely stay	31.2	32.1
Mildly committed — did not mind the work and would stay if promotions came	3.1	6.0
Total committed	34.3	38.1
Indifferent — did not feel at all committed	22.7	34.5
Leaving — were determined to leave after a definite period	26.6	8.9
Total uncommitted	49.3	43.4
Undecided — no strong feelings, were going to wait and see	13.3	13.7
Other or not determined	3.1	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	128	168

It appears that, at the outset of their careers, professional and scientific personnel in both linguistic groups are especially likely to be uncommitted to government work (Table 7.9). Here is how a young economist expresses this feeling. He has been in the government for just over a year:

I planned on staying about two years when I joined. I am thinking now about going back to university. But if I am listened to and find I can get my ideas put into force, I may stay on. Right now I hold a wait-and-see attitude.

Two accountants in the early stages of their government careers show the intentions to quit that are more prevalent among the Francophones.

Non, je n'étais pas déterminé à rester; je voulais quitter éventuellement pour quelque chose de plus intéressant comme travail.

Table 7.9

Percentage of middle-level public servants expressing lack of commitment to staying in the Public Service at the time of entry, by career type A

	Francophones				Anglophones			
	Indif-ferent	Leaving	Total un-committed	N*	Indif-ferent	Leaving	Total un-committed	N*
Career type A								
Professional and scientific	30.2	23.3	53.5	43	36.9	8.3	45.2	84
Administrative	19.4	29.0	48.4	31	33.3	9.5	42.8	42
Technical and semi-professional	18.5	27.8	46.3	54	23.8	14.3	38.1	42
Total middle level	22.7	26.6	49.3	128	34.5	8.9	43.4	168

*These are the case bases on which the percentages are computed.

Au début je n'avais pas l'intention de demeurer. Je voulais prendre de l'expérience, compléter mes études par les soirs et possiblement quitter par la suite pour un bureau de comptables ou pour l'entreprise privée.

Thus the Francophones, particularly the highly-trained professionals and scientists, enter the federal administration in a more tentative manner than the Anglophones. As we will see in the following chapters, the wisdom of making only a tentative commitment is often verified when they discover the language and career disadvantages they have to overcome.

A career is a sequence of related positions within either an occupational community or a work organization. The sequence is socially recognized and, for the person, the pattern of movement from position to position over the long term is known and expected. To undertake a career means that a person embarks on a relatively predictable route through the work world and, at the same time, acquires a public identity and self-image.

Careers seen as patterned sequences of positions take many forms.¹ One of these is the bureaucratic career: one of entry at or near the bottom of an organization and advancement upward from one post to a higher one as the person acquires greater skill, experience, and seniority. Another type of career, that of the model or prostitute for instance, involves rapid ascent soon after entry to the field followed by a decline with increasing age and deterioration of physique. Professional athletes take longer to climb to the top but their later years also involve a career in decline. A further form of career begins at one level and carries persons from one organization to another of the same sort, but at much the same level. Examples are nurses and high school teachers. Thus bureaucratic careers have to be seen as one of several distinct models.

The concept of the career provides a means of examining the work histories of federal employees. It directs us to look at the degree to which the jobs held by individuals before joining the Public Service were functionally related and represented a socially recognized sequence. We have done this already in Chapter VI. It also directs us to examine their job histories after they have joined the Public Service. The specific problem is: do public servants have bureaucratic careers? In general, we find that most middle-level public servants do not have well-developed careers before entry, but once in government service most do follow a bureaucratic career.

There are, however, some important deviations from the pattern of the bureaucratic career at the middle level. First, people get "stuck" at one level in one department and go no further. Second,

some persons — particularly those bound for the elite — move horizontally between departments, often between unrelated jobs, rather than climbing within a single organization. Third, bureaucratic "outsiders" are brought in at high levels without working their way up through the system of careers. In the following pages we consider the bureaucratic career and these deviations from it. As well, we assess the career "success" of Francophones and Anglophones as measured in strictly monetary terms.

A. The Bureaucratic Career

The bureaucratic career is one of regular movement upwards along the established paths in an organization on the basis of competent performance, acquired skill or education, and practical experience or seniority. Often troublesome situations in promotion occur, as when the man with the most seniority is not as competent as others, but this is the general pattern. The important feature of bureaucracies is that upward movement depends on technical competence and able performance. In the Public Service this view is enshrined in the merit system which replaced patronage considerations and based appointments and promotions on "open competitions" in which the post went to the candidate with the most points in his favour.

The availability of bureaucratic careers involving regular promotions for those of ability has important consequences for both individuals and their society. An orderly career that offers the prospects of both prestige and advancement encourages persons to acquire the necessary training or education and to strive for excellence in performance. Conventions and standards of behaviour develop among those in the career; deviation is discouraged. In this way, careers supply meaning and direction to individual life.² In the society at large, bureaucratic careers contribute to the levelling of social differences. Since competence, rather than kin ties, political contacts, race, or ethnicity, is the deciding factor, persons of ability from all social levels and backgrounds are eligible to begin these careers. Lack of access to the necessary education does tend to eliminate certain categories of persons but, if equality of educational opportunity were available, these careers would be open to anyone of ability. Max Weber, in *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, has commented on this process:

The development of bureaucracy greatly favours the levelling of social classes and this can be shown historically to be the normal tendency. Conversely, every process of social levelling creates a favourable situation for the development of bureaucracy; for it tends to eliminate class privileges, which include the appropriation of authority as well as the occupation of offices on an honorary basis or as an avocation by virtue of wealth. This combination everywhere inevitably foreshadows the development of mass democracy. . . .

Bureaucratic careers open opportunities for all those who have skill and a will to work and, conversely, make it more difficult to inherit a social position.

Our interest here, then, is in social mobility: whether and to what extent individuals are able to move upwards in economic rank through these bureaucratic careers, or whether, according to some standards, they have not improved their lot by following a governmental career.³ In research of this kind on changes in economic status, several approaches are possible. Many studies are of intergenerational mobility: a comparison of some aspect of the economic level of a person with the level attained by the person's father or family. Wilensky argues that to date such measures have contained gross errors and he doubts "if anything can be said with confidence about rates of intergenerational mobility and their trend."⁴ In addition, on theoretical grounds, the second main type of social mobility, career movement within one's lifetime seems to exert a stronger influence on feelings and behaviour than intergenerational mobility, except at one point in life. Early in their careers, individuals are very conscious of where they stand in relation to their parents. Later in life, "the important comparisons are made with their own pasts; and consequent interpretations of success or failure are made in the context of contemporary reference groups."⁵ Since our focus is on relatively young persons at mid-career, it seems appropriate to adopt both approaches. We will first see how our two language groups have fared in relation to their parents. Then we will consider mobility during the working life of members of the two groups.

B. Intergenerational Mobility

Comparisons of their own position with their familial departure point continue to be important for these careerists. As well, it is possible to see whether Weber's comments on the levelling of social differences have much relevance when we compare their attainment to that of their fathers. Have many managed to use a bureaucratic career to rise above their parents? Has there been much inheritance of social level or have some people started lower? At the outset, it should be noted that we have adjusted the comparison to remove some unfairness. To pit an individual early in his career against the attainment of his father at the time the individual was in his teens seems harsher than to compare an older man with his father's attainment. Therefore, we use different standards for younger and older careerists in determining the nature of their intergenerational movement. Table 8.1 shows how the person's class origins (as determined by father's salary, occupation, education, when the respondent was in his teens — see Chapter V or Appendix VIII for the exact coding of class origins) and current age and salary level have been combined to provide a mobility measure. For instance, those of lower-middle class origins who are quite young (25-35 years) but earning a relatively large salary (over \$8,000 a year), are classed as having high upward mobility. On the other extreme, persons whose point of departure into the work world was from the upper-middle class but who are

Table 8.1

Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants, by class origin, current age, and current salary

Amount of intergenerational mobility	Measurement components		
	Class origin	Current age	Current salary
High upward	Lower middle	25-35	\$8,000+
	Working	25-35	\$7-8,000
	Working	25-45	\$8,000+
	Farm	25-35	\$7-8,000
	Farm	25-45	\$8,000+
Slight upward	Upper middle	25-45	\$12,000+
	Lower middle	36-45	\$8,000+
	Working	25-45	under \$7,000
	Working	36-45	\$7-9,000
	Farm	25-45	under \$7,000
	Farm	36-45	\$7-8,000
None	Upper middle	25-35	\$8-9,000
	Upper middle	25-45	\$9-12,000
	Lower middle	25-35	under \$8,000
Slight downward	Lower middle	36-45	under \$8,000
High downward	Upper middle	25-45	under \$8,000
	Upper middle	36-45	\$8-9,000

now earning under \$8,000 a year are considered as experiencing high downward movement.

Earlier we indicated that 49 per cent of the Francophones and 44 per cent of the Anglophones at the middle level were of working class or farm origins. Since they are now in "white collar" or middle-class careers, this is one indication of upward movement for a considerable number of persons. Thus, it should not surprise us to find that the Public Service is an important avenue of upward mobility for equally large segments of both Francophones and Anglophones: just over 60 per cent of those in both linguistic groups have attained a higher position than their family of origin through government employment (Table 8.2). A sizeable proportion in each group (20 per cent of Francophones, 17 per cent of Anglophones) have at least maintained the same level. On the other hand, in this era of expanding economic opportunities and a growing GNP in Canada, we find that about a fifth in both language groups are below the level of their parents. Many of these, of course, may surpass their parents by the

Table 8.2
Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

		Amount of intergenerational mobility					
Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	High downward	Slight downward	None	Slight upward	High upward	Total
Francophones	128	10.1	7.8	20.3	26.6	35.2	100.0
Anglophones	168	11.9	8.9	17.3	28.6	33.3	100.0

end of their careers. But the significant finding is that for the majority of these relatively young persons from both language groups, to work for the federal government has meant to improve one's lot, financially at least, in comparison to one's parents.

It is the professionals and scientists in both language groups who have the highest proportion showing a marked improvement (Table 8.3). Over 45 per cent of them have experienced high upward mobility. However, when upward mobility of any degree is considered, it is the administrators in both language group who have raised their station in life compared with their parents. Slightly more than two-thirds of both groups (68 per cent of Francophone administrators and 69 per cent of Anglophone administrators) have experienced upward mobility. At the other extreme are members of the Anglophone technical and semi-professional staff: only 17 per cent of them have experienced high upward mobility, although overall a sizeable proportion (52 per cent) have undergone some upward movement.

A major factor accounting for the relative success of these career-ists is that they are significantly better educated than their parents. We compare the educational attainment of the government employees with the attainment of their fathers in Table 8.4. Few had less education or the same educational attainment as their fathers. The majority — 64 per cent of Francophones and 53 per cent of Anglophones — have a markedly higher level of training. And it is the Francophones who show the most substantial improvement in education. This confirms the notion that since the Second World War there has been a quickened growth of educational opportunities in French Canada.

The fact that high upward movement is most probable among professionals and scientists is partially explained by the finding that this group shows the most marked educational improvement compared to their fathers (Table 8.5). As well, the lack of high upward movement for Anglophone technical and semi-professional persons reflects, in part, the fact that this group has not made substantial educational improvements over the previous generation. In fact, 14 per cent of them have *less* education than their fathers.

Table 8.3
Amount of intergenerational mobility among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

Linguistic group and career type A	N	Amount of intergenerational mobility					Total
		High downward	Slight downward	None	Slight upward	High upward	
<i>Francophones</i>							
Professional and scientific	43	16.3	4.6	23.3	7.0	48.8	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	9.2	13.0	14.8	35.2	27.8	100.0
Administrative	31	3.2	3.2	25.8	38.7	29.1	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Professional and scientific	84	11.9	4.8	20.2	16.7	46.4	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	19.0	11.9	16.7	35.7	16.7	100.0
Administrative	42	7.1	11.9	11.9	40.5	28.6	100.0

Table 8.4

Educational attainment of middle-level public servants compared to the attainment of their fathers (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Education of public servant compared to father					Total
		Less education	Same level	Slightly higher	Markedly higher	Not indicated	
Francophones	128	2.3	10.2	21.1	64.1	2.3	100.0
Anglophones	168	5.3	13.1	26.8	53.0	1.8	100.0

The preponderance of technical and semi-professional staff in National Revenue accounts for that department displaying relatively low rates of upward mobility for Francophones as well as Anglophones (Table 8.6). On the other hand, Anglophones in Finance and Francophones in Agriculture — both groups where professionals, scientists, or administrators are numerous — show comparatively high rates of upward progress for personnel. The other departments stand between these extremes.

Our general finding, therefore, is that the current generation of middle-level public servants at mid-career have made significant financial advances over the position of their families of origin. In later career they can be expected to do even better. But the critical factor appears to be education: where individuals obtain more education than their parents they are also likely to obtain posts with greater pay and prestige.

In Chapters IV and V we briefly discussed the notion of representative bureaucracy and indicated that Francophones were generally underrepresented in the middle and upper ranks. This chapter indicates that a large number who have attained this level have come from rather humble origins. What is the effect of upward mobility on political attitudes and sympathy for one's class of origin? There is evidence that those who move upward from lowly origins into the type of white-collar, middle-class job offered by a bureaucratic career, or who move from one region of the country to employment in another, shed their original attitudes and sympathies.⁶ They no longer are authentic representatives of the constituency from which they have risen. Thus, representativeness alone is not a necessary and sufficient condition for responsiveness. It does, however, appear to be related to responsiveness; a bureaucracy devoid of persons who speak the language or know the problems of a group with which the bureaucracy must deal could not properly discharge its functions. Thus, representativeness is a minimum condition for certain types of dealings between administrators and the public. In

Table 8.5

Educational attainment of middle-level federal public servants compared to the attainment of their fathers, by career type A (percentages)

Linguistic group and career type	Education of public servant compared to father						Total
	N	Less education	Same level	Slightly higher	Markedly higher	Not indicated	
<i>Francophones</i>							
Professional and scientific	43	2.3	9.3	14.0	72.1	2.3	100.0
Technical and semi- professional	54	3.8	7.4	24.0	64.8	0.0	100.0
Administrative	31	0.0	16.1	25.8	51.6	6.5	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Professional and scientific	84	2.4	11.9	14.3	70.2	1.2	100.0
Technical and semi- professional	42	14.3	14.3	38.1	28.6	4.7	100.0
Administrative	42	2.4	14.3	33.3	50.0	0.0	100.0

Table 8.6

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants with high upward mobility, by department

Department	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Percentage with high upward mobility	N*	Percentage with high upward mobility	N*
State	36.4	33	36.8	38
Finance	-	6	42.9	28
Agriculture	42.9	28	35.1	37
Public Works	39.3	28	31.3	32
National Revenue	24.2	33	27.3	33
Total	35.2	128	33.3	168

*This is the base on which the percentage is computed.

addition, it has been argued that "...responsiveness is more a reflection of the consensual and equalitarian ethos of the community as a whole than a direct result of its representativeness only."⁷

C. Career Mobility

Do Anglophones and Francophones move up the departmental routes at much the same rate and go the same distance? Are there disparities between individuals with similar ages or years of service in the same career, but from different language groups? These are the questions we address here. They concern the amount of "success," as measured in salary terms, enjoyed by persons of different linguistic origins in the Public Service.

At the outset, two facts about the worklife of Francophones in the Public Service must be noted:

(1) For a large segment, as we have seen in Chapter VI, employment in the federal Public Service was their first permanent job. This is the case for 51 per cent of those of French mother tongue in the whole Public Service, and for 41 per cent at the middle level. The comparable findings are 29 per cent for all public servants of English mother tongue and 24 per cent for those at the middle level.

(2) In terms of years of service, the proportion of Francophones with long service is as great as that of the Anglophones (Tables 8.7 and 8.8). In the total Public Service, 34 per cent of those of French and 35 per cent of those of English mother tongue have served 15 years or more. At the middle level, 23 per cent of Francophones and 24 per cent of Anglophones have served for a similar period.⁸

Table 8.7

Years of service of all departmental employees in the federal administration, by mother tongue (1965) (percentages)

Years of service	Mother tongue		
	English	French	Other
2 or less	13.6	13.8	17.3
3-4	8.8	10.4	10.7
5-6	8.7	7.9	14.6
7-10	17.3	17.8	22.8
11-14	16.5	16.6	16.5
15-18	11.7	9.8	8.3
19-22	13.7	13.0	3.9
23 or more	9.8	10.8	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i> *	6,852	1,487	819
Median years of service	10.9	10.5	7.8

*These are the unweighted bases. Percentages are computed from weighted bases.

Source: Johnstone, Klein, Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table 8.8

Years of service in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Years of service			Total
		1-5	6-14	15 and up	
Francophones	128	28.1	49.2	22.7	100.0
Anglophones	168	32.7	43.5	23.8	100.0

These findings indicate that although the Francophones tend to enter government work much earlier in their working life than Anglophones, they are not as likely to stay. With their headstart in federal employment, it would be expected that they would have a longer average tenure than Anglophones. This is not the case. Although Anglophones enter later in their working life, the early "fall-out" from the ranks of the Francophones permits them to catch up.

This is clearly seen in age distribution; at the middle level, relatively fewer Francophones are in the older 41-45 age group (Table 8.9). Thus, for a variety of reasons, many of the early-joining Francophones choose not to make the federal Public Service a lifetime career despite its initial attraction. Our task now is to suggest some of the things that discourage them.

We have already seen that those of French background are concentrated in the lower salary levels in the departments of government. Much the same situation pertains at the middle level (Table 8.10). We can also show that in recent times those of English mother tongue were twice as likely as those of French mother tongue to enter government service at high salary levels (Table 8.11). This is not too surprising: the Francophones tend to enter with less education and less "outside" experience than the Anglophones. The crucial comparisons should be made between those with the same education, age, years of service, or career skills. Individuals evaluate themselves in terms of the achievements of those who are their equivalents in some sense. A sense of disenchantment grows as one sees individuals regarded as one's equals pass one by; furthermore, success and satisfaction often come from outdoing or at least doing as well as one's peers.

Except for a few special categories of personnel, Francophones fare badly compared to their Anglophone equivalents. This is seen when we compare those with the same education, same occupation, or same starting salary. Table 8.12 shows the salary levels of those having similar lengths of education but of different mother tongue. Those

Table 8.9
Age distribution among middle-level federal public servants
(percentages)

		Age in years				
Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	25-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	Total
Francophones	128	12.5	28.1	29.7	29.7	100.0
Anglophones	168	12.5	16.7	31.5	39.3	100.0

of French background are behind the other two language groups at every educational level except those of "other" mother tongues who have 10 years of schooling or less. Especially significant is the gap between those with university degrees. Employees of English mother tongue with a degree earn, on the average, \$2,000 per annum more than the equivalent Francophones. Those of other mother tongues have an average salary over \$600 above that of their French counterparts. Salary discrepancies easily become the source of resentment which then leads either to thoughts of quitting or to grumbling

Table 8.10

Salary distribution among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Salary per annum			Total
		\$6,200- \$7,999	\$8,000- \$9,999	\$10,000 or more	
Francophones	128	48.4	43.0	8.6	100.0
Anglophones	168	43.4	31.0	25.6	100.0

Table 8.11

Entry to the federal administration at a high salary level (\$5,000 or more per annum) among all departmental employees (1965), by mother tongue and period of recruitment

Period of recruitment	Mother tongue			
	English		French	
	Percentage with salary of \$5,000 or more	<i>N*</i>	Percentage with salary of \$5,000 or more	<i>N*</i>
1961-65	14.1	1,248	7.5	319
1955-60	6.0	1,524	3.2	335
1951-54	1.8	995	2.1	228
1950 or earlier	1.0	3,018	.1	589
All periods	5.3	6,785	3.0	1,471

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are computed from weighted bases.

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

acceptance. Since the largest gaps are among university-educated public servants, most of whom are in middle- and upper-level positions, it is likely that resentment and bitterness will be greatest here.

It is among engineers and physical and biological scientists that the Francophones are especially disadvantaged (Table 8.13). The average income of those of English mother tongue is nearly \$2,300 higher and of those of other mother tongues nearly \$1,900 higher than the Francophone group working in these fields. On the other hand, lawyers and social scientists of French mother tongue fare better than their Anglophone peers (but not better than their peers of other tongues) and Francophone managers are at generally higher salary

Table 8.12

Median annual income (1965) of departmental employees by mother tongue and years of schooling, with a comparison between those of French, English, and other mother tongues

Years of schooling	Actual median			Median income of French compared with	
	English	French	Other	English	Other
10 years or less	\$4,330	\$4,291	\$3,805	- \$39	+ \$486
11-12 years	\$4,747	\$4,415	\$4,712	- \$332	- \$297
Some university (no degree)	\$5,331	\$4,880	\$5,330	- \$45	- \$450
Degree holders	\$8,840	\$6,763	\$7,432	- \$2,077	- \$669

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table 8.13

Median annual income (1965) of departmental employees by mother tongue and occupation, with a comparison between those of French, English, and other mother tongues

Occupation	Actual median			Median income of French compared with	
	English	French	Other	English	Other
Managers	\$6,197	\$5,956	\$5,830	- \$241	+ \$126
Engineers and natural scientists	\$8,056	\$5,764	\$7,647	- \$2,292	- \$1,883
Lawyers and social scientists	\$5,694	\$6,000	\$6,495	+ \$306	- \$495
Clerical	\$4,160	\$4,079	\$4,443	- \$81	- \$364

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

levels than managers of other mother tongues. They are, however, behind Anglophone managers. Farther down the occupational scale, at the clerical level, those of French mother tongue are generally paid less than their colleagues from the other two linguistic groups. Thus, the Francophone salary gap is especially large in engineering and scientific areas but is also present in most other fields. Nowhere do the Francophones surpass both the other language groups in average earnings. In two domains, however — management, and law and social science — the Francophone group stands between the other two.

Comparing persons who started at the same salary level and ascertaining their rate of yearly salary increments provides a good index of their relative rate of upward movement. Table 8.14 shows that the average annual salary increase for Anglophones is generally larger than that for Francophones who started in the same salary bracket. In short, Anglophones and Francophones may start as salary equals, but the Francophones get left behind. This is the case at all the lower levels. Among those beginning in the range from \$6,000 to \$7,999, employees of French mother tongue have been getting ahead at a faster rate than the Anglophone group that started off at this level. But at the highest level (those earning \$8,000 or more as a starting salary), the Anglophone group has a yearly increment that is over \$200 greater on the average than that obtained by Francophones. Hence, among those starting at or near the bottom of the Public Service or at the very top, personnel of English mother tongue rise faster than those of French tongue. Only in part of the middle level (\$6,000 to \$7,999) does the Francophone group surpass the Anglophone. Except for this sector, Francophones in the federal administration regularly observe their Anglophone peers climbing up the departmental salary ladders at a faster rate than themselves.

Much the same pattern of similarities and differences in monetary success between Francophones and Anglophones exists at the middle level. For instance, younger Francophones fare as well or better than younger Anglophones, but at older age levels Francophones are drastically behind (Figure 8.1). The percentage of older Anglophones earning a salary of \$9,000 or more a year is fully 37 points higher than the Francophone percentage. Since, as we have seen in Table 8.9, Francophones are not numerous in the higher-earning 41 to 45 age group, and since in this age group they are well behind the Anglophones in salary, it is not surprising that large, overall Francophone-Anglophone salary differences exist. But the most interesting point is that in the younger age groups where the Francophones are relatively concentrated, they are doing quite well. The problem appears to be that as they get older they are surpassed by the Anglophones.

When individuals at the same educational level are compared, it is seen that Francophones are at a salary disadvantage in every category (Figure 8.2). As a general rule it is true that the higher the education, the higher the salary, but Anglophones derive greater benefit

Table 8.14
Mean annual income (1965), mean years of service, and mean increase per annum of departmental employees, by mother tongue and initial salary level, with a comparison of those of English and French mother tongues

Initial salary level	Mean annual salary		Mean years of service		Mean increase per annum		Discrepancy (English minus French)		Unweighted case base	
	English	French	English	French	English	French	English	French	English	French
Less than 2,000	\$5,036	\$4,713	17.0	17.0	\$208	\$190	+	\$18	2,227	566
\$2,000-\$2,999	\$4,684	\$4,277	9.6	8.7	\$228	\$205	+	\$23	1,795	444
\$3,000-\$3,999	\$5,402	\$4,974	7.7	7.3	\$248	\$203	+	\$45	1,002	217
\$4,000-\$4,999	\$6,489	\$6,105	6.8	7.0	\$293	\$230	+	\$63	544	88
\$5,000-\$5,999	\$7,325	\$6,820	5.9	5.7	\$308	\$232	+	\$76	308	47
\$6,000-\$7,999	\$8,493	\$9,454	4.5	4.2	\$367	\$596	-	\$229	393	45
\$8,000 and up	\$12,961	\$10,848	5.0	2.1	\$398	\$190	+	\$208	519	64

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Figure 8.1

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by age group

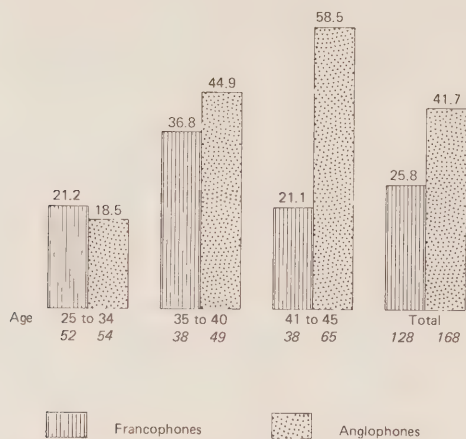
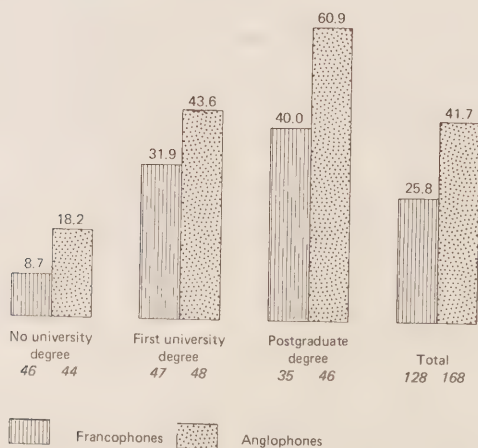


Figure 8.2

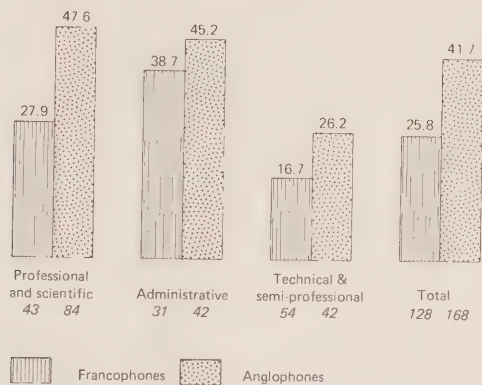
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by education level



from this fact. The gap between the percentage of those of French and English background earning \$9,000 or more per annum widens as level of education increases. It is about 9 points among those with no university training, but increases to 20 points among employees with postgraduate degrees. Once again, it is the Francophones with the best university credentials who are at the greatest relative disadvantage.

The story is similar for Francophones in the same career fields as Anglophones: a smaller percentage in each field earn high salaries (Figure 8.3). As in the total Public Service, the gap is smallest for those in administrative (managerial) careers, but in professional and scientific fields Francophones are nearly 20 points lower than the Anglophones.

Figure 8.3
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by career type A

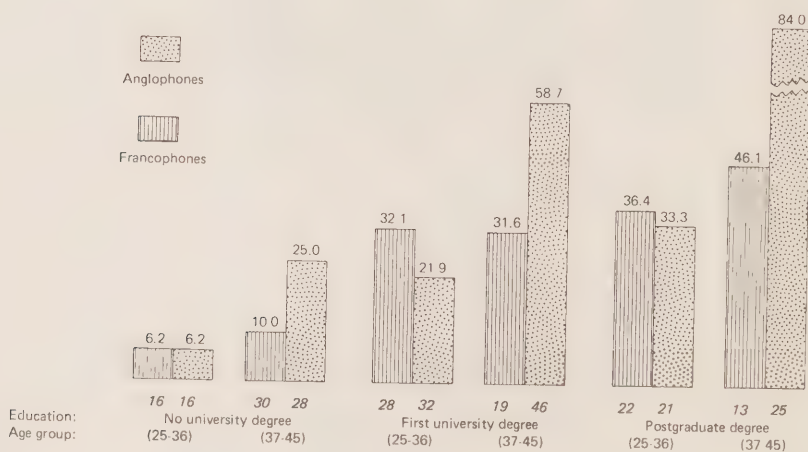


There are, however, two other factors which could have a bearing on these results. If the Francophones in each career type or at the several educational levels were generally younger than the Anglophones, then the comparisons are not being made between equals. In other words, a comparison of young degree holders (Francophones) to older degree holders (Anglophones) would naturally show the older group at a higher level. Second, and by the same token, a comparison between professionals or degree-holders in high-paying fields with professionals or degree-holders in low-paying fields would inevitably show differences. In the present case, if Francophones are concentrated in the professional fields of accountancy and law while the Anglophones are chiefly in the better-paying professional fields of engineering and physical science, then a difference is to be expected. Since both these conditions probably pertain, it is necessary to introduce further controls to ensure that the comparisons are made between true equivalents.

First, we will carve each educational level into two age groups (Figure 8.4). One rather obvious finding is that, with one exception, at each level of education older public servants are more likely to be paid a higher salary than younger public servants. The exception is among Francophones with a first university degree; the young employees do as well as the old. But of more relevance is the observation that young Francophones do as well or better than young Anglophones: among those without university degrees they do as well; at the graduate and postgraduate levels, young Francophones do better. It is among older employees at all levels of training that Francophones find themselves in a decidedly inferior position. In particular, the Francophone-Anglophone gap for older university graduates is quite dramatic. Francophones are 27 points behind the Anglophones with first university degrees and 38 points behind at the postgraduate level. Although Francophones and Anglophones now start as equals, Francophones of advanced age or with lengthy periods of government service have not risen as fast or as far as the Anglophones.

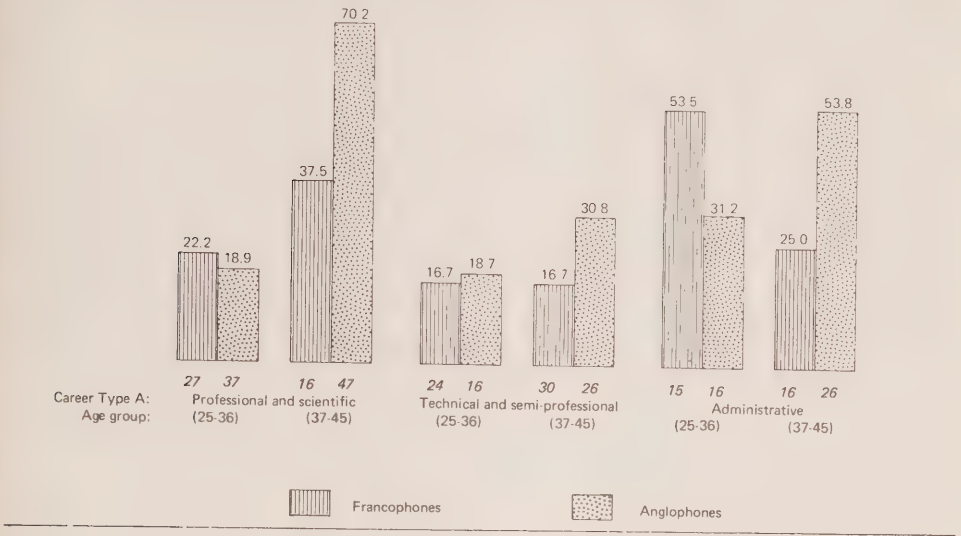
Figure 8.4

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by educational level and age group



Age is again a critical factor in each career type: young Francophones do as well as their Anglophone colleagues, but older Anglophones have moved farther up the salary scale than Francophones of the same age in the same careers (Figure 8.5). In fact, young

Figure 8.5
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants earning \$9,000 or more per annum, by career type A and age group



Francophones in scientific-professional posts do better, and those in administrative posts do considerably better than their Anglophone counterparts. In both these fields the situation is reversed in the older age group: Anglophones are considerably ahead of Francophones in professional-scientific and administrative careers. Again, the older Francophones are on unequal terms with their Anglophone peers.

Now we will attempt to compare Francophones and Anglophones with the same level and type of educational specialization. This means that we avoid matching persons who appear to have the same level of education but whose specialties are not equally lucrative. This can be done through multiple regression analysis.

We postulate that salary level (S) in these federal organizations is a function (f) of the following variables: age (A), education (E), career type (CT), years of service (YS), ethnolinguistic affinity (L), and a random component (U). This general relationship is represented as follows:

$$S = f(A, E, CT, YS, L, U) \tag{1}$$

If one postulates that total salary can reasonably be viewed as the result of the above factors working in essentially an additive fashion (i.e. that there are few or no interaction effects among the explanatory variables), then relationship (1) may be rewritten:

$$S = B_0 + B_1A + B_2E + B_3CT + B_4YS + B_5L + U \tag{2}$$

In (2) the B 's are partial correlation coefficients; each measures the effect on the dependent variable, S , of a unit change in the independent variable. Thus, for example, if one estimates the age variable, B_1 , to be \$50, one would then predict that a man 40 years of age would earn \$50 more per year than a man of 39 with the same characteristics.

This approach accommodates continuous variables like salary level, age, and years of service, but is not directly applicable to variables like career type or ethnolinguistic affinity which contain discrete categories. To handle the latter variables, we treated them as binary or "dummy" variables,⁹ a technique which also permitted more refined breakdowns. Concerning ethnolinguistic affinity, we split the Francophone and Anglophone groups into unilingual and bilingual sectors. This involved using the response to a question in which Francophones rated their ability in English and Anglophones their ability in French. Self-ratings are, of course, not valid measures of actual competence, but they do allow us to see in gross terms whether those who feel confident in their use of a second language differ from those who feel able to work well in only one language. This operation concerning ethnolinguistic affinity produced four categories rather than the usual two.

Ethnolinguistic affinity

- FR-U Unilingual Francophones
- FR-B Bilingual Francophones
- ANG-B Bilingual Anglophones
- ANG-U Unilingual Anglophones

Concerning education, we redefined the university-degree level to distinguish between "Arts" and "Science-Engineering" streams. This is the revised variable:

Education level

- E 1 Secondary school completed or less
- E 2 Some university training, but no degree, or some technical training beyond completed secondary school
- E 3 First university degree: a degree, usually a Bachelor's in Arts, Commerce, or Social Science
- E 4 First university degree: a degree, usually a Bachelor's in Science, Engineering, Applied Science, Forestry, Math, or Architecture
- E 5 Postgraduate degree: a degree, usually either a Master's or Doctor's in Arts, Social Science, Philosophy, or a Law degree (LL.B.)
- E 6 Postgraduate degree: a degree, usually either a Master's or Doctor's in Science, Medicine, Engineering, or Architecture

The career-type variable remains unchanged.

Career type

- CT-P&S Professionals and scientists
- CT-Admin Administrators
- CT-Tech Technicians and semi-professionals

Each category of the ethnolinguistic-affinity, education-level, and career-type variables is regarded as varying from 0 (absent) to 1 (present). Each category, therefore, is treated as a separate variable. Equation (2) is then rewritten.

$$S = B_0 + B_1A + B_{21}E_1 + B_{22}E_2 + \dots + B_{26}E_6 + B_{31}CT-P\&S + \dots \\ + B_{33}CT-TECH + B_4YS + B_{51}FR-U + \dots + B_{54}ANG-B + U \quad (3)$$

Equation (3) will be referred to as the *general equation*.

The general equation is the one we use in the regression analysis. For statistical reasons, however, it is not possible to include both the constant term, B_0 , and all the subgroups of those variables which have been broken down into dummy variables. We therefore retain the constant term and constrain one category of each of the ethnolinguistic-affinity, education-level, and career-type variables to zero. Specifically, FR-B, E3, and CT-Admin are constrained to zero by omitting these categories from the regression equation. The interpretation of results is made in terms of comparisons to the omitted category. Discussion below will make this clear.

The results of the general equation are given below. It estimates the effects of the various factors on salary level when all 296 cases are included. Later we will consider the effects of the various factors separately for each of the four ethnolinguistic categories, as well as for All Francophones and All Anglophones.

$$S = 4,962.05 + 114.64(A) + \begin{matrix} - 2,293.16(E1) \\ - 1,422.43(E2) \\ 1,148.50(E5) \\ 153.86(E6) \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} - 674.01(CT-P\&S) \\ - 536.08(CT-TCH) \end{matrix} \\ + 24.40(YS) + \begin{matrix} - 496.74(FR-U) \\ + 397.12(ANG-U) \\ 337.07(ANG-B) \end{matrix}$$

The estimated coefficients for age, A, and years of service, YS, have the usual interpretation: other things being equal, each year of age adds \$114.64 to salary, and each year of service (seniority) adds \$24.40. As for the dummy variables, one would expect a person who has completed high school or less (E1) to receive an annual salary \$2,293 lower than a man of similar other characteristics but who has a B.A. (E3, the constrained category). Similarly, a man with a postgraduate degree in, for example, arts, social sciences, or law (E5) would tend to receive \$1,148 more per year than the persons having a B.A. (E3). Looking at the ethnolinguistic variables, the implication is that a Francophone who feels uncomfortable in English (FR-U) would receive \$497 per year less than a bilingual Francophone (FR-B); a unilingual Anglophone would receive \$397 more, and a bilingual Anglophone would receive \$337 more than a bilingual Francophone. In the different career types, we find that people both in

professional and scientific and in technical careers tend to receive lower salaries than administrators—in the amounts \$674 and \$536, respectively.

Using this equation we can estimate the salary levels of men with varying combinations of characteristics. For example, we would predict that a 30-year-old public servant, with a bachelor's degree in arts, commerce, or social science (E3), who has been in the government employ for five years and is a bilingual Francophone, would receive a salary of \$8,523. The estimation is made as follows:

$$S = 4,962.05 + (114.64 \times 30) + (0 \times 1) + (0 \times 1) + (24.40 \times 5) \\ + (0 \times 1) = \$8,523.25$$

By comparison we would predict that a man with similar traits but with only a high school education or less would earn \$6,230 (i.e., \$8,523.25 less \$2,293.16). Similarly, a man with the above characteristics, but in a professional and scientific career, would likely earn \$7,849 (\$8,523.25 less \$674.01).

For each coefficient, its t-score, the ratio of the coefficient to its standard deviation, was computed. Using a one-tailed test at a 5 per cent level of significance, the estimated coefficient will be significantly different from zero if the t-score exceeds 1.645. We find in the general equation that the age variable is a statistically significant factor in explaining salary ($t = 5.38$). We also find that education levels 1, 2, and 5 differ significantly from E3, the category constrained to zero ($t = 6.26, 4.02, 3.01$ respectively); that both the career variables included differ significantly from the category omitted (t for CT-P&S = 2.22, for CT-TCH = 1.75); and finally, that of the three ethnolinguistic variables included, only the unilingual Anglophone category is significantly different from the omitted category, bilingual Francophone ($t = 1.66$). The coefficient of multiple determination, adjusted for degrees of freedom, is .319, which is satisfactory in the analysis of cross-sectional data, and implies that we have explained about 32 per cent of the total variation in salary levels. The F-score is significant at the one per cent level, indicating that the equation taken as a whole has significant explanatory power.

To each of the dummy variable groupings (education, ethnolinguistic category, and career type) a modified version of the added variable test was applied to determine whether each has significant explanatory power.¹⁰ Table 8.15 records the significance test information. In the general equation we note that when all variables are included each of the dummy variable categories has statistical significance.

The general equation reveals some rather obvious conclusions. First, it shows that there is a positive correlation between both age and years of service, and salary attainment. Second, the general progression among the education variables from negative to positive signs indicates that level of education is directly correlated with salary.

Of more interest is the fact that the salary level of unilingual Francophones tends to be relatively low, other things being equal. However, the evidence in the general equation is more suggestive than conclusive. In order to carry out a more definitive analysis, we will have to decompose our sample into six ethnolinguistic categories: all Francophones, unilingual Francophones, bilingual Francophones, all Anglophones, unilingual Anglophones, and bilingual Anglophones. The reason is that in specifying the form of the general equation, as mentioned before, we have assumed that each of the explanatory variables has an independent and additive influence in determining salary. It is possible however, that an element of interaction exists between the ethnolinguistic variable and some other

Table 8.15
Significance tests of the dummy variable categories*

Regression**	Dummy variable category		
	Education	Career type	Ethnolin- guistic affinity
General equation	14.83	7.89	6.09
#1	7.05	2.91***	-
#2	4.41	1.98***	-
#3	5.38	2.20***	-
#4	8.51	0.98***	-
#5	7.80	1.05***	-
#6	1.63***	1.12***	-

*The values recorded in the table are the F-statistics.
**Regressions 1 to 6 refer to the results, by ethnolinguistic categories, presented in Table 8.16.
***Not significant at the 5 per cent level.

explanatory variable which would obscure the independent effect of the ethnolinguistic factor, and perhaps suggest that salary differences along these lines do or do not exist when, in fact, the opposite is true. In order to guard against this possibility we report in lines 1 to 6 of Table 8.16 the estimates of the effects of the variables for each of the ethnolinguistic categories separately.

The age factor proves very strong in all six equations. All Anglophones tend to receive almost twice as much for each passing year as do all Francophones, and broadly similar comparisons hold for the unilingual and bilingual groups. In all cases the passage of time favours the salaries of Anglophones *vis-a-vis* Francophones.

The seniority variable—years of service—behaves similarly. For each additional year of service an Anglophone tends to receive about \$35 while a Francophone receives about \$4. Perhaps more informative

Table 8.16
Multiple regression analysis of the salary determinants of middle-level federal public servants, Canada 1965

Regr. No.	Description	Constant	Age	Education level						Career type					n ⁴
				E1	E2	E4	E5	E6	P+S	Tech	Yrs. of service	R ²	F ³		
				Regression coefficients ¹ , [] their t-scores											
1	All Francophones	6,115.23	78.28 (2.63)	-1,595.76 (3.51)	- 915.72 (2.14)	428.48 (0.94)	1,274.88 (2.75)	253.45 (0.53)	- 955.72 (2.41)	- 481.14 (1.24)	3.61 (0.12)	.2308	5.234	128	
2	Unilingual Francophones	4,571.23	49.39 (2.00)	- 72.73 (.131)	- 74.61 (.150)	1,793.83 (3.47)	1,268.98 (2.54)	1,213.10 (2.54)	412.28 (.801)	811.25 (1.95)	31.14 (.98)	.5063	5.44	40	
3	Bilingual Francophones	6,545.71	77.00 (1.77)	-1,819.47 (3.24)	- 798.05 (1.43)	21.18 (.04)	1,583.66 (2.61)	50.16 (.07)	-1,029.86 (2.04)	- 724.25 (.146)	- 3.22 (.08)	.2380	4.02	88	
4	All Anglophones	4,178.57	149.81 (5.13)	-2,811.08 (4.99)	-1,887.67 (3.38)	- 969.93 (2.02)	1,003.11 (1.74)	- 131.54 (-.024)	- 432.06 (0.96)	- 594.16 (1.27)	34.55 (1.18)	.3455	10.80	168	
5	Unilingual Anglophones	4,592.18	130.48 (4.50)	-2,822.22 (5.04)	-1,738.18 (3.07)	-1,312.58 (2.78)	1,248.05 (1.58)	- 604.13 (1.12)	66.59 (0.14)	- 603.79 (1.31)	63.35 (2.07)	.3868	10.11	131	
6	Bilingual Anglophones	1,387.73	251.89 (2.47)	-3,270.17 (1.76)	-2,713.19 (1.60)	57.42 (0.03)	1,167.86 (0.87)	791.97 (0.45)	-1,822.15 (1.45)	165.79 (.10)	-75.88 (0.85)	.1691	1.814 ⁵	37	

¹The education level, career type, and ethnolinguistic variables are defined in the text. Age and years of service are measured in years, as of September 1965.

² R^2 is the coefficient of multiple determination, adjusted for degrees of freedom.

³F is the F-statistic.

⁴The number of observations.

⁵Not significant at the 5 per cent level; all other F-scores are significant at the 1 per cent level.

than the estimates of annual salary increments attributable to seniority is the fact that none of the estimated coefficients for YS in the three Francophone groups (regressions 1, 2, and 3) is significantly different from zero. The suggestion is, then, that in the case of Francophones in these organizations very little by way of salary increase can be attributed to seniority alone. For the three Anglophone groups the case is rather different. The negative sign of YS in regression 6 (bilingual Anglophones) is unexpected, but not significantly different from zero. The same variable is positive and highly significant in the case of unilingual Anglophones, and positive, though not significant for all Anglophones. Thus, while the evidence is somewhat mixed, it supports the conclusion that seniority is a relatively more important factor in determining the salary of majority than minority men.

The education variables contain uneven results. One would anticipate negative signs attaching to the E1 and E2 variables, as compared to variable E3, and positive signs for E4, E5 and E6. Furthermore, one would expect a fairly smooth progression of the magnitudes of the estimated coefficients:

$$B_{21} < B_{22} < B_{23} < B_{24} < B_{25} < B_{26}.$$

We find that the signs are generally as anticipated, but with four exceptions in 30 cases: in the E4 and E6 coefficients for all Anglophones and unilingual Anglophones. The anticipated progression is also borne out generally, but with the important exception relating to the E6 variable (a postgraduate degree in science, medicine, engineering, or architecture) whose coefficient in all cases we find to be lower than that obtained for E5 and, in five of the six equations, not to be significantly different from the constrained E3 variable. The E6 variable performed much the same way in the general equation also. Possession of this type of postgraduate degree gives one a salary not significantly larger than persons with a bachelor's degree in arts or related fields (E3). Likewise, those also having a postgraduate degrees but in arts, social science, and so on (E5) generally fare better than the E6 group. Why those who could be called "Artsmen" or "generalists" do as well or better financially than these science-engineering specialists will be discussed later. But with this major exception we find the overall performance of the education variable conforms to expectations.

The estimates of the salary influence resulting from the various career types are rather mixed, but the suggestion is that the administrators tend to be more highly paid than either professionals and scientists or technicians. However the evidence is not clear, and only three of the 12 estimated coefficients are significantly different from zero.

To sum up the results for the six equations, it appears that age and level of education consistently are significant determinants of salary attainment. One year of age, however, gives to Anglophones a salary increase generally twice as large as that obtained by Francophones. This is shown in Table 8.16, and, for education, Table 8.15

indicates that except for regression 6 (the bilingual Anglophone group), education has a significant impact on salary increases. The major exception is that persons with postgraduate degrees in science, engineering, and like fields (E6) are not at a significantly higher salary level than those with a first university degree in an arts field (E3) and are generally at lower levels than those with postgraduate degrees in arts, social sciences, and such fields (E5). Seniority makes some contribution to salary gains for Anglophones but little or none to Francophone increases. However, the contribution of one year of seniority *at the most* amounts to three-fifths of the increase from one year of age. As for the career-type variable, its effects are neither consistent nor strong and, as Table 8.15 indicates, in all six regressions this variable has insignificant explanatory power. Nonetheless we have retained the career-type variable in the analysis because of its theoretical importance in explaining salary, and we have retained the education variable in regression 6 in order to maintain comparability among equations.

To aid in the further investigation of the importance of the various factors in explaining salaries and, in particular, in explaining Anglophone-Francophone salary differentials, one can use the regression results to estimate the salary levels of a large number of combinations of characteristics. Altogether we estimated the salary levels for all combinations of three ages (25, 35, 45), the six education groups, the three career types, and three seniority levels (5, 10, and 15 years years of service). Thus a salary level was predicted for 162 combinations of characteristics for each of the six ethnolinguistic breakdowns. However, not all of these combinations of characteristics appear reasonable. In particular, we exclude all combinations involving (1) the career type, professional and scientific, and education levels 1 and 2; (2) technicians and semi-professionals and education levels 5 and 6; and (3) young age (25 years) with long years of service (10 or 15 years). After removing these combinations we are left with 98 meaningful arrangements of variables as shown in Appendix IX, Table A.8. Table A.9 shows for each of the six ethnolinguistic categories the salary projections for all 98 combinations. To locate Francophone-Anglophone differences, the salary estimates of the three Anglophone groups (all, unilingual, or bilingual Anglophones) were subtracted from their Francophone counterparts for each of the 98 combinations; these differentials were then examined, first, to see if any were statistically significant and, second, to find any patterns in the differentials. The salary differentials in dollars are indicated in Table A.10, and Table A.11 shows the t-score for each differential (the ratio of the differential to its standard error).¹¹

Only 10 of the 294 (3 times 98) differentials are significantly different from zero. Every one of the 10 arises in the 45-year-old, unilingual Francophone-Anglophone comparisons, and only in administrative and professional-scientific careers. Thus, although the data suggest that there are few areas revealing significant discrepancies between Francophones and Anglophones, they do pinpoint the discrepancies. Older unilingual Anglophone administrators at all seniority

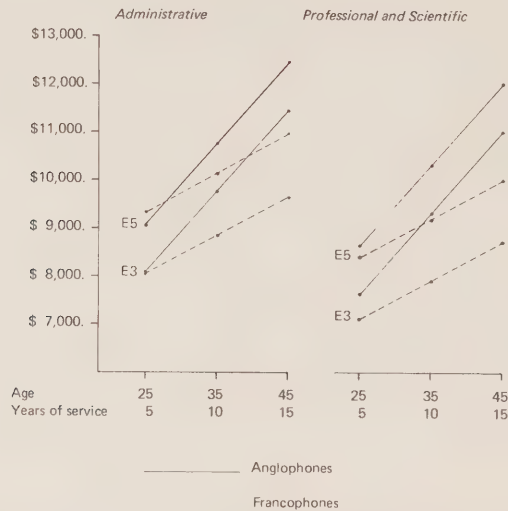
levels who have either a bachelor's or postgraduate degree in arts or related fields (E3 or E5) have significantly higher salaries than their unilingual Francophone equivalents. Likewise, older unilingual Anglophone professional and scientific personnel with considerable seniority (10 or 15 years) and holding a bachelor's or postgraduate degree in arts, social sciences, or other such fields (E3 or E5) are markedly better off financially than their unilingual Francophone counterparts. These, then, are the combinations of age, career type, education, and seniority where Anglophones are ahead and Francophones are lagging. Note that it is among *unilingual* Francophones that salary increases slow down. This indicates that it may not be so much an ethnic factor which accounts for the differential—Francophones who are bilingual are not significantly off the Anglophone pace—as it is lack of facility in English among these older Francophones. All in all, we find that ethnic-linguistic factors account for marked salary differentials in relatively few work areas, and in those few areas the differential may result more from an inability to function in these "English" organizations than from ethnic discrimination. Although certain factors—age and seniority in particular—bring greater gains to Anglophones than Francophones, the combined factors produce relatively few examples of gross salary differences between Anglophones and Francophones with similar traits. There is no general salary discrimination along ethnolinguistic lines in these organizations.

Although at first glance it appears that ethnolinguistic factors produce few obvious salary differentials, a close study of the pattern of differentials suggests that ethnicity and language have a more subtle impact on salary attainment. Take the two areas where significant Anglophone-Francophone differences appear: among the 45-year-olds with lengthy seniority and education level 3 or 5 in either the administrative or professional-scientific groups. Now compare to these the predicted salaries for men in the same careers and with the same level of education but who are 35 years old and have 10 years of service, or 25 years old with five years of service. The comparisons are made in Figure 8.6.

While the salary levels of young Anglophones and Francophones in administrative careers tend to be close, perhaps even favouring the Francophones, the differential turns in favour of the Anglophones as they gain in age and seniority. In fact, Anglophones with only a first university degree pull ahead of the Francophones with postgraduate degrees. Much the same pattern is present in professional and scientific careers. Here young Anglophones start a little ahead of young Francophones; with greater age and seniority, the gap widens. Again, by age 45 Anglophones with a first university degree have surpassed Francophones with postgraduate degrees. In brief, these findings clearly show that although younger Anglophones and Francophones now start their careers with nearly equal salaries, older Francophones are significantly off the pace of Anglophone attainment. We may find no general and gross salary discrimination along ethnolinguistic lines in these organizations, but we do find that older members of the Francophone minority pursuing professional, scientific, and administrative careers end up in an inferior salary position.

Figure 8.6

Salary projections of middle-level federal public servants in the administrative and professional-scientific career category, at two educational levels, by age and years of service



D. Horizontal Mobility

So far we have been preoccupied with rates of upward or downward movement as measured by income—vertical mobility. In this section we examine two types of horizontal moves: geographic (between communities) and interdepartmental (between organizations). These moves may, however, bring economic gains for those who undertake them. But we are not so much interested in the monetary rewards that attach to such changes as in the differing propensities of members of the linguistic groups to experience such moves.

We begin by examining the work histories of men throughout the whole Public Service and first looking at their geographic moves. Overall, those of French and English mother tongue are quite similar in their frequency of movement during their work in the government, although there is a tendency for the Anglophones with longer terms to have moved around more (Table 8.17). In fact, for those with seven to 10 years of service and in every category with longer service, the Anglophone group contains a relatively larger contingent of "movers" than the Francophone group. It is only among those with three to six years of service that the Francophones are more mobile.

Table 8.17

Percentage of male departmental public servants who have worked in more than one community while in the federal administration (1965), by mother tongue and years of service

Years of government service	Mother tongue			
	French	<i>N</i> *	English	<i>N</i> *
0-2	15.1	134	20.9	559
3-4	39.3	84	27.1	386
5-6	40.6	84	28.5	431
7-10	32.8	186	35.2	818
11-14	31.2	189	35.9	865
15-18	30.7	138	36.7	918
19-22	37.3	191	38.6	856
23-26	37.3	88	42.3	455
27-30	38.4	43	59.3	258
31 or more	38.4	62	46.1	231
Total	32.6	1,199	34.3	5,777

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are derived from weighted bases.

Source: Johnstone, Klein, Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

About a third or less of the men at every seniority level in both language groups have worked in more than one department during their years in the federal administration, with one exception: 40 per cent of those of English mother tongue with long years of service (31 or more years) have served in two departments or more (Table 8.18). But there is a slight difference among language groups. Except in the category with two years of service or less, those of English mother tongue have a higher percentage of mobile persons than those of French mother tongue. The differences are not substantial, yet the tendency for Anglophone personnel in the categories with greater seniority to have worked in more than one department is clear. Again, the older Francophones—those with longer years of service—seem to fall behind the pace of the Anglophones in horizontal moves, as they did in vertical career mobility.

The picture changes slightly when a comparison is made between persons of low and high salary (Table 8.19). In the lower salary ranges (under \$10,000 a year) the French-English difference is not marked, although the Anglophones seem to be a bit more mobile. However, at higher salary levels, relatively more Francophones undergo inter-departmental moves. There is no difference in geographic mobility among the high-salaried of both groups. Although at higher salary

Table 8.18

Percentage of male departmental public servants who have worked in more than one department (1965), by mother tongue and years of government service

Years of government service	Mother tongue			
	French	N*	English	N*
0-2	15.2	133	14.2	558
3-4	16.3	85	24.6	388
5-6	24.6	80	27.6	432
7-10	22.0	185	30.1	818
11-14	24.3	184	28.3	864
15-18	29.9	136	33.5	918
19-22	31.5	189	34.0	856
23-26	27.9	89	33.9	455
27-30	14.2	43	33.8	259
31 or more	31.8	62	40.2	232
Total	24.0	1,186	28.8	5,780

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are derived from weighted bases.

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

Table 8.19

Geographic and interdepartmental mobility of male departmental public servants, by salary level and mother tongue

Type of mobility	Salary level			
	Under \$10,000		\$10,000 and over	
	French	Non-French	French	Non-French
<i>Geographic:</i> Percentage who have worked in more than one community	32.6 N 653*	34.7 2,199	47.2 458	48.5 3,863
<i>Interdepartmental:</i> Percentage who have worked in more than one department	23.7 N 644*	27.8 2,200	35.5 458	30.8 3,866

*These are the unweighted case bases. The percentages are derived from weighted bases.

Source: Johnstone, Klein and Ledoux, "Public Service Survey."

levels members of both language groups have moved around more than lower-paid men, relatively more Francophone than Anglophone males who have gained economic success in the Public Service have experienced interdepartmental moves. This may suggest that Francophones who obtain large salaries find it more necessary than Anglophones to shift between departments to reach that level. When they see that they move more slowly than Anglophones up the orderly career channels of their department, it seems advantageous to try out a new department. Such an hypothesis is plausible for explaining some cases, but when we study the middle-level men—as we shall do in a moment—we find this is more likely to happen because Francophones are concentrated in certain careers, mainly administrative ones, that require greater mobility no matter the linguistic ties of the occupant. Mobility is a basic trait of the careers in which they are numerous, rather than a necessary strategy for getting ahead.

In the middle level, as in the total Public Service, there is scant difference between the linguistic groups in geographical movement (Table 8.20). Three-quarters of both have worked in only one community—the national capital.¹² There is, however, a tendency for Francophones to have shifted from one location to another more frequently than Anglophones. Note that the percentages who have worked in more than one department are generally lower than those reported in Table 8.17 for all departmental employees. This likely indicates that the middle-level employees are less mobile than the rest of the Public Service.

The interpretation of the finding that Francophones move around between communities as much as or even more than the Anglophones is difficult. Since we have not traced in detail the pattern of movement among the two groups, what follows is only an educated guess. It appears probable, however, that Francophones move more readily between centres that are predominantly "French" and between these and the national capital. In other words, their moves are largely restricted to one province (Quebec) with perhaps some forays into the French-speaking regions of Ontario and New Brunswick. The Anglophone employees, although moving mainly between "English" communities, cover a much larger geographical area. Simply in terms of

Table 8.20

Number of communities worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	N	Number of communities worked in			
		One	Two	Three or more	Total
Francophones	128	76.6	11.7	11.7	100.0
Anglophones	168	75.6	18.4	6.0	100.0

the possible areas of the country in which they can locate themselves, the Anglophones have more scope for mobility. But it is still the case that, within regions where the French language and culture predominate, Francophones undertake moves from one community to another as regularly as do Anglophones within their linguistic and cultural areas.

When the linguistic groups are divided into career types we find that, while the three Francophone groups are quite similar in their frequency of geographic moves, the Anglophone career types show variability (Table 8.21). The sole deviation from the Francophone pattern is among the administrators who have moved around more frequently than those in the other two career types. On the Anglophone side, the professional-scientific type is markedly less mobile than those in technical, semi-professional, and administrative fields. Apparently, professional and scientific staff get settled in the national capital and are not required or do not feel they have to move. Interestingly, among the Anglophones as among the Francophones, the administrators are more likely to have worked in more than one community. But the most striking fact is that six in 10 (and usually more) in each career type and in both language groups begin their government career in the Ottawa-Hull area and do not move away.

Table 8.21

Number of communities worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

		Number of communities worked in			
Linguistic group and career type	<i>N</i>	One	Two	Three or more	Total
<i>Francophones</i>					
Professional and scientific	43	74.4	14.0	11.6	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	77.8	16.7	5.5	100.0
Administrative	31	77.4	0.0	22.6	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>					
Professional and scientific	84	86.9	9.5	3.6	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	66.7	28.6	4.7	100.0
Administrative	42	61.9	26.2	11.9	100.0

As in the higher salary levels of the federal Public Service, the middle-level Francophones are more likely to undertake interdepartmental moves than are the Anglophones (Table 8.22). Thirty-two per cent of the Francophones but only 16 per cent of the Anglophones have been employed in two or more departments. The difference does not cut across all career types, however (Table 8.23). It is mainly to be accounted for by the relative immobility of the professionals and scientists who make up half of the Anglophone group and by the greater mobility of the technical, semi-professional, and administrative

Table 8.22

Number of departments worked in during career in federal administration among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	Number of departments worked in			Total
		One	Two	Three or more	
Francophones	128	68.0	17.2	14.8	100.0
Anglophones	168	83.9	11.3	4.8	100.0

Table 8.23

Number of departments worked in during career in the federal administration among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

		Number of departments worked in			
Linguistic group and career type	<i>N</i>	One	Two	Three or more	Total
<i>Francophones</i>					
Professional and scientific	43	83.7	14.0	2.3	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	68.5	16.7	14.8	100.0
Administrative	31	45.2	22.6	32.2	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>					
Professional and scientific	84	89.3	9.5	1.2	100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	71.4	19.1	9.5	100.0
Administrative	42	64.3	19.0	16.7	100.0

personnel who are the bulk of the Francophone personnel. In other words, the apparent linguistic difference is actually accounted for by the differing distribution among career types within the two language groups. Thus, we find the same rank order within the two groups in terms of interdepartmental moves: professionals and scientists are least mobile, then technical and semi-professional workers, and administrative personnel are most mobile. Francophone administrators experience more mobility than any other career type.

Thus, the study of horizontal mobility reveals no stark Anglophone-Francophone differences. Examining the propensity of employees throughout the Public Service or at the middle level to pack up and move to another community reveals no linguistic difference. The Anglophone middle level contains the career types with the highest proportion of mobile (administrators) and immobile (professionals and scientists) persons, while the Francophone career types lie between these extremes. Overall, the Anglophones reveal slightly greater interdepartmental mobility, except at high salary levels, but this is more an outcome of the greater Anglophone concentration in certain "mobile careers." At the middle level, where the Francophones are concentrated in careers requiring greater mobility, the situation is reversed; Francophones appear to be more mobile. In short, language does not seem to be a factor which produces Anglophone-Francophone differences in frequency of geographic or departmental moves.

E. The Lifetime Career

One indicator of the professionalized and neutral bureaucracy is that it attracts persons who have just completed their education and offers them a lifetime career. In such a bureaucracy, employees, whether specialists or generalists, can move from the lower to the higher ranks on the basis of seniority and a skilled performance of duties. In such a bureaucracy, the official feels secure in the knowledge that his expertise is what counts and when political leaders change he does not have to leave his post. It seems, therefore, that when persons are willing to make government service their life's work, this is an indication of the professional and rational (non-political) character of the organization.

We have already seen that Francophones enter government service early in their working lives but do not stay, and that Anglophones have extensive experience in "outside" employment before entry. In this section, we present further data to indicate that Canadian public bodies deviate from the model of the lifetime career. We follow John Porter's suggestion of looking at the proportion of their working lives that officials have spent in the Public Service.¹³ For the elite group of 1952, about half had spent more than half their working lives in the bureaucracies, but less than a quarter had spent their total working lives in the Public Service. Porter concludes

that "the Canadian service was far from that developed stage of the graduated career where the top posts came after a long series of promotions."¹⁴

Much the same phenomenon is seen at the middle level, but it is more common for Anglophones to have devoted only a small portion of their working lives to government service (Table 8.24). On the other hand, about a third of both language groups have spent nearly all of their work history in the employ of the federal government. The latter figure is higher than the comparable figure for the elite. But it must be remembered that our middle-level group is relatively young — 25 to 45 years old — while the elite members are men near the end of their careers. It is likely that some of the middle-level men will leave the government for other employment and hence the proportion who stay on to make a life's work of government service will certainly be well below a third. In any case, those who start a government career soon after completing their education and stay with it for most of the rest of their working lives are rarities at the middle level.

Table 8.24
Proportion of working life devoted to government service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	N	Proportion of working life in government service			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
Anglophones	168	21.4	46.4	32.2	100.0
Francophones	128	11.7	53.9	34.4	100.0

F. Some Typical Career Histories

In the last part of this chapter we supplement the rather dry statistical material that has gone before with several more graphic and lively accounts of careers in the Public Service. These are actual persons whose careers have been selected as representative of a larger group. We sketch in the outline of their work life, but have slightly altered some of the details to protect their identity. Many of the general processes that we have commented on earlier are brought down to a personal level here. These sketches, of course, are by no means exhaustive of the major middle-level career patterns.

Case A: Anglophone Finance Officer

In his mid-thirties and making about \$12,500 a year, this Anglophone Finance Officer has a career in the classic tradition of a man

on his way to becoming a Mandarin. Upon graduating in history from a major eastern university he joined the Finance department by way of the Treasury Board, because of vague notions of "wanting to do something worthwhile." After gaining experience in a number of different areas he left for a year to do graduate work in economics at the London School of Economics. Two years later A. returned to the department of Finance, and the big break came for him when he was posted to Canada's International Monetary Fund delegation in Geneva. While there he acquired a number of skills that have since been important: one he sums up as "negotiating ability"; another is fluency in French.

When he returned to Canada he joined a major division of the department and has received several promotions. His job involves a large amount of travelling, mainly to Geneva, Paris, and New York where he represents Canada at international conferences on monetary policy and tariffs.

A. admits he could do much better financially outside the government, but he hasn't thought of leaving. However, he can envisage a move to another department (such as External Affairs or Trade and Commerce) as long as it was to a position where he would continue to be involved in matters of international relations. With the possibility of this type of move in mind, he sees no limitation to his future career success.

Case B: Francophone Technical Officer

In his middle forties, B. serves in a quasi-administrative position where he supervises a work group of technical officers in a large service department. He has been in the Public Service for about 25 years and earns around \$8,000.

B. grew up in the Ottawa-Hull region and successfully completed secondary school. The summer of his graduation he went to work for his uncle in a small grocery store, but the business was too small and there was little to do. Looking for a temporary job he automatically gravitated toward the government: "... le fédéral était le 'gros employeur dans le temps.'" B. began at the Clerk 1 level and has remained with the Service ever since.

From this humble beginning, B.'s career history has been one of a steady but unspectacular upward climb. Early in his career he tried a competition, and successfully jumped two grades. His new duties involved processing technical documents, and he stuck to this work area. A few years later there was a promotion to the rank of chief clerk in his section, and soon thereafter a reclassification gave him a new title of Technical Officer. Since 1952 he has had five promotions. He now states proudly that he earns the top salary of those in his division who are non-professionals.

Asked where he will go from here, B. remarks without bitterness that he has reached his peak. He lacks educational qualifications for a professional status and isn't interested in the struggle to

attain them. However, on departmental urging he recently took a course in administration. He feels this has helped broaden his outlook.

When asked what he thinks the recent emphasis on "B and B" in the Public Service will mean, B. is vague. It won't affect him personally. But perhaps it will make things better for others. He went on to state:

Le service civil sera plus fort. Avec le travail dans les deux langues, les deux auront à gagner. Les Anglais et les Français auront à gagner, autant à travailler en français qu'en anglais. Au début je n'aimais pas les Anglais à première vue. Mais une fois qu'on les connaît, on change d'idée.

With regard to his career in the Public Service, the dominant impression B. gives is one of contentment. He is satisfied with the promotion system, and has been well served by it. According to B. there is no discrimination as long as Francophones have "la maîtrise et la connaissance de la langue anglaise." He is happy in his work. Above all, he is happy that his progress in the Public Service has allowed him to provide a good home for his family in Hull. He wouldn't think of leaving the Ottawa-Hull area where he has lived all his life.

Case C: Anglophone Engineer

Now 40 years old and making a little under \$9,000 a year, this second-generation Hungarian Canadian hails from western Canada. In his youth he attended a technical high school then "kicked around for a year" before going into the army just at the end of the war. It was his army experience and the advantages of free tuition offered to veterans which made him think of further education. Upon getting out of the Service he entered a university in western Canada. Six years later C. graduated with a degree in electrical engineering.

On graduation C. had absolutely no idea of working for the government. Rather, he chose a large firm making telephone and hydro equipment. He stayed there as shift supervisor for four years, but his wife complained of the irregular hours. After a good deal of manoeuvring he landed a job in "Quality Control," but he soon found he did not like this work either. As well, promotion opportunities looked bleak, so he started looking for a new job. The best alternative was with a large pulp and paper company in the east, but this turned out to be "too mechanical" and C. wanted to get back to electrical engineering. Two years later he switched jobs again, this time going with a television manufacturer in a large city. C. liked this position, in research and development, but after three years the firm was sold to an American company and it started to cut back on engineers. C. decided to "get out before the chop" and was back on the street again.

Through a friend he heard of openings for engineers in a large government division charged with the examination and inspection of

technical designs and processes. He checked this lead at National Employment Service, filed an application, and when no other job materialized he was soon on his way to Ottawa.

On first entering his division C. expected to work in an area where his specialization in electronics would be put to use. However, there was a desperate need for an inspector in the machine tools section. He reluctantly took this on. He has had several moves since but only recently has he moved into an electronic specialty. He feels not being able to work in his own field has hindered his career progress. Also C. feels that he is too specialized and that administration would have been the best route to the top. C. suggests there is a possibility he may be promoted to the supervisory level, but "the way things move around here it could be ten years."

C. admits that his career "hasn't been too successful," but in spite of this he is committed to the Public Service. His wife likes Ottawa, and they find the schools for their children very good. C. bought a house four years ago, and is prepared to stay.

Case D: Francophone Administrator

D. is a man in his late thirties with roughly 14 years of experience in the federal Public Service. He now is a clerical supervisor in a large service department, earning a little over \$8,000 a year.

D. grew up in Quebec City. Because of financial difficulties he had to discontinue his university education. He originally planned to go into law, but settled for a lesser profession. After working and attending night school for six years he finally received his diploma. D.'s original design was to secure a position using his specialty in a small Francophone firm. But nothing materialized. For a short time things were quite difficult for him and his family. Then he spotted a Public Service competition for specialists in his field. He took the competition, did well, and entered the department in which he is presently employed. His first job was in a regional office in a small city in Quebec. Asked why he joined the Public Service he states: "J'étais à pied, et le salaire était plus intéressant que celui de l'entreprise privée."

D. remained in his first Public Service job for two years, then, after entering a competition, he received a promotion and a transfer to Montreal. A short time later he moved again to a departmental office in a much smaller community. At this stage D. felt he was making progress in his career.

The next years were happy ones for D. Warming quickly to a small-town existence, he joined local sporting associations, and he and his wife were active socially. He settled down and was content to stay. However, after six years of this "paradise," a supervisory position (over clerical workers, not professionals) became vacant in Ottawa, and Head Office approached him. D. was reluctant to leave his small-town situation, but his superiors painted a very rosy picture of his future.

D. made the move to Ottawa five years ago, but somewhere along the line his career went sour. In spite of trying numerous competitions, the promotions he expected never came. D. is particularly bitter about one job in a regional office he failed to get. The post, according to D., clearly called for a bilingual person and someone who had extensive knowledge of the region. D. met both these requirements, but an inexperienced unilingual "Anglais" got the job. D. cited other cases similar to this one. In his view "le fait d'être Canadien français semble être un obstacle." He feels it is discrimination but also admits that his weak English may have held him back.

In D.'s work relations there is also some bitterness. He works almost completely in English and has no close friends at the office. The worst rebuke came when he requested that certain office memoranda he was writing in English also be written by himself in French. His superiors turned this down, suggesting this would be a waste of time since all the French Canadians in the branch could understand English.

When asked about the future, D. mentions his 14 years of pension payments and the home he has purchased in Hull. He suggests he probably will remain where he is.

In the foregoing sketches our focus has been on the social origins, education, and work experiences of men holding Public Service jobs. Of special interest is their rate of upward and horizontal movement in the federal administration and the way these men regard their future prospects.

A second purpose—and perhaps a more important one—is to suggest the meaning both of success and failure, and of satisfaction and dissatisfaction as it is most commonly experienced by members of the two language groups. Anglophone success and satisfaction are typified by the dedicated and rapidly-rising Finance Officer; Francophone success and satisfaction by the Franco-Ontarian of limited education and ambition who has moved up from the bottom and learned to fit into a technical work setting at the middle level. Anglophone failure and dissatisfaction are typified by the engineer with the chaotic work history who finally sought refuge in the federal administration; Francophone failure and dissatisfaction by the administrator who feels blocked by discrimination and alienated from a job where the French language gets little use or respect.

In the following chapters we develop these themes further. The next chapter gives an account of what public servants think is important in making a success of a bureaucratic career and provides some information about those who actually do get to the "top." The two chapters immediately after explore various sources of satisfaction and displeasure in the immediate workplace and in the community—the Ottawa-Hull area—in which the workplace is located.

It is possible to identify a set of formal positions that appear to be the "top" of the federal Public Service. These are the highest-paying posts at the apex of the various organizations which compose the federal administration. The proportion of individuals of various types of background or training in these posts is important, because it is an indication of the symbolic and perhaps, actual power of that social type in the Public Service. We have already provided some preliminary information on this subject. Now we attempt to discover how these persons arrive at their posts. Our first interest, then, is the level of Francophone participation in the Public Service elite and how the level is achieved. But for most public servants at the middle level, the top is not one of these elite positions: nearly all the specialists (professionals, scientists, technicians, semi-professionals) and probably most administrators see the top as a more senior post than the one they have now, but within their own department and not at the elite level. How do they plan to get that post, or, in other words, what "counts" in getting promotions in the Public Service? This is our other main interest in this chapter.

A. Gaining Entrance to the Elite

At the summit of the bureaucratic hierarchies in the Public Service, there are two types of positions. One type consists of "political" appointments made by the government of the day through the mechanism of the "Order-in-Council." Posts filled in this way include those of deputy ministers, members of boards and commissions, directors of Crown corporations, and ambassadors and some other officers in the department of External Affairs. Immediately under these posts are those of senior officers whose appointments are controlled by the Civil (now Public) Service Commission.

In staffing the senior posts of both types there is considerable pressure and demand to increase the number of Francophones. The Order-in-Council group is more subject to such pressures, of course. But, as we saw in Figure 4.5, the trend of a falling Francophone

presence as one ascends the salary levels is reversed near the top. This suggests that both types of appointments *at the very top* are more accessible to Francophones than those at the level *just below the top*. For instance, we found that, in the salary grades between \$12,000 and \$18,000 a year, 9 to 10 per cent of the personnel were of French mother tongue in 1965. Data for 1966 indicate that, in certain sectors of the Public Service, the percentage of Francophones at more senior levels was higher than 9 to 10 per cent (Table 9.1). The increase was less pronounced in the major departments where most of the appointments were under the auspices of the Civil Service Commission than it was in the Crown corporations, boards, commissions, and special agencies in which Order-in-Council appointments predominate. Twelve per cent of the departmental personnel earning \$17,000 per annum or more were of French mother tongue, while 16 per cent of the senior persons in the Crown corporations, boards, commissions, and special agencies were of French background. As well, in the *Parliamentary Guide* of recent years, an inspection of the list of "Deputy Ministers, Chiefs of the Defence Staff, Former Deputy Ministers who are Public Service Officials, Certain Officials Having Rank of Deputy Minister and Heads of Government Boards, Commissions, Corporations and Agencies in Ottawa" shows that from 20 to 25 per cent at least have French names.

However, certain sectors of the Public Service contain few Francophones in their senior ranks. Among the top civilian and military personnel in the department of National Defence, only 6 per cent were of French mother tongue and, in the upper ranks of the scientific staff of the National Research Council, there was not a single Francophone in 1966. By contrast, those of "other" mother tongues were prominent among the senior employees of the National Research Council, but relatively few in other sectors of the Public Service. This likely reflects the under-developed state of training in the sciences at French-language universities in Canada and the dependence of the Canadian scientific community on persons born and educated in European countries who then immigrate to Canada.

There are two routes by which one gains entry to these senior posts: by promotion through the ranks of the Public Service and by "parachuting."

1. Sponsorship

In the senior posts below the Order-in-Council group, "sponsorship" is the usual process whereby talented men are elevated to senior posts, although parachuting is practiced here as well. Sponsorship is the process in which the senior men discover bright newcomers, show them "the ropes," give them assignments which provide crucial experience, and recommend them for positions to other senior colleagues. Naturally, this process involves a good deal of learning off the job as well as on, and sociability is important. Chiefs tend to look for bright newcomers among those who think and feel like themselves, and the proper superior-subordinate relationship will

Table 9.1

Presence in the upper level (those earning \$17,000 and above per annum) of several sectors of the federal Public Service of persons of different mother tongues, December 1966 (percentages)

Sector	N	Mother tongue			
		French	English	Other	Total
21 major departments*	585	12.3	81.2	6.5	100.0
Department of National Defence	187	5.9	92.5	1.6	100.0
45 Crown Corporations, Boards, Commissions, special agencies**	321	16.2	80.7	3.1	100.0
National Research Council	187	0.0	84.0	16.0	100.0
Total Public Service	1,174	11.5	83.0	5.5	100.0

*Dominion Bureau of Statistics is included here and counted as a separate department. The other 20 were the departments of Veterans Affairs, External Affairs, Agriculture, Insurance, Citizenship and Immigration, Trade and Commerce, Finance (including Treasury Board and the Comptroller of the Treasury), Forestry, Justice, Mines and Technical Surveys, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Fisheries, the Post Office, Defence Production, National Revenue, National Health and Welfare, the Secretary of State, Transport, Labour, and Public Works.

**The following units which had personnel earning \$17,000 or more a year were included: Public Archives, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Export Credits Insurance Corporation, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, Industrial Development Bank, Bank of Canada, Crown Assets Disposal Corporation, Canadian Wheat Board, Canadian Arsenal Limited, National Capital Commission, National Battlefields Commission, Dominion Coal Board, Canadian Maritime Commission, International Joint Commission, Canada Council, Farm Credit Corporation, Defence Construction (1951) Limited, Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited, Atomic Energy Control Board, National Energy Board, Northern Canada Power Commission, National Film Board, National Gallery of Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Department of Public Printing and Stationery, Tax Appeal Board, Fisheries Research Board, Canadian Pension Commission, Polymer Corporation Limited, National Harbours Board, Board of Broadcast Governors, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Tariff Board, Canadian Overseas Telecommunication Corporation, Air Transport Board, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Board of Transport Commissioners, and St. Lawrence Seaway Authority. Data were not provided by the Canadian National Railways, Air Canada, and the National Advisory Council for Fitness and Amateur Sport because the officers of these bodies were not considered as public servants.

Source: Adapted from the reply of Right Hon. L. B. Pearson (Prime Minister) to question No. 910 by Mr. Caouette, M.P., Order for Return, December 7, 1966.

flourish only when there is a good deal of social compatibility.

Sponsorship is intimately linked to what many successful public servants described as the "big break" which accounted for their rapid rise. Virtually none indicated that their rise to the top involved movement through any well-defined succession of jobs or assignments. Rather, at some stage of his career—usually quite early—the successful public servant was able to obtain a key job or assignment which furnished either crucial experience, or exposure to senior officers, or both. From then on movement was rapid. Once a man with potential for elite membership is spotted, considerable job-switching follows: movement between departmental divisions, new assignments in different cities or an overseas posting, sometimes a switch of departments or a period of time serving with the Treasury Board. One "big break" may lead to an even bigger one, but such opportunities are still largely fortuitous. If a man happens to land in a job for which he is ideally suited, it is likely to be on the basis of a casual word-of-mouth recommendation of one of his superiors.

It can be seen that the sponsorship system is stacked against Francophones and accounts for their slower rise into senior posts. We will explore this process in a moment. It is also evident that the paucity of upper-level Francophones produced by the departmental career systems makes parachuting necessary to fill the senior posts both in the Public Service proper and in the positions covered by Order-in-Council.

2. Parachuting

Originally, parachutists were appointed for patronage reasons. They also frequently served to increase the visibility of Francophone representation at the top. Nowadays straight patronage appointments, although by no means eliminated, are somewhat less likely. Usually, other reasons are uppermost, including representational consideration—with the pressures of the bilingualism issue they have hardly diminished in importance—and the chance to attract persons with expert knowledge or outstanding administrative abilities from the business or academic communities. In short, there are nowadays three basic reasons which account for the great majority of parachutist appointments: patronage, representation, and talent. Any given appointment usually involves two of the three factors and sometimes all three.

Brief mention should be made of the more general pros and cons of parachuting. Students of public administration usually insist that the practice, when not abused, provides for the infusion of fresh talent and ideas into the government. It may have the further advantage of keeping the bureaucracy responsive and responsible to the general public and its elected representatives. On the other hand, some suggest that when products of the career systems are bypassed for top positions in favour of outsiders, morale and commitment throughout the hierarchy are weakened. Even when the parachutists

are men of considerable ability, they hinder the development of cohesive policies and administrative procedures. When, for representational or patronage reasons, it is largely men of inferior ability who are brought in, there is a further danger. Such appointments devalue the social honour and prestige of those who have made a lifetime career of government service, and militate against the development of what is the hallmark of effective government—an orientation toward service to country rather than to private gain or narrow political advantage.

In spite of these disadvantages, the Canadian federal administration has relied heavily on parachuting to furnish itself with senior officers, and particularly with Francophone senior officers. Because of the failure of the departmental career routes to produce adequate numbers of Francophones for senior responsibilities, recruitment from politics, the legal profession, and the business world has always been necessary to provide the visible representation at the top. For the most part that representation has been little more than visible. With one or two outstanding exceptions, Francophones have not been included in the ranks of the "inner circle"—that group of 15 to 20 senior officers from the departments of Finance, Trade and Commerce, External Affairs, the Treasury Board, and the Privy Council who work closely with the cabinet in developing major policies. In short, Francophone representation is visible at the top, but not necessarily powerful.

Evidence of the importance of the parachuting process for increasing the Francophone presence is found in a study of the department of External Affairs.¹ Here it was possible to identify 570 persons who worked as Foreign Service Officers in the department during the period between 1945 and 1964. The method by which they became officers was examined. While the bulk of both linguistic groups entered through open competitions (82.5 per cent of the 445 Anglophones, 79.8 per cent of the 124 Francophones), 7.8 per cent of Anglophones and 12.0 per cent of Francophones obtained positions through Order-in-Council. These Order-in-Council appointments were invariably at a senior level.

Fifteen of the 49 persons (30 per cent) who entered by Order-in-Council were Francophones. The tendency is even more marked among those who obtained positions in the period from 1958 to 1964: 6.9 per cent of Anglophones, but 14.7 per cent of Francophones, gained entry by Order-in-Council. What is more, during the same period, a higher proportion of Francophones than Anglophones (14.8 per cent compared with 9.4 per cent) entered directly at the uppermost level.

For the most part, the Francophones imported into the upper ranks of External Affairs and other departments have had little impact in changing the dominant Anglophone methods of the federal administration. The men available and willing to come to Ottawa have on the one hand been relatively anglicized in their outlook and unwilling or unable to shake up language use or recruitment practices. On the

other hand, they, like many Anglophone parachutists, are unskilled at manoeuvring within the upper reaches of the federal administration. The result is that few have become dominant figures on the federal scene.

In the view of many senior officers, the main role of the Franco-phone parachutist was to make the federal administration legitimate in the eyes of Francophone Canadians. Appointees were selected who would be relatively at ease in the English-speaking atmosphere of Ottawa, but who could provide at least the semblance of biculturalism to what was essentially a unicultural organization. This is now changing. Some of the parachutists appointed during the last few years are aggressive and talented men who clearly do not fit the above pattern. What their eventual impact will be is undetermined, however.

B. Language and Advancement

We now examine more intensely the role of language and cultural differences in the sponsorship and promotion processes at the middle level. On the surface, Francophones who work in the national capital do not seem to be at a language disadvantage. Earlier we mentioned that the majority come from Ottawa, Hull, or nearby areas of Ontario where schooling, "outside" work, and communal life were largely conducted in English. A further idea of the extent to which those currently in the Public Service were exposed to English before joining is suggested by the following figures:² 42 per cent received their secondary school education mainly in English; 56 per cent of those with undergraduate university training received it in English; and 61 per cent of those with postgraduate university training received it in English. Among those who worked before entering the federal administration, 55 per cent were in an environment that was mainly English. The proportion jumps to 65 per cent when Translators are excluded.³ As well, 97 per cent of middle-level Francophones reported that they were quite competent in reading English or understanding spoken communications in that language. Fully 65 per cent said that they had no difficulties functioning completely in English.

Such findings mask two things: the substantial proportion who do experience trouble in English and the problems posed by dependence on an unfamiliar language for information.

It is clear that for some Francophones, mainly those from Ontario, entering the federal Public Service is simply a continuation of a lifelong process of increasing acquaintance with English milieux. For others, especially those from Quebec, it is often a traumatic step into a new environment. For instance, while 78 per cent of those from the Ottawa-Hull area claim considerable ability in speaking English, only 51 per cent of those from Quebec outside Hull do so. Also, 30 per cent of the Francophones from other provinces, but 56 per cent of those from Quebec (excluding Hull), have experienced or are still experiencing language difficulties in performing their

duties. These figures assert that a significant proportion of Francophones and especially those raised in the French Canadian heartland of Quebec are conscious of their difficulties in English.

What are the consequences of this lack of ease in English? Jacques Brazeau has argued that dominance of one language in an organization means that the skills of those who do not know the dominant language perfectly are not developed.⁴ The subordinate language group gains employment mainly in sectors where language is not important for getting work done, such as operational and technical positions. Those who acquire bilingualism may fill liaison posts through which the organization is able to deal with the subordinate language group either as employees or clientele. Few manage to enter administrative positions which are the best rewarded and most challenging. In short, dominance of one language means that those most familiar with a secondary language are systematically excluded from the command posts in the division of labour and, as a result, are denied an adequate share of the material resources that would allow them to properly educate or in other ways prepare their offspring for top positions.

Thus, in the Public Service of Canada, the Francophone talent pool is not drawn on and developed, nor are Francophones motivated to self-improvement. In the face of organizations which embody an alien language and culture and are perceived by Francophones as impenetrable and perhaps even threatening or scornful, it seems foolhardy to try to breach these barriers.⁵ In short, a reciprocal arrangement leading to the underemployment of Francophones emerges: their unacceptability in many senior posts because of their lack of English and specialized training means that few are highly motivated to learn English and seek the relevant training.

There are further psychological consequences of this situation. Nathan Keyfitz, drawing on Brazeau's findings, has commented on one such result:

Above a certain level, whether in a plant or a government office, much of the work of people goes on in relatively formal meetings, the language of which is English in the great majority of Canadian business firms.

. . . There can be no question that this puts the French Canadian at a genuine disadvantage. Even the most attentive speaker of a language not his own will make a mistake now and again, and if he is sensitive this can, at least for the moment, destroy for him that indispensable image of himself as an effective person.⁶

The Francophone in an English organization develops a sense of frustration and inferiority at not being able to "put across" his ideas. What is more, many Anglophones consider his language as a dialect, a style of expression far removed from "Parisian" French and infused with many English elements. Faced with the combined problems of frustration with the use of English and being regarded as a bearer of a minor dialect, many Francophones become alienated from their work. Thus, a Francophone employee is ". . . genuinely unable to do the work

as well as the English candidate wherever that work consists in large part of the manipulation of symbols in English."⁷

We have been talking in fairly general terms about the dominance of one language in a society with linguistic plurality, and of the consequences for Francophones of working in English-oriented organizations. These general processes operate, of course, in the federal Public Service, no matter what degree of fluency in English is possessed by Francophones. But there are some further results that flow from depending on a second language for information, opinions, and enrichment. Brazeau has commented:

There are domains of activities in which a pool of knowledge, oral and written, is not readily accessible in the minority's own tongue. As a consequence, their information is dependent on translations, never plentiful and usually bad, and their language in these areas is likely to be poor in content as well as in form. Second, as long as they remain less than fluent in the major language, less-than-perfect bilinguals may not benefit fully from the experience which they gain through their second language. . . . Among minority language groups, then, the fact that much of societal life goes on in another language may set limitations on their experience, the conceptual contents of their languages, and their manipulation of language symbols.⁸

In the Public Service setting, Brazeau's comment suggests that Francophones have a difficult time gaining information about and making sense of the routines, traditions, and "inside dope" of the workplace.

All Francophones, no matter what their level of fluency in English, are penalized by one or more of these outcomes of being members of a minority group in settings where the majority are Anglophones. Throughout the federal administration in the capital region, all Francophones are subject to pressures to use English. The fact that it is the Francophones from Quebec who are most likely to experience difficulty should not distract attention from the general conclusion that all Francophones are at a disadvantage in the processes of evaluation and sponsorship that lie behind obtaining promotions in organizations where Anglophones dominate the top positions. And those who get promoted may not necessarily be the most competent, as Keyfitz points out:

There is a tendency for the English to judge the French not by the breadth of their vision, nor by their ability to communicate, but by their mastery of the intricacies of English usage and vocabulary and even by their pronunciation of English. Since the French in judging one another attach very little weight to speaking English at all and none whatsoever to whether it is spoken with a good accent, they will, as far as this element is concerned, arrange one another in a different order of merit from that in which the English arrange them. This raises the possibility that in a system of search for ability in which English speakers make the choices they not only choose too few French but they also do not choose the right ones.⁹

If, as E.C. Hughes suggests,¹⁰ a promotion involves superiors giving a "vote of confidence" to one of their juniors, then senior Anglophones may tend to back a Francophone not so much for his technical competence as for his fluency and ease in sociability in the English language. This point leads naturally into a discussion of cultural barriers to Francophone career advancement and the resultant pressures to assimilate.

C. Culture and Advancement

Anglophone superiors are likely to find it difficult to like and trust even those Francophones who are adept at English usage. This is largely because Francophones do not share with Anglophones the same cultural reference points in the worlds of politics, sports, literature, and so on. When a Francophone speaks English only moderately well and also is interested in cultural items different from his Anglophone bosses, he bears a double burden. These cultural differences make social intercourse difficult between Francophones and Anglophones. Each party is likely to become ill at ease, bored, disdainful, or all of these in the presence of the other. In such a situation, opportunities for informal learning are not often offered by the Anglophones, and Francophones tend to withdraw from opportunities for contact that are available. Thus a state of mutual uneasiness, perhaps even of mistrust, develops and persists. Here, then, is the greatest drawback Francophones in the federal Public Service must face. The cultural milieu of the federal administration is so overwhelmingly Anglophone that it becomes difficult for them to identify with its problems (Canada's problems) on the one hand, and with the style of work, honour, and prestige of its officers on the other.

The root cause, then, of the low presence of Francophones in the key posts of the federal Public Service and of their slower climb up through the middle level is Anglophone cultural dominance. The Anglophones hold power; the Francophones are subject to their decisions. Following Weber and Kaplan, a group A has power over group B if members of A, when they wish, can affect the probability that members of B will behave in a certain way in certain circumstances.¹¹ Members of A may have great power over persons in B and produce highly probable acts—up to the 1.0 level where Bs always do what As wish—or their power may be slight—down to the .01 or .001 level where Bs react somewhat to As' wishes but they are also affected by other "powers." In the present case, Anglophones are able to circumscribe the choices and possibilities of Francophones in the federal administration. This has already been made apparent by many findings previously reported.

Studying public organizations as systems of power relations brings us, according to Michel Crozier, to the "new central problem of the theory of organization."¹² Early theorists viewed organizations as rational machines; the employees were regarded as each providing a

pair of willing hands that helped the organization accomplish its prime goal. Later theorists who emphasized human relations—Mayo, Roethlisberger, Whyte—saw employees as emotional beings. "A human being, however, does not have only a hand and heart. He also has a head, which means that he is free to decide and play his own game."¹³ Thus, argues Crozier, students or organizations who examine relations between groups or units must see each one trying to impose order and predictability on the ones with which it deals; each one, on the other hand, tries to curtail the influence of others on itself so that it maintains freedom, and other groups remain uncertain as to how it will act. The sub-groups or units of an organization are compelled by the organizational design to blend their activities together in order to accomplish the organizational goals, but each subgroup attempts to exercise power over others by imposing routines on them and keeping them uncertain as to when and how it will behave.

This perspective illuminates Francophone-Anglophone relations. In the first place, Francophones are bunched near the bottom of the occupational hierarchy where they can be controlled. The occupations with high pay where they are found are ones where there are strict and known rules of adequate performance. Such is the occupation of Translator. Another is the lawyer: although Francophones are generally underrepresented in managerial and professional careers, a third of government lawyers are Francophones. This is a sizeable overrepresentation and indicates that the federal administration can accommodate Francophones in senior positions where there are rigorous rules of procedure and standards of evaluation. This is also seen in the concentration of Francophones in departments where routine activities prevail. Let us dwell on this last point for a moment.

Charles Perrow has recently analyzed the basic character of complex organizations in terms of the work they do on raw materials.¹⁴ On one extreme are organizations where *routine* activities predominate; on the other are those where what could be called *creative* functions (Perrow does not use the term) are primary. What are the differences between these types? Perrow treats them along two dimensions: the number of exceptional or "rare" cases and problems that must be handled, and the degree to which solutions to exceptions are arrived at by logical analysis or systematic search. Routine predominates in organizations where there are few exceptional cases or problems and where there are fixed procedures or programmes to guide the search for a solution to those exceptions that do occur. Creativity predominates in organizations where there are many unique and different problems tackled and where the problems are so general and poorly conceptualized as to require intuition and guesswork for their solution. In these terms, the exclusion of Francophones from departments doing creative work becomes more understandable. Obviously, the capacity of Anglophones to control the behaviour of Francophones is lessened in such settings. To work on unique problems gives Francophones a maximum of personal freedom; to use intuition and guess-

work permits the full expression of their personality and cultural background.

There are other, related features or organizations with creative functions that discourage Anglophones from making room for Franco-phone colleagues. In such settings, employees pursue their own ideas at their own pace. Supervisors have to trust their subordinates to work fruitfully with a minimum of direction. The contacts on the job tend to be informal with a give-and-take of ideas and suggestions. This work style is troublesome to maintain with persons who are culturally or linguistically different. It is difficult to trust and allow independence to those with whom one cannot communicate richly and fully. Francophones are likely to be excluded from the informal gatherings at coffee or lunch-time, or from the office "grapevine." They miss out on the ideas and gossip which permit a deeper understanding of the purpose of their work.

In creativity-oriented organizations, the expression of one's rather different personality or cultural background in one's work is likely to produce adverse reactions from those used to a different style. In the relatively few cases where Francophones have moved in-to the world of policy-making, trained as they usually are in "classics" or the liberal professions, their work is often regarded as too abstract and philosophic. When they write about policies to remove social and economic inequalities, drawing on their own experiences of discrimination, their ideas are felt to be too radical. In this they are like others with new power: they are less committed to the old system because they have not been thoroughly socialized by the old elite; their own life, encompassing as it usually does a rapid transformation in wealth and prestige, leads them to think that anything is possible.¹⁵ Thus they pose a challenge to the *status quo*, a system which has operated since Confederation along "English" lines to serve "English" ends.

But what happens to those Francophones who feel that things are changing slowly or not at all, and who continue to report difficulties in adjusting to the language and cultural demands of their work? There appears to be a selective process whereby Francophones with imperfect communication skills or a dislike of the cultural ambience become dissatisfied and drop out. This is indicated by the following: 40 per cent of middle-level Francophones who feel they have no language difficulties or have resolved them state that they see no barriers to their future promotions, compared with only 4 per cent among those who claim they still have troubles in English. In short, those Francophones who are able to accommodate themselves to the English culture of the Public Service are likely to become content with their work and to stay longer. We will explore further in the next chapter the sources of contentment and dissatisfaction with government workplaces among the two linguistic groups. But before doing so we consider the personal strategies adopted by Francophones and Anglophones in order to win promotions.

D. How to Reach the "Top"

There are widely varying notions among middle-level public servants as to what constitutes a "top" post in the Public Service. For some it is to become a deputy minister, the most senior position in the departmental hierarchy. Others aspire to rise to the top of their professional field and become director of a research team or supervisor of a staff of others like themselves. Still others see the "top" as simply replacing their boss and thus obtaining a little more security and power.

No matter how they perceive the "top," public servants have ideas of how they will get there and how long it will take. Drawing on their own experiences, they have formed opinions about what counts in rising through the ranks of the federal bureaucracies. They told us about these in various parts of the interview, but we asked them a specific question that provided some illuminating insights: "In the light of what we've discussed about your own career, the promotion process, etc., let's consider the hypothetical case of a young man entering the Civil Service now, who wants to get to the top as soon as possible, and who comes to you for advice. What would his best route to the top be?"

In answer to this question, the respondents replied in terms of what they felt were "rewarded activities"—activities which they thought were rewarded by promotion.¹⁶ After listening to and reading through their responses we decided that the following traits were given most frequent mention:

1. Technical competence—One gets ahead in the federal Service by being knowledgeable about the area in which one is employed and by hard work.

2. Work recognition—Promotions come to those who come to the attention of their superiors because of a first-rate piece of work, an article published in a learned journal, or by being selected for an important office in a professional association related to one's work. (Since this category is closely related to the first, the two will be combined for some purposes.)

3. Personal contacts—One gets ahead in the organization by developing contacts with higher officials, and being "sponsored" or "brought along" by one or more senior officers, or by manoeuvring for influence. Recognition comes not so much from quiet and competent performance, as from an outgoing and affable personal manner.

4. Education—One rises to the senior ranks by having the right educational background. It is "paper" qualifications which count in the federal Public Service.

5. Outside experience—What counts in getting to the top is to carve out a career or reputation in the private sector before joining.

6. Mobility—In order not to be stalled and to be certain of garnering the best positions, it is essential to switch from job to job,

from department to department, and perhaps even between industry and the Public Service.

7. The "right" department—One gets ahead in the Public Service by being in certain departments where one is more likely to rise to the top in a hurry.

1. General findings

Before offering our general findings concerning the relative importance of these factors, a word should be said about the way we organized our results. Two strategies were adopted. First, as shown in Table 9.2, we looked at the percentage of individuals in each group who mentioned a certain activity. However, there is a difficulty with this approach. We found that many Francophones were discouraged by, if not fed up with, promotion procedures in the Public Service, and felt they could offer few guidelines to others. This sense of resignation shows up in our results; fewer Francophones volunteered suggestions in nearly every activity area in Table 9.2. This makes Francophone-Anglophone comparisons invalid. The procedure is only useful for comparisons *within* each language group. Therefore, we adopted a second strategy in Table 9.5: we counted the number of *responses* each person gave and based our calculations on the total number of responses given by a particular group; as one person might mention three or four rewarded activities and a second person only one or two. Such an approach gives extra weight to departments with more people in them, so we will restrict its use to comparisons between departments or between language groups in the same department.

Table 9.2
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion

Lin- guistic group	N	Type of rewarded activity						Outside experi- ence
		Tech- nical compe- tence	Work recog- nition	Educa- tion	Mobil- ity	Right depart- ment	Per- sonal con- tacts	
Anglo- phones	168	72.6	16.7	59.5	35.7	18.4	16.7	14.9
Franco- phones	128	53.9	4.7	45.3	28.9	17.2	20.3	9.4

Displaying technical competence (or technical competence combined with obtaining work recognition)—"you have to know your work thoroughly"—is mentioned more often than any other means and by more

persons in both language groups as a certain way of getting promotions (Table 9.2). Also mentioned prominently in both language groups is the necessity of having a solid and lengthy education. Relatively fewer indicated that being mobile, joining the right department, or gaining outside experience are critical factors. Interestingly, getting ahead through the use of personal contacts or connections—a factor which appears antithetical to promotion for competence or educational training—was one of the activities mentioned only rarely. Apparently, Canadian public servants believe and are willing to act on the premise that the person who obtains a good education and works competently is bound to be promoted. It is noteworthy, though, that a belief in the efficacy of personal contacts is the one activity that is mentioned by relatively more Francophones than Anglophones: the Francophones may be less willing to support the rhetoric of the federal Public Service that promotion is based on performance and skills.

When the two language groups are decomposed into career types, we find that education is seen as a critical factor most often by technical and semi-professional employees (Table 9.3). This is interesting because many of these men have limited technical training or a certificate or degree in a "marginal" profession. In fact, as Table 9.4 shows, it is those with the least amount of education who are most likely to regard education as an important guarantee of success. Those who have university degrees are less likely to recommend it as a key factor.

The Anglophone technical and semi-professional personnel are strong supporters of competence as a necessary attribute for promotion, as are the Francophone professional and scientific employees. Mobility is most strongly endorsed, among the Anglophones, by the administrators. This latter result is largely an outcome of the feelings of the Finance Officers, a large component of the administrative group, who put considerable stock on the importance of moving around between government assignments.

Table 9.5, based on the total number of activities mentioned, reflects the sense of dismay among Francophones which led fewer of them to give responses and also to name fewer activities per person. The most striking finding here is that only one activity is rated consistently higher or lower across the five departments by the two language groups. The Francophones in every department (but only by a tiny margin in one department) more frequently suggested that developing personal contacts is important for getting ahead. But although this language difference pertained, the activity of developing personal contacts did not loom very large in the minds of most public servants. In conformity with the results reported earlier, the means most often mentioned as insuring a rapid rise is displaying technical competence and obtaining recognition for excellence from one's peers or superiors. Having a sound educational background is the next activity most prominently mentioned. Pursuing mobility, gaining entry to the right department, using personal contacts, and having a wide

Table 9.3
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion, by career type A

Linguistic group and career type A	N	Type of rewarded activity						
		Tech- nical Compe- tence	Work recog- nition	Edu- cation	Mobi- lity	Right depart- ment	Personal contacts	Outside expe- rience
Anglophones								
Professional and scientific	84	72.3	20.5	42.9	31.3	27.4	20.2	11.9
Technical and semi-professional	42	81.0	4.8	76.2	21.4	14.3	9.5	19.0
Administrative	42	59.5	11.9	64.3	45.2	35.7	19.0	9.5
Francophones								
Professional and scientific	43	62.8	2.3	37.2	30.2	18.6	23.3	7.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	55.6	7.7	50.0	25.9	16.7	20.4	9.3
Administrative	31	38.7	3.2	48.4	32.3	16.1	16.1	12.9

Table 9.4

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning the importance of education in getting promotions, by level of education

Level of education	Mention of the importance of education			
	Francophones	N*	Anglophones	N*
No university degree	67.4	46	77.3	44
First university degree	34.0	47	53.8	78
Postgraduate degree	31.4	35	41.3	46

*This is the base on which the percentage mentioning education is calculated.

range of experiences in "outside" employment are not mentioned as often as the other two activities.

There was only one departmental difference: both language groups in National Revenue pointed out the importance of education more often than their counterparts in other departments. Conversely, the employees in Finance less often mentioned education as a critical factor. We have already commented on this point: Finance has a goodly proportion of persons with university degrees, while the proportion in National Revenue is low.

Two other "near differences" between linguistic groups might be mentioned. Both contradict generally held beliefs about Francophones. With three exceptions, Francophones seem to be more aware than Anglophones that being mobile and obtaining outside work experience are important for advancement. The exceptions are the Francophones in Agriculture, who devalue the importance of mobility, and the Francophones in State and Public Works, who put less weight on outside experience than do the Anglophones in the same departments. But these exceptions aside, it is striking that Francophones put as much or more emphasis on two activities which many top managers both in government and industry feel are essential to the make-up of industrial man: a willingness to move between jobs, organizations, and communities and the acquisition of a wide range of work experiences related to one's field.

In fact, the general impression which these data support is that Francophones and Anglophones share much the same views concerning what counts in reaching the "top" in the Public Service. Members of both language groups put demonstrated competence and a lengthy formal

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants mentioning different types of activities rewarded by promotion, by department

Depart- ment and linguis- tic group	Type of rewarded activity								
	<i>N</i>	Total num- ber of activities mentioned	Technical Compe- tence and work recog- nition	Edu- cation	Mobil- ity	Right depart- ment	Personal contacts	Outside expe- rience	Total
<i>Finance</i>									
Anglos	28	70	31.4	20.0	12.9	20.0	11.4	4.3	100.0
Francos	6	15	40.0	6.7	20.0	13.3	13.3	6.7	100.0
<i>State</i>									
Anglos	38	73	39.7	20.6	6.8	24.7	6.8	1.4	100.0
Francos	33	58	32.7	27.6	19.0	12.1	8.6	0.0	100.0
<i>Agriculture</i>									
Anglos	37	89	43.8	25.9	18.0	1.1	6.7	4.5	100.0
Francos	28	51	31.4	31.4	7.8	7.8	15.7	5.9	100.0
<i>Public Works</i>									
Anglos	32	80	31.2	22.5	16.3	5.0	10.0	15.0	100.0
Francos	28	48	31.3	20.8	20.8	6.3	10.4	10.4	100.0
<i>National Revenue</i>									
Anglos	33	75	37.3	33.3	14.7	9.3	2.7	2.7	100.0
Francos	33	58	32.8	25.9	15.5	10.3	10.3	5.2	100.0

education, involving at least a first university degree, at or near the top of their list. The only noteworthy difference between the two language groups was the tendency for Francophones to rank personal contacts more highly than the Anglophones. Since, as we have seen, the Francophones are likely to have troubles in superior-subordinate relations and are at a disadvantage in the sponsorship process, it is not surprising that they would stress an activity in which they have difficulty. A similar process works among those who lack a university degree and hence are more likely to see this as a relevant factor for winning promotions.

2. *The importance of outside activities and connections*

In slight contradiction to the foregoing are the responses to a question which asked "How important are activities and connections outside work to career success in the civil service?" The individual was allowed to formulate his answer; then, if he had not made direct reference to them, he was asked about the relevance of memberships in professional associations or in other organizations, or participation in social activities. About three in 10 in both language groups completely rejected the idea that such activities have a bearing on promotions in the Public Service (Table 9.6). Here are two typical examples of this sort of reaction:

Je suis sceptique sur l'importance. Je crois que ça n'en a pas.
De toute façon, ça ne me concerne pas.

In my present job I don't think any real importance is attached to these activities as far as promotion is concerned. For example, I'm a director of [local service organization] and that sort of thing. But no one here knows about it, and I don't think they really care.

Table 9.6

Importance of activities and connections outside work to career success among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Importance of activities and connections outside work							
Linguistic group	N	Extremely important	Quite important	Not generally important, perhaps for some types of work	Not important	Not indicated	Total
Franco-phones	128	29.7	16.4	21.1	31.2	1.6	100.0
Anglo-phones	168	27.4	22.0	17.3	29.7	3.6	100.0

On the other hand, 46 per cent of middle-level Francophones and 49 per cent of their Anglophone counterparts suggested that, in one way or another, such activities might have a positive bearing. Persons of this persuasion gave replies of which the following are representative:

My athletic activities are keeping me in physical condition. Personal contacts made outside the office are bound to help, as you are always meeting people at functions outside the office. They help you to develop the personality of a good supervisor. I don't want to be a hated supervisor, and outside activities can help you to develop. I was in the Staff Association for a few years, and this helps you with things like public speaking and meeting your superiors in the department. You are able to talk to them on a more friendly basis.

Si on a l'avantage d'y rencontrer le vétérinaire régional et d'être plus intime avec lui, c'est certainement très utile. Mais il ne faut pas abuser de la vie mondaine, autrement, c'est mal vu. Il faut être prudent, ne pas exagérer en rien, car le vétérinaire régional est assez strict là-dessus. Nos congrès de médecins vétérinaires sont aussi très utiles parce qu'ils permettent de nous mieux connaître et souvent de renouveler nos façons de penser et même de travailler.

Such replies seem to suggest that although education and work competence are the ultimate basis of promotions, advancement can come more rapidly for persons who mix with their superiors off the job or maintain membership in organizations connected to their work.

It is the administrators in both language groups who are more likely than their "specialist" colleagues to view off-work activities as important (Table 9.7). Two Finance Officers describe the situation in their department:

Ottawa étant une ville administrative, ce sont presque toujours les mêmes gens qui se rencontrent. Si on veut rencontrer d'autres personnes que des fonctionnaires qui parlent toujours de la même chose, il faut élargir ses relations sociales pour garder le contact avec le monde extérieur. Ça stimule l'esprit, ça renouvelle les idées, ça nous fait mieux comprendre la réalité.

Contact with as wide a spectrum of people as possible who have some relation to your work is valuable. In the Universities, that would be the departments of economics, for example. . . . I belong to the Canadian Political Science Association which provides valuable contacts. Plus the Federal-Provincial gatherings. These aren't organizations in the usual sense of the word, but they are opportunities for further contact, for being exposed to particular ideas. Then there are the traditional established organizations to which all the seniors belong, and to which all the juniors aspire. The Rideau Club, for example.

A third Finance Officer was even more definite about the importance of activities outside the office:

Table 9.7

Importance of activities and connections outside work to career success among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

		Importance of activities and connections outside work				
Linguistic group and career type A	N	Extremely important	Quite important	Not generally important, perhaps for some types of work	Not important	Not indicated Total
<i>Francophones</i>						
Professional and scientific	43	39.5	7.0	20.9	32.6	0.0 100.0
Technical and semi-professional	54	16.7	22.2	24.1	35.2	1.8 100.0
Administrative	31	38.7	19.4	16.1	22.6	3.2 100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>						
Professional and scientific	84	25.0	17.8	27.4	26.2	3.6 100.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	21.4	23.8	7.2	40.5	7.1 100.0
Administrative	42	31.0	19.1	9.5	33.3	7.1 100.0

I don't doubt at all that this is important. Cultivation of members of the establishment is important, in places like the golf club. The place you live is important. A residence in Rockcliffe is particularly important. And the things you do, such as if you are active in the Little Theatre or on the National Gallery executive. This type of activity brings you into contact with members of the establishment who remember you and know you and encourage you.

The technical and semi-professional workers appear to be at the opposite pole to the administrators. In both language groups, these careerists are more likely than the other two types to state that such activities have little or no importance.

The departmental breakdown in Table 9.8 shows that it is the Anglophones in the department of Agriculture who are most convinced of the efficacy of outside activities. However, these Anglophones, many of whom are scientists, usually have a narrow view of such contacts. A common answer pattern went like this:

I don't think outside contacts are very important at all. You really get tied up in your work here. You don't have time for much besides your work and your family.

(Interviewer) What about joining professional associations?

They are vital in our work. You can get behind in new techniques so quickly if you don't attend meetings. They are essential.

Rarely do these employees mention the importance of parties, clubs, or being friendly with superiors outside of office hours. It is also worthy of note that the Francophones in Agriculture do not feel that participation in activities outside the Public Service can influence promotions to the same extent that the Anglophones feel they do. The fact that the Francophones do not share in the dominant work ideology of the department of Agriculture will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Table 9.8

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants indicating that activities and connections outside work are extremely or quite important for career success, by department

Department	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Percentage indicating importance	N*	Percentage indicating importance	N*
Finance	**	6	32.2	28
State	48.5	33	44.8	38
Agriculture	50.0	28	70.2	37
Public Works	50.0	28	25.0	32
National Revenue	33.4	33	48.4	33

*This is the case base on which the percentage is computed.

**Too few cases on which to base percentage.

The situation found in Agriculture is reversed in Public Works. Here the Francophones, more than Anglophones, assert that activities away from work are important for advancement. This Francophone view is largely a reflection of a feeling, supported by some evidence, that Anglophones in the department who are "Francs-maçons" (Masons) are favoured in promotions. Because they feel that there is a cabal of Masons in the senior ranks of the department who favour persons at the middle level belonging to this organization, many Francophones have become convinced that membership—and their non-membership—in organizations outside the Public Service does affect career success. In the other departments where the Francophone emphasis on outside activities is as high as in Public Works—the departments of Agriculture and the Secretary of State—there is not the same concern about cliques and cabals drawing strength from outside organizations. Only in Public Works is outright discrimination against Francophones a prominent theme. Most of the replies from both language groups concerning outside activities in departments other than Public Works concern claims that professional, community, or social activities might play some part in bringing a person to the attention of his seniors and thus advancing his career. But competence on the job was considerably more relevant.

3. The importance of kin and family

Our findings in this area are less exact, but we can report on the main impressions derived from answers to a question about the effect of kin, getting married, having children, or buying a house on career decisions. Approximately six in 10 in both language groups stated that their parents, wife, or other kin have had an effect, either positive or negative, on their career plans. Only a quarter say definitely that they are "free agents" in the conduct of their career and that their homelife has had no influence at all.

Among those who say that family life is influential, the majority claim it has had a beneficial influence on their careers, but generally not a strong one. Here is the way two respondents described their situation:

Marriage has something to do with it (career success). This is what you live for. This is why you have a career. I'd put my family first before any one individual job. You can get a job anywhere, anytime. But you can only get one family. I've been lucky. I have a wife and family who have moved along with my career. I was thinking for example of someone who brings his wife to Canada, and the wife doesn't like it, and wants to go back. But I've not been affected this way at all in my career. Je me suis marié en 1950. J'ai quatre enfants. Mon mariage n'a pas changé l'orientation de ma vie sinon qu'il a été un stimulant. Ma femme m'accepte tel que j'étais et a accepté ce que je voulais être. Elle a peut-être été d'un certain poids dans le fait que je me suis toujours fixé dans la région de la capitale et que je n'ai jamais voulu m'en éloigner. Mais c'est d'abord moi qui voulais rester dans ma région natale qui est aussi la sienne.

Others are less content with the effect of their home life on their careers:

Si je n'avais pas été marié, j'aurais pris mon *PhD* aux Etats-Unis et je serais peut-être plus avancé aujourd'hui. Mais la famille ça nous fait perdre le goût du risque, des nouvelles aventures et aussi des études.

Getting married just before joining and raising a family has made me less mobile. Buying a house is another factor tying me down. In a situation like this, one must seek security.

A careful reading of the Francophone and Anglophone replies also challenges the common assertion that Francophones are more strongly influenced by family ties in their career decisions and that this influence is generally a negative or limiting one. We found no evidence that the Francophones are any more influenced in their career choices by their families than are any other groups. And the Francophones are no more negatively influenced than are the Anglophones. In short, our final impression is that kin and family have an equal and rather mild effect on the careers of members of both linguistic groups; for those who report an effect, the majority say it has been beneficial to their advancement.

E. Prospects of "Making It"

What does the future hold for these middle-level men at mid-career? We asked them how they saw their future prospects.

The overwhelming majority—79 per cent of the Francophones and 85 per cent of Anglophones—felt that the future would be one of advancement (Table 9.9). However, most of these persons foresaw only limited gains: one or two more promotions. Overall, only 15 per cent of Francophones and 12 per cent of Anglophones were convinced that the future offered a series of substantial promotion leading to the "top."

Table 9.9

Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Linguistic group	<i>N</i>	At the top (advancement not desired)	Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (one or two more promotions)	Blocked or potential reached	Not indicated	Total
Franco-phones	128	8.6	14.8	64.1	10.9	1.6	100.0
Anglo-phones	168	8.9	11.9	73.2	5.4	0.6	100.0

To this number might be added the 9 per cent in each language group who felt that they already had experienced rapid advancement and were now at the top in their work area. These people said they didn't want or need promotions because they had "made it" and would be quite content in mastering their present job.

It is in the ranks of the Francophone administrators that there is a concentration of persons who feel that they have unlimited prospects (Table 9.10). Table 9.11 indicates that it is the senior

Table 9.10

Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

Prospects for advancement				
Linguistic group and career type A	N	Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (one or two more promotions)	Total expecting advancement
<i>Francophones</i>				
Professional and scientific	43	14.0	58.1	72.1
Technical and semi-professional	54	7.4	74.1	81.5
Administrative	31	29.0	54.8	83.8
<i>Anglophones</i>				
Professional and scientific	84	13.1	67.9	81.0
Technical and semi-professional	42	16.7	76.2	92.9
Administrative	42	16.7	71.4	88.1

policy-makers, in particular, who regard their prospects as unlimited and their chances of reaching the summit of the federal system as good. For instance, here is how a young administrator with a Bachelor of Commerce degree assesses his past and future career progress:

Par comparaison avec ceux de 1954, des confrères de collège entrés avec moi dans la fonction publique, j'ai atteint un niveau au moins équivalent au meilleur d'entre eux. Par comparaison, je suis assez satisfait. Par comparaison avec ceux qui sont dans l'industrie privée, je ne saurais dire, . . . Je voudrais atteindre éventuellement le niveau de sous-ministre adjoint. . . . Je n'ai que 35 ans et j'ai encore des années devant moi dans la fonction publique.

Table 9.11

Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by career type B (percentages)

Prospects for advancement				
Linguistic group and career type B	N	Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (one or two more promotions)	Total expecting advancement
<i>Francophones</i>				
Scientists	14	14.3	14.3	28.6
Senior policy-makers	17	52.9	23.5	76.4
Engineers	12	25.0	66.7	91.7
Semi-Professionals	51	5.9	80.4	86.3
Technicians	18	11.1	72.2	83.3
Lower Administrators	16	0.0	87.5	87.5
<i>Anglophones</i>				
Scientists	35	5.7	65.7	71.4
Senior policy-makers	25	24.0	60.0	84.0
Engineers	40	17.5	70.0	87.5
Semi-professionals	28	7.1	85.7	92.8
Technicians	21	23.8	66.7	90.5
Lower Administrators	19	15.8	78.9	94.7

This optimism is understandable. These men are used to operating in English milieux and, with the burgeoning demand for bilingual generalists, they are in the best position to take advantage of the situation. By contrast, Francophone technical, semi-professional, and lower-administrative employees have some of the smallest proportions with great expectations. These men are in fields where the routine performance of a technical task is the main criterion for advancement. Being a Francophone and bilingual are not assets in such settings, and, in fact, in a department like Public Works, with a technical orientation, many Francophones feel they are discriminated against.

In terms of obtaining advancement of any kind, it is Anglophone lower administrators, technicians, and semi-professionals, and Francophone engineers who are most certain. At least nine out of 10 of them expect the future to involve promotions. For example, a Francophone engineer aged 38 and with 14 years experience expects to rise two levels—he now is at level 3—in the next 20 or so years:

Je voudrais devenir chef de laboratoire. Mais ça va être difficile. Il y en a trop qui ont seulement un an de plus que moi et qui sont sur la liste. Si je peux être ingénieur à 50 ou 60 ans je serai heureux.

This comment indicates that for some men advancement means relatively small gains.

It is among the scientists, both Francophone and Anglophone, that one finds the smallest sub-groups looking for promotions. This is not an indication of disaffection with government work, for the scientists are the public servants most likely to say that they are already at the top and do not desire a change of duties: more than a third (35.7 per cent) of Francophone scientists and a quarter (25.7 per cent) of Anglophone scientists. The ambivalent attitude of scientists towards promotions will be explored in depth in a forthcoming chapter.

The scientists, most of whom have postgraduate degrees, affect the results of Table 9.12 which relates level of education to prospects for advancement. Here we find that those with postgraduate degrees are least likely to be expecting promotion. Not shown by the table is that 17 per cent of both Anglophone and Francophone postgraduates feel they have reached the top and do not desire further promotions. Of even more significance, however, is that a fifth of Francophone postgraduates feel that their future progress is blocked; many plan to leave the federal administration.

Table 9.12

Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by level of education (percentages)

Prospects for advancement				
Linguistic group and level of education	N	Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (one or two more promotions)	Total expecting advancement
<i>Francophones</i>				
Some university or less	46	8.7	80.4	89.1
First university degree	47	23.4	63.8	87.2
Postgraduate degree	35	11.4	42.9	54.3
<i>Anglophones</i>				
Some university or less	44	13.6	77.3	90.9
First university or less	78	15.4	76.9	92.3
Postgraduate degree	46	15.2	54.3	69.5

The policy-makers in Finance, both Anglophones and the few Francophones, contain in their ranks the largest proportions of persons who view their future as involving promotion to high office (Table 9.13). On the other hand, not a single Francophone in our sample of the middle-level personnel of National Revenue sees unlimited opportunity for himself. Furthermore, National Revenue and Agriculture have few Anglophones who register strong optimism about their future advancement. However, the Anglophones in National Revenue generally expect to receive limited promotions.

Table 9.13

Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level federal public servants, by department (percentages)

Prospects for advancement				
Linguistic group and department	N	Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (one or two more promotions)	Total expecting advancement
<i>Francophones</i>				
Finance	6	3(50.0)	1(16.7)	4(66.7)
Agriculture	28	10.7	53.6	64.3
State	33	15.2	66.7	81.9
Public Works	28	28.6	60.7	89.3
National Revenue	33	0.0	81.8	81.8
<i>Anglophones</i>				
Finance	28	32.1	50.0	82.1
Agriculture	37	2.7	75.7	78.4
State	38	13.2	76.3	89.5
Public Works	32	25.0	59.4	84.4
National Revenue	33	6.1	87.9	94.0

Now that we have located the types of personnel and work groups among which optimism about future promotions runs high, we take a more intensive look at those who feel their prospects are unlimited and that they will ultimately "make it." We compared the distribution of a trait among the total Public Service to its distribution among the group with unlimited prospects to see if the trait is over-represented among the men with their eyes on a top job. Table 9.14 summarizes a number of findings. It indicates, for example, that Francophones who feel their prospects are unlimited are concentrated

Table 9.14

A comparison of Francophones and Anglophones who feel their prospects are unlimited and all middle-level public servants, for selected characteristics

Selected characteristics	<i>N</i>	Francophones		Anglophones	
		Total middle level	Perceive unlimited prospects	Total middle level	Perceive unlimited prospects
Percentage between 31 and 35 years of age		128	19	168	25
		28.1	42.1	16.7	28.0
Percentage between 36 and 40 years of age		29.7	52.6	31.5	24.0
Percentage with 5 years of government service or less		28.1	31.6	32.7	44.0
Percentage entering Public Service directly after schooling		40.6	52.6	24.4	12.0
Percentage with university degrees		64.0	78.9	72.0	76.0
Percentage with high upward intergenerational mobility		35.2	42.1	33.3	28.0

in the age group between 31 and 40: 95 per cent of those with unlimited prospects are in this age group, compared with only 58 per cent of the total Francophone middle level. There was not a single young Francophone (25 to 30 years of age) in our sample who indicated his prospects were unlimited. In addition, Francophones with unlimited prospects were more likely than their Anglophone brethren to have entered the Public Service directly after completing their schooling, to possess a university degree, and to have already attained an economic position higher than their parents. Anglophones who expect unlimited advancement were overrepresented in the 31 to 35 age group, among those who entered after the age of 30 and have

five years of government service or less, and (slightly) among those with university degrees. The picture of upward striving that emerges is this: Francophones with hopes of rapid advancement are likely to be persons who came into the government service right after completing a university degree and who are now in their thirties; Anglophones who foresee advancement to lofty heights are likely to have worked outside the government for a considerable period of time before joining in their early thirties and have only been in the Public Service a short period of time. In short, it is Francophones who have known only government employment and Anglophones who are late entrants to government service—quite different sorts of men—who anticipate advancement.

There is an old maxim that "nothing succeeds like success." Its truth seems to be borne out for Francophones but not for Anglophones. We find that at successively higher salary levels a successively higher proportion of Francophones claim that their prospects are unlimited. In short, it is those who have already "made it" financially who say that their future is rosy. To be specific: while 3.2 per cent of Francophones at lower salary levels (\$6,200 to \$7,999) feel they have unlimited prospects, 21.8 per cent of those earning between \$8,000 and \$9,999, and 45.5 per cent of those earning over \$10,000 do so. Among the Anglophones, 13 to 16 per cent at each salary level anticipate considerable advancement for themselves. Unlike the Francophones, monetary success does not lead to feelings that greater returns are still to come. It might be said that the Anglophones are more willing to believe that "any boy can become a deputy minister."

Si on considère le nombre considérable d'employés civils au service du gouvernement fédéral, je trouve que les normes de promotion sont bien établies et qu'il n'y a pas d'injustice. Il peut y avoir des erreurs, mais ces erreurs sont cependant très rares et je n'en connais pas qui soient des injustices criantes. Il y aura toujours des individus qui se croiront frustrés par un système de promotion mais là n'est pas mon avis. Il faut faire son travail et je crois que, cela étant fait, la promotion méritée arrivera un jour ou l'autre.

Middle-level administrator earning \$7,920 in 1965, age 34, and with 16 years of service.

I could sit here and work my head off and no one would even know. When civil servants are happy and staying, they should be given credit and recognition of the work that they do, and not necessarily money. The Civil Service doesn't keep people. Why? We have the most efficient department in the Civil Service but we can't keep employees. The Civil Service puts barricades up in front of people. You never know where you stand. They don't care; they aren't interested in people. They don't even care if you make mistakes, as long as it doesn't involve them.

Middle-level administrator earning \$7,710 in 1965, age 35, and with 12 years of service.

Men everywhere who work in large organizations complain about many of the same things in their work environment: inefficiency and "red tape," the stupidity of people "upstairs," the distance and social gulf between the workers and the bosses, and so on. They also sing common praises for some of the benefits which sheer size bestows: opportunities to move around between sectors of the organization if

one's current work becomes boring or one's career is blocked, the chance to cultivate a specialty and allow others to look after the running of the organization, the availability of human and material resources to carry out large projects, and so on. These features which the Canadian federal administration shares with other large organizations will not be our main concern. Rather our attention is drawn to the most basic and fundamental reactions of public servants to their employer. We try to grasp how the Public Service differs from other sorts of organizations in which the middle-level personnel have been or could be employed.

Once again we find a wide divergence between Anglophone and Francophone conceptions of the most significant features of the federal administration. This does not mean that the two linguistic groups do not share ideas on many aspects of the Public Service environment, only that they emphasize different aspects of their environment as fundamental. The differences are based on the fact that Anglophones and Francophones have different wants and needs in their immediate employment situation, and different past experiences which provide bases for comparison.

The Anglophones regularly draw contrasts between the public and private sector, and especially the staffing procedures of the two. Francophones are most sensitive to the role of language and ethnic factors in the daily round of work and in promotions in the federal Service. We will explore this difference at length.

A. Public vs. Private Employment

The majority of Anglophones have had experience working in private industry, and images based on comparisons of the private and public sectors have a prominent place in their thinking. On the one hand, private industry is much more efficient and dynamic; on the other hand, it has too many pressures and long hours. Salaries are better in the private sector—considerably better—but there is less job security, vacation time, and fewer pension benefits. In particular, the promotion procedures of the federal administration are felt to suffer by comparison with the private sector.

One thing, there doesn't seem to be a promotion system in the Civil Service as you know it in industry. You don't seem to get promotions as soon. You have to apply for vacant positions. You have to apply for jobs. In industry you are called into the office, and if you are doing a good job, you get a promotion. But the Civil Service procedures don't allow for the supervisor to do this readily. It's a continual jockeying for positions and competitions. Of course this depends on the level. Seniority is much more a factor at the lower levels than at higher levels, which is what it should be. The Civil Service system is designed for the lower levels, and they find it difficult when they are trying to fill more senior positions.

In private industry they go by how smart you are, if you are producing. If you are good, you stay; if you're not, you're out. If you've been with them a while, doing a good job, they carry you over the rough spots. In the Civil Service, you have to fight all the way with these competitions. You should be classed on your ability. There should be some seniority considerations but not as much as there is. There should be more consideration of ability. There are not enough incentives here as there are in industry, to do a good job, and move up. If you do a good job, they pat you on the back, but that's it. If you do a bad job, they put you in the corner for a while.

Many public servants noted that, unlike private industry where the staffing function generally is handled in a flexible and informal manner, the Civil Service Commission has instituted numerous procedures to prevent the contamination of politics. Middle-level employees are constantly reminded of these procedures. Most took written examinations and faced examining boards prior to their appointments; their promotions or reclassifications usually have involved more applications and examinations; and publicity from the Commission inviting applications for new job openings continually crosses their desks.

How do Anglophones feel about this system? Reactions are both positive and negative. For the most part they feel that the "competition system" has achieved its major goal: eliminating discrimination and political favouritism in staffing decisions. Most impressed in this respect are the 27 per cent among the Anglophone group who are of non-British descent. A few in this group even suggested that they had experienced discrimination in private industry and joined the federal administration because they expected fairer treatment. As for the negative reactions, there were numerous complaints made about the slowness and inflexibility in many staffing decisions because of Civil Service Commission regulations. The following theme was often repeated: "It took them x months to clear the promotion he demanded, and by that time he had decided to join a firm outside."

Undoubtedly, the complaints above invoke clichés about government bureaucracy which nowadays simply do not apply to many, if not most, areas of the federal administration. However, they do reflect the career experience and work situation of a significant minority of middle-level public servants, particularly among Anglophones in two types of career situation: first, those disenchanted with the federal Public Service and planning to leave; second, those who are making little progress but nevertheless are resigned to stay because of security considerations or the like.

Of all types of careerists, it is those in the business-oriented professions (for example, accountants, lawyers, and engineers) who are most likely to fall into these two categories. Such men are found in great numbers in the non-creative work settings of the Public Service, and they tend to be defensive about their careers and present employment. The defensiveness stems from a number of

conditions. In the professional circles of accountancy, law, and engineering, the public sector is not considered a particularly desirable field for pursuing a career. Salaries tend to be low; staff turnover is high. Many of those recruited are among the least successful in each profession. The defensiveness is echoed in the following remarks of an engineer working in the Patent Office: "There is the feeling that because they [the Patent Office] need so many people, they will hire almost anyone they can get. They just keep hiring and hiring and hope they can keep some of them in. They realize that it is a dead-end job and they expect them to go." Consider also the following comments on future career plans from a lawyer in the department of National Revenue:

I'm not committed [to the Public Service] at all. I have enjoyed the last three years' work here, and might stay if conditions improved somewhat, that is, if further assistance were obtained. . . . We have a terrific turnover of lawyers here, and right now we're pretty low on them. . . . But even if you stay there's really not too much here. The most hope I have is to become Senior Counsel some day, doing the same job as now at a maximum of \$15,000. I'm working in a field where lawyers [in the private sector] are earning much more than that, so I feel that progress is limited here.

This sort of negativism is encountered often in departments like National Revenue, Public Works, and Secretary of State. In fact, the strongest impression that emerges from these interviews is that as a place to work the Public Service is considered "second-rate." The work is often seen as routine and repetitious; the employees and senior officers cautious and uninspired.

A related theme in the Anglophones' evaluations of the promotion system was the feeling that individual brilliance was neither appreciated nor amply rewarded. Because the promotion procedures often involve the use of an interview board that examines the candidates, many Anglophones felt that it was usual for the board members to agree on a "mediocre medium" rather than the exceptional person. Here are the comments of two men, the first an engineer born and educated in England who has been in the government for 10 months, the second a Taxation Officer with four years of service. Both are 28 years old.

About the promotion system, it's fair in that a supposedly unbiased board picks people on the basis of their ability. This is not really logical in a way, however. . . . I do not believe in boards, because they tend to turn out average results. An individual choice may turn out very good results. In general, rugged individualism has no place within the Civil Service system. Chances for promotion are on too impersonal a basis, and the individual must go through a set series of promotions and salary raises on his way to the top. This would not be as true of private business, where there would be more scope for individual initiative.

I find that the Civil Service system works for the benefit of the system, not for the individual. There's more opportunities

outside the Civil Service, if the person is good. He will move faster. They're looking for homogeneous accent in the Civil Service, they're not looking for the person with genius. If they found such a person, he has to fit the system. It restricts the person with superior ability, with special genius in his work.

This theme sometimes merges into a more serious one: that the working environment of the Public Service muffles and stifles initiative.

Here are the views of three men, all with professional degrees or advanced technical training, who speak for a significant minority of Anglophone public servants. The first man, age 43 and with six years of service, was earning over \$13,000 a year in 1965.

My experience leads me to conclude that ability and merit count very little in the Civil Service. The main quality is to stay out of trouble. There's no tangible reward in the Civil Service for a man who puts out the unusual effort, for the greater man who can work under difficult circumstances, according to his ability. In the Civil Service engineers will get to a grade 5 -- the good ones, the exceptional ones, the mediocre ones -- there's no discrimination.

The next man is a computer programmer with 10 years experience in government employment.

Outside you're not as rigidly tied to a grade system as you are in the Civil Service, which would mean you would go ahead faster if you did a good job. Here you're tied to a rigid scale and can't get out, and it doesn't matter if you're doing a better job than the next guy. . . . You need a lot of patience because it is really frustrating around here. . . . Decisions are slow coming down. There are lots of arguments because there are no real lines of authority.

The following are the comments of an engineer earning close to \$10,000 a year; he is 44 years old and has been in the federal employ for 16 years.

Shortly after joining the Service it became apparent that it wasn't always the man most suited for the job that got the job. . . . I don't think the Public Service does anything to instill loyalty in its employees. By loyalty, I mean forsaking any opportunity to better yourself somewhere else to stay and help them. . . . The Civil Service functions in an air of shallowness in that the person who gets ahead is promoted on his ability to keep on the good side of his superior, is able to carry on small talk, be a bull-shitter, and in general put on a good front as opposed to being an able man for the job.

These men all feel that the evaluation procedures in the federal administration are not what they should be and that excellence of performance is not rewarded and perhaps is discouraged by the failure to develop proper evaluation and promotion procedures. Although they do not directly mention it, they are likely comparing this system with the techniques that are assumed to operate in the private sector.

B. The Public Service and its "culture anglaise"

Francophones have fewer opportunities available to them in the private sector, and to the extent they have experience there it is more likely to be in smaller, lower-paying, and less efficient firms. For these reasons, comparisons of public and private employment are seldom voiced by Francophones. Nor are they as concerned as Anglophones with the failure of the promotion system to identify men of talent. They have their own vocabulary of grievances against the promotion system, but this has to do with discrimination against their language and culture.

How, then, do Francophones feel about the Public Service? One theme dominates their impressions. They see it as essentially "une organisation anglaise" and feel that there are special difficulties for the French-language minority. The most important implication of this "English fact" is that many Francophones must split work life from family and social life in a much more profound sense than the Anglophones. The latter may keep the two somewhat separate but need not change language and basic patterns of behaviour in the process. In the federal administration Francophones have little chance to express their identities as French Canadians, not simply because they must work in English, but for the more basic reason that the rhetoric, routines, and administrative styles of their workplace are considered to be an expression of English-Canadian cultural values. The comment below by a Francophone engaged in recruitment work aptly expresses this alienation:

Parce qu'on sait bien qu'au moment où il arrive à Ottawa, eh bien! en accrochant son chapeau, il accroche sa langue, et il devra pendant tout le temps de la journée parler en anglais, travailler en anglais. La méthode ou la façon de travailler de l'Anglo-Saxon est différente de celle du francophone. On n'a pas la même façon de voir les problèmes, de les régler, d'en discuter.

About a quarter of the middle-level Francophones focussed most of their critical attention on the inflexibility or inefficiency of Public Service rules and regulations, but others were upset by unfair treatment accorded Francophones or the French language: 19 per cent referred to outright discrimination, 18 per cent to cases where hiring or promotional rules were evaded, usually to benefit an Anglophone, and 9 per cent to the unilingualism of the Public Service, which made the conduct of work or gaining of promotions more difficult for Francophones. Here is one man who felt strongly about ethnic discrimination:

Pour un pays qu'on dit bilingue, il (le système de promotion) n'est pas juste pour la minorité de langue française. Pour ma part je me suis trouvé lésé.

Les Anglais se comprennent entre eux et se favorisent entre eux. C'est peut-être normal mais ce n'est pas juste. Trouvez-moi des hauts postes dans ce ministère qui sont occupés par des gens de langue française. . . .

The ways in which established procedures were circumvented to assist non-Francophones occasioned profuse comments. In general, these men felt the promotion or recruiting systems were basically fair; it was just that some senior men were able to manipulate the procedures.

Il y a aussi une certaine tendance aux réactions personnelles sur les "Boards de sélection"; souvent on peut manquer d'impartialité; des fois il y a trop de sympathie pour certains employés et un peu de favoritisme. Ce sont souvent les expressions personnelles plutôt que la raison qui jouent et sont employées dans les promotions.

Si les normes du présent système étaient suivies à la lettre, ce serait juste. Personnellement, j'ai eu connaissance de quelques cas de favoritisme pas tellement graves, mais qui sont quand même des accrocs au système et qui, quand ils sont multipliés, peuvent le fausser complètement. Dans le domaine que je connais, je ne crois pas qu'il se glisse d'influences politiques, du moins à ma connaissance.

One form of manipulation of special concern was that of drawing up qualifications for new positions that are tailored to fit a person chosen for the position even before the competition is run.

Quand ils veulent avoir une certaine personne pour une position, ils sont obligés de l'annoncer; donc ils vont "arranger" les qualifications en fonction de l'individu pour pouvoir éliminer les autres. Ce n'est pas nécessairement en termes linguistiques mais parfois parce qu'ils ont une préférence pour un individu.

Il y a des pratiques arbitraires: définir à l'avance qui prendra une position ouverte. Exemple, en 1962 la position R03 est ouverte mais six mois avant que le concours soit annoncé la position était déjà occupée. Mon patron me demande pourquoi je n'avais pas fait application, je lui réponds que "je savais que c'était déjà occupé." Alors le patron a fait une colère. . . .

Of course, this sort of arrangement bothers Anglophones also, but they rarely view it as a case of unfair treatment to their language or culture.

If the written regulations were followed to the letter I think that they would be fair. I would suggest that they're not always according to the regulations. This hasn't affected me personally, but I have seen instances where posters have gone up after a job has been filled and a person is already doing the job. It's a waste of time putting up a poster. I suppose though, that even if everything was done properly, the person who was doing the job would have got the job anyway, as the person properly qualified for it. I've seen cases too where posters have been put up with qualifications which could fit only one person in the whole department, and it's obvious who's going to get the job.

The criticism that strikes at the most fundamental aspect of the Public Service is that it is a unilingual English operation in which Francophones inevitably come off second best.

À qualités égales ou inférieures c'est toujours l'Anglais qu'on prend dans une promotion. Il (le système de promotion) devrait

être modifié de plusieurs façons: on devrait passer l'examen dans la langue qu'on veut. Sur ma feuille de demande j'avais demandé un examen en français. J'ai passé devant un jury de vétérinaires anglais et ça s'est déroulé en anglais.

Les points supplémentaires qu'on est supposé accorder aux Canadiens français, je ne crois pas à cela. D'après mon expérience d'interviewer (au sein des comités de sélection) je peux dire hors de doute que celui qui ne parle pas anglais n'a pas autant de chance que celui qui parle anglais. J'en reviens à ce que je disais tantôt, et je suis sûr que cela va vous intéresser, il est impossible pour un Canadien français qui n'est pas parfaitement bilingue de donner 100% de son efficacité dans une langue qui n'est pas la sienne. Son degré d'efficacité atteint est toujours inférieur. Et ça, ça n'aide pas aux promotions. Au contraire. . . .

Because of the linguistic handicap, a Francophone does not have the same opportunity to get ahead as an Anglophone with similar educational qualifications or practical experience. The situation is not so desperate for the small groups of middle-level Francophones who work in settings which are French in both language and culture—most of the Translation Bureau, Hull-based veterinarians in the department of Agriculture. Most of the others find themselves in units which are "English." Many have hostile feelings about this state of affairs, but resignation, particularly among the older, less-educated, and Ottawa-rooted officials, is common too. The resigned have few complaints. They see working in English as an inevitable part of making a living, and they take the "English" dominance of the federal administration for granted.

C. The Promotion System: General Reactions

The availability and regularity of promotions are, for most workers, important features in the determination of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with a job. The fairness and justness of the promotion system are also important considerations. To maintain morale in a workplace, as in maintaining support for a legal order, "justice must not only be done, it must be seen to be done." Certain inequities are accepted in many work organizations—the rapid promotion of the owner's son, the lazy or incompetent man promoted because of seniority, the inexperienced but highly-educated newcomer who bypasses the long-term employees—but organizational stability and cohesiveness can only be maintained when the "right man" usually gets the job.

In every organization there are individuals who are upset by the working of the promotion system. It is difficult, however, to decide whether a larger proportion in the federal administration than in other settings is disaffected, since standard findings for other settings are not available. Even a guess at the relative satisfaction of public servants is unwarranted. Our analysis must be restricted to examining the amount and nature of satisfaction and dissatisfaction

in various sub-groups in the federal sector and making comparisons between them. The main interest, of course, will be in similarities and differences between linguistic groups.

The middle-level employees were asked: "Do you think that the promotion system as it works at present is a fair one?" From the answer we gauged the respondent's perception of and sentiments about the promotion system. Was his attitude towards the promotion system a favourable one? Did he generally feel that as it works at present it is a fair one? Or rather, did he feel that there are elements of discrimination which tend to make him take a negative view of the promotion system? The answer of each respondent was classified into one of the following categories:

Fair - strongly positive: The respondent explains why he feels that the promotion system is a fair one; he elaborates on the elements of the promotion system which make it effective and fair to all the people in the Public Service. He may display enthusiasm for the system as it works at present.

Fair - mildly positive: The respondent displays a positive attitude toward the promotion system, but is not overly enthusiastic about it. He may like it generally, but have certain minor and rather general criticisms or reservations concerning it.

Unfair - mildly negative: The respondent feels that generally the promotion is unfair, but is not particularly upset about this. There are a few specific elements which make it inequitable.

Unfair - strongly negative: The respondent feels that the promotion system is unfair to most public servants, and is personally quite bitter about this. He may give explicit and serious criticism of the system of promotions.

No definite reaction: The respondent does not indicate firm feelings about promotion procedures. He may mention both positive and negative features but does not give a clear indication of his general sentiment about the promotion system.

In most of the following text, we treat only those who regard the promotion system as either "fair"—both strongly and mildly positive—or "unfair"—strongly and mildly negative. Table 10.1 however gives the detailed breakdown for all middle-level Anglophones and Francophones. It shows that 14 per cent of the Anglophones but 34 per cent of Francophone personnel regard the promotion procedures as fundamentally unfair. Only 1 per cent of Anglophones and 5.5 per cent of Francophones were extremely upset by the system. At the other pole, 12 per cent of Anglophones but only 5 per cent of Francophones were extremely impressed by the promotion process. In sum, Anglophones were much more satisfied with promotion arrangements in the federal administration than were the Francophones. This was the case for Anglophones of both British and non-British origins: 64 per cent of both groups thought the promotion system fair.

Table 10.1

Attitudes toward the promotion system in the federal Public Service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

The promotion system at present is . . .	Anglophones		Francophones	
	<i>N</i>	168	128	
"Fair"				
Strongly positive		11.9	4.7	
Mildly positive		51.8	35.9	
Total		63.7		40.6
"Unfair"				
Mildly negative		13.1	28.9	
Strongly negative		1.2	5.5	
Total		14.3		34.4
No definite reaction		22.0	25.0	
Total		100.0	100.0	

We will now try to identify those sub-groups among the Anglophones and Francophones that were either especially favourably impressed or critical of the promotion system.

One clear finding is that increasing age brings increasing negativism among the Francophones (Table 10.2). Apparently, as they get older, Francophones come to feel that the promotion system is stacked against certain types of employees. There is no definite correlation between age and attitudes among Anglophones.

Interestingly, it is the Francophones who have entered government service on or after the age of 30 who are most likely to say promotions are unfairly administered (Table 10.3). Also, those with five years of government service or less are slightly more likely than those with longer service to say that the system is unfair (Table 10.4). The picture that emerges, then, is that Francophones frequently enter government work at mid-career and, after relatively short exposure to the Public Service, find it unfair in its general operation.

Late-entering Anglophones are slightly less likely to say that the promotion system is fair and more likely to view it as unfair. Anglophones with long years of government service (six years or more), like their Francophone counterparts, are more favourably disposed to the promotion system than are those with shorter periods of government employment.

Those with disorderly work histories outside the federal administration, Francophones and Anglophones alike, are likely to find fault with the promotion procedures (Table 10.5). Those who entered government service right after finishing school are the most satisfied and least critical. This finding indicates that those who have

Table 10.2
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by age

Age	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
25-30 years	56.0	31.3	8.0	25.0	25	16
31-35 years	56.7	41.6	20.0	25.0	30	36
36-40 years	72.9	42.1	8.4	39.5	48	38
41-45 years	64.6	40.5	15.3	43.2	65	37
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.3
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by age at entry

Age at entry	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
24 years or less	60.8	50.9	6.3	28.3	48	53
25 to 29 years	69.5	43.6	13.0	23.1	46	39
30 years or more	56.8	22.2	17.8	55.6	74	36
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.4

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by years of service

Years of service	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
5 years or less	50.0	22.2	15.0	38.9	60	36
6 to 14 years	71.3	39.7	13.7	34.9	73	63
15 years or more	74.3	65.5	8.6	27.5	35	29
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.5

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by nature of work history outside the federal administration

Nature of work history outside the federal administration	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Direct entry	67.5	48.1	10.0	25.0	40	52
Orderly	64.6	38.3	11.5	36.7	96	60
Disorderly	59.4	25.0	21.9	56.3	32	16
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

experienced a variety of different employment arrangements are most likely to point out inequities in the ways of the federal service.

Those with a first university degree are most critical and least likely to be satisfied (Table 10.6). Those with less or more education, in both linguistic groups, are generally more content with the

Table 10.6
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by level of education

Level of education	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Some university or less	72.7	47.8	11.4	30.4	44	46
First university degree	59.0	31.9	15.4	44.7	78	47
Postgraduate degree	65.2	42.9	10.9	25.7	46	35
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

promotion system. Thus, persons in the middle stratum with the lowest and the highest levels of training are the ones who feel best served by the rules and regulations surrounding promotion, and their application. However, as Table 10.7 shows, this situation pertains for older public servants and younger Francophones, but not for younger Anglophones.

It would seem that there is nothing like having a relatively high salary to increase one's faith in and satisfaction with the promotion system. Table 10.8 presents two different salary breakdowns. It reveals that in the more exclusive group, the one earning \$9,000 or more per annum, the level of satisfaction is the greatest. Seven in 10 of the high-earning Anglophones and a majority (54.5 per cent) of the Francophones at the same level felt the promotion system was fundamentally fair.

Those with postgraduate degrees and high salaries show the greatest tendency to regard the promotion system as just (Table 10.9). Rather naturally, those with university degrees—either a first or a postgraduate one—but low salaries are especially likely to be dissatisfied with the promotion system. Undoubtedly, they generalize their own relative lack of promotional gains to a critique of the whole system.

In the same vein, we find that persons who have experienced downward intergenerational mobility are also likely to claim that the promotion system is unfair (Table 10.10). Upward or no intergenerational mobility brings a lower level of criticism. Again, it seems that those who are in a position to feel that they have not yet

Table 10.7

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by level of education and age

Level of education and age	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
<i>Young (25-35)</i>						
Some university or less	63.6	43.8	27.3	25.0	11	16
First university degree	57.2	35.0	10.7	35.0	28	20
Postgraduate degree	50.0	37.5	12.5	12.5	16	16
<i>Old (36-45)</i>						
Some university or less	75.7	48.3	6.1	34.5	33	29
First university degree	60.0	29.6	18.0	51.8	50	27
Postgraduate degree	73.3	47.4	10.0	36.9	30	19
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

* The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.8

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by salary level

	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
<i>1. Salary level</i>						
Low (\$6,200-\$8,999)	60.2	35.8	14.3	38.9	98	95
High (\$9,000 or more)	70.0	54.5	11.4	21.2	70	33
<i>2. Salary level</i>						
Low (\$6,200-\$7,999)	61.5	37.1	14.3	33.9	70	62
High (\$8,000 or more)	66.3	43.9	12.2	34.8	98	66
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.9

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by salary level and level of education

Salary level and level of education	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
<i>Some university or less</i>						
Low (\$6,200-\$8,999)	75.0	37.6	11.1	30.9	36	42
<i>First university degree</i>						
Low (\$6,200-\$8,999)	56.8	28.1	15.9	50.1	44	32
High (\$9,000 or more)	61.8	40.0	14.7	33.3	34	15
<i>Postgraduate degree</i>						
Low (\$6,200-\$8,999)	38.9	23.8	16.7	38.1	18	21
High (\$9,000 or more)	82.1	71.4	7.1	7.1	28	14
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.10

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by amount of intergenerational mobility

Amount of inter-generational mobility	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Downward	62.9	21.7	20.0	56.5	35	23
None	69.0	46.2	10.3	15.4	29	26
Slight upward	69.6	42.4	15.2	36.4	46	33
High upward	58.6	44.4	8.6	33.3	58	45
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.3	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

developed a successful career are also those who assert that there are built-in biases in the promotion procedures in the federal administration.

Finally we turn to a consideration of career types. Among professional and scientific personnel, Francophones display a relatively high level of negativism and both Anglophones and Francophones a relatively low level of satisfaction about the fairness of promotional arrangements in the federal government (Table 10.11). When the hybrids—men now doing a large amount of administrative work related to their technical specialty—are separated from the professional, scientific, technical, and semi-professional employees, we find that the "pure" specialists among the Francophones are much more likely to regard the promotion system as unfair than are their colleagues with administrative responsibilities (Table 10.12). In short, the acquisition of supervisory or policy-making duties by Francophone specialists serves to blunt their critical views of the Public Service.

A more detailed breakdown of career types is presented in Table 10.13. It examines the major career groupings in each of the five departments studied. The most striking finding is the split between the professionals in the departments of National Revenue and Public Works. In the former, Anglophone professionals had the highest proportion of any Anglophone group claiming the promotion system is fair while the Francophone professionals were least likely of any Francophone careerists to feel the system is fair. In Public Works, the situation is reversed: Francophone professionals were highly satisfied while Anglophones showed a relatively low proportion stating promotions are made fairly.

Creative Francophones—researchers in the department of Agriculture, the few Finance Officers—displayed higher-than-average proportions of persons who regarded promotion arrangements as just. By contrast, Francophone Translators, whose work often tends to be repetitive and dull, were generally not satisfied with the justice of the promotion system. This finding, coupled with the previous one about Francophone hybrids, would indicate that Francophones doing challenging work, often requiring some administrative duties, are most likely to feel that the federal administration makes good use of its human resources. Creative Anglophones were close to the average in the general assessment they made of the promotion system.

The above findings explain the differences between departments revealed in Table 10.14. The Translators and engineers (Patent Examiners) in the department of the Secretary of State give the Francophones in that department a relatively high level of discontent. As for feelings that the promotion system is fair, there are high scores for Anglophones in National Revenue and Francophones in Public Works. Both Anglophone professionals and lower administrators in National Revenue and the Francophone engineering-hybrids in Public Works assist in raising the proportion who think promotions are fairly distributed in the federal Public Service.

Table 10.11
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by career type A

Career type A	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Professional and scientific	57.1	37.2	13.1	39.6	84	43
Technical and semi-professional	71.4	38.9	11.9	31.5	42	54
Administrative	71.4	48.4	14.3	32.3	42	31
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.12
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by career type B

Career type B	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Professional and scientific	56.5	30.0	11.5	50.0	69	30
Technical and semi-professional	62.9	32.3	14.8	41.2	27	34
Hybrids	73.4	51.5	13.3	15.2	30	33
Administrative	71.4	48.4	14.3	32.3	42	31
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.13

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair," by career categories

Francophones			Anglophones		
Career category	Percentage feeling it is "fair"	N*	Career category	Percentage feeling it is "fair"	N*
Agricultural researchers	53.8	13	Agricultural researchers	60.9	23
Public Works professionals	6(66.6)	9	Public Works professionals	50.0	18
Public Works technicians	54.5	11	Public Works technicians	53.8	13
National Revenue professionals	27.8	18	National Revenue professionals	85.0	20
National Revenue lower-administrators	40.0	15	National Revenue lower-administrators	76.9	13
Translators	34.8	23	Patent Examiners	55.5	27
Finance Officers	100.0	5	Finance Officers	65.2	23
Total	40.6	128	Total	63.7	168

*This is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Table 10.14

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who feel the promotion system in the federal administration is "Fair" or "Unfair," by department

Department	Percentage feeling it is "fair"		Percentage feeling it is "unfair"		Base*	
	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos	Anglos	Francos
Finance	67.9	5(83.3)	10.7	1(16.7)	28	6
Secretary of State	57.9	27.3	10.5	48.5	38	33
Agriculture	62.2	42.8	18.9	28.6	37	28
Public Works	53.1	57.1	15.6	28.6	32	28
National Revenue	81.8	30.3	9.1	33.3	33	33
Total	63.7	40.6	14.3	34.4	168	128

*The base is the number of cases on which the percentages are calculated.

Perhaps the most significant finding we have turned up in this section is that those who are in a position to feel they have made a success of their working lives are also most likely to feel the promotion system is fair. This finding appears in several guises. It explains the relationships between general satisfaction and high salary level, between discontent and possession of a university degree but low salary, and between dissatisfaction and downward intergenerational mobility. In short, when men feel relatively justly treated, they regard the promotion system as a fair one; when relatively deprived, they are prone to see it as unfair. Thus personal circumstances colour one's judgement of the surrounding work environment.

D. Commitment to the Public Service

In considering satisfaction with careers and workplace on the one hand, and commitment to the Public Service on the other, it is important to realize that the latter does not necessarily spring from the former. What holds men to their job or makes them want to leave can be found in factors as complex and varied as personal mood (for example, being restless in any job too long) or in life-cycle situation (for example, being squeezed by mortgage payments and bills for children in college); it can depend on the meaning of work and workplace ("My *Life* is 'External'") or in community ties and family connections ("We've always lived in Hull"). Our study of the middle level turned up a few men who were happy in their work yet were completely uncommitted and in some cases even planning to leave. We found many more whose dissatisfaction ranged from the tolerable to the acute, yet whose commitment was unshakable. Generally, these were men who were fearful of risking the stability brought to their lives by jobs in the Public Service—men who truly felt "locked in" to their positions.

Although commitment and satisfaction are not equivalent, it did seem that men who were uncommitted to continuing their careers in the Public Service were usually bothered by some aspect of their employment to the point that they had become willing to consider other job offers. The uncommitted represent a potential talent loss for the federal administration. Their work does not grip their complete attention and they are bothered by aspects of their working environment that could lead to their departure.

The previous discussion of satisfaction with the promotion system indicated that Francophones are liable to be less committed than Anglophones. Table 10.15 confirms this: 27 per cent of our Francophone respondents, but only 14 per cent of the Anglophones, profess to have no commitment to remain in the federal Public Service. The majority of both language groups, however, are committed to staying: 59 per cent of the Francophones and 68 per cent of the Anglophones.

Table 10.15

Degree of commitment to continuing to work in the Public Service among middle-level federal public servants (percentages)

Degree of commitment	Linguistic group	
	Francophones	Anglophones
Firmly committed - feel they will definitely stay	40.6	44.1
Mildly committed - do not mind the work and will stay as long as promotions come or work remains challenging	18.8	23.8
Total Committed	59.4	67.9
Indifferent - do not feel at all committed	21.1	11.9
Leaving - have definite plans to quit	5.5	2.4
Total Uncommitted	26.6	14.3
Undecided - not sure, no strong feelings	10.9	17.3
Other or not determined	3.1	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	128	168

In the following paragraphs we will point out some of the attributes of the committed and uncommitted. We attempt to locate those variable characteristics of persons that are highly associated with commitment or lack of it. For example, and most importantly, in terms of geographic origin it is the Francophones from Quebec who are most disenchanted with their careers in the federal administration. Forty per cent of the Francophones raised in Quebec (excluding Hull) either feel indifferent about staying on in the federal administration or have definite plans to leave. By contrast, among those Francophones from the Ottawa-Hull area, about 20 per cent—half as many—express such feelings. Although we will discuss other subgroups which contain a large proportion of uncommitted persons, in the end we will have to return to this finding and indicate why it is that the Quebec Francophones find the federal administration an especially inhospitable environment.

Not surprisingly, those with lengthy accumulated years of government service are the ones most likely to be definitely committed to staying on in the future (Table 10.16). Eight in 10 of the Anglophones with 15 years or more of government service, and three-quarters of the Francophones with the same seniority, say they will very likely continue their government careers. For Anglophones, the

Table 10.16

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by years of government service

Years of government service	N	Degree of commitment	
		Committed	Uncommitted
<i>5 years or less</i>			
Anglos	60	51.7	18.4
Francos	36	55.5	19.4
<i>6-14 years</i>			
Anglos	73	76.7	10.9
Francos	63	53.9	33.4
<i>15 years or more</i>			
Anglos	35	80.0	14.3
Francos	29	75.8	20.7
Total middle level			
Anglos	168	67.9	14.3
Francos	128	59.4	26.6

longer one stays in the Public Service, the greater is the likelihood that one will become committed to staying even longer. In each successive seniority group there is an increasing percentage of committed persons. The same trend is not evident among Francophones. There is no difference in level of commitment between those with five years of service or less and those with six to 14 years, and persons with a middling length of service (six to 14 years) are the least committed. It is only the Francophones with 15 years or more of service who show a high level of commitment—a level almost as high as the Anglophones with the same seniority.

The above finding may partially be a function of age. It appears that one is more likely to feel committed to one's current job as one gets older (Table 10.17). Older personnel (in our study, those between 36 and 45) are more likely to feel settled into—sometimes "trapped" by—their job. Thus, it is not only a lengthy period of employment but also an increase in age that leads to greater commitment.

Those with postgraduate degrees and positions of responsibility are the least committed. This is the case for Anglophones and, more strikingly, for Francophones. While only 11 per cent of Anglophones and 17 per cent of Francophones without university degrees are uncommitted, 40 per cent of the Francophones with postgraduate degrees are uncommitted (Table 10.18). Similarly, the Francophones in the highest salary brackets—those earning \$9,000 or more per annum—are the most uncommitted of all (Figure 10.1). On first acquaintance, these

Table 10.17

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by age level

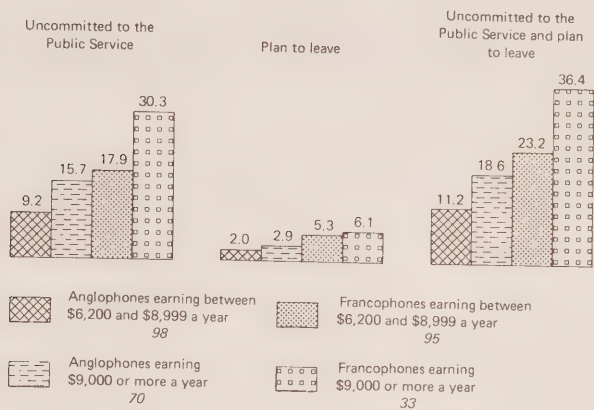
Age level	N	Degree of commitment	
		Committed	Uncommitted
<i>Anglophones</i>			
25-30 years	25	40.0	24.0
31-35 years	30	63.3	13.3
36-40 years	48	79.2	6.3
41-45 years	65	73.9	16.9
<i>Francophones</i>			
25-30 years	16	43.8	25.0
31-35 years	36	55.5	22.2
36-40 years	38	65.7	26.3
41-45 years	37	62.1	32.4

Table 10.18

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by educational level

Educational level	N	Degree of commitment	
		Committed	Uncommitted
<i>Some university or less</i>			
Anglos	44	77.2	11.4
Francos	46	71.7	17.3
<i>First university degree</i>			
Anglos	78	71.8	11.6
Francos	47	63.8	25.5
<i>Postgraduate degree</i>			
Anglos	46	54.4	21.7
Francos	35	37.2	40.0
Total middle level			
Anglos	168	67.9	14.3
Francos	128	59.4	26.6

Figure 10.1
Percentage of middle-level public servants who are "uncommitted" to continuing to work in the Public Service or "have definite plans to leave," by salary level



seem to be strange findings. Why should men with advanced educa-tions and good salaries be the ones most likely to consider leaving government service? Would not men with low salaries and less train-ing be more likely to seek something better outside the federal sphere? On second thought, though, it seems likely that the very fact of having a good education and salary means that a man is more able to consider moving. He is secure in the knowledge that his skills are in demand and, if a move does not pan out, he can always move on to yet another post. At the bottom of the educational and salary hierarchies men may dream longingly of greener fields, but when reality intrudes they know that the demand for people like them-selves is not so great and that movement between jobs can be diffi-cult. The ability to move easily and successfully is one of the prizes gained by those who have already won a high education or sal-ary.

Among those with a first university degrees, Anglophones who obtain a high salary become less committed, but Francophones do not (Table 10.19). A salary increase leads to an increase in commitment for Francophones. A near-reverse pertains at the postgraduate level: a salary increase leads to an increase in commitment among Anglophones, but the picture is not as clear for Francophones. There is a slight tendency for Francophones to show an increase in commitment when they obtain a higher salary, but the dominant impression is of a decrease

Table 10.19

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by educational level and salary

Educational level and salary	Francophones			Anglophones		
	Degree of commitment			Degree of commitment		
	Committed	Uncommitted	N	Committed	Uncommitted	N
<i>Some university or less</i>						
Low salary (\$6,200-\$8,999)	73.8	14.3	42	77.8	13.9	36
<i>First university degree</i>						
Low salary (\$6,200-\$8,999)	59.4	28.1	32	77.2	4.5	44
High salary (\$9,000 or more)	73.3	20.0	15	64.7	20.5	34
<i>Postgraduate degree</i>						
Low salary (\$6,200-\$8,999)	33.3	33.3	21	44.5	22.3	18
High salary (\$9,000 or more)	42.8	50.0	14	60.7	21.5	28
Total middle level	59.4	26.6	128	67.9	14.3	168

in commitment. Half of the Francophone postgraduates with high salaries have low commitment. These findings indicate that a high salary level is likely to produce commitment among Francophones with a first university degree but it is only among Anglophones with postgraduate degrees that a high salary leads to commitment.

Do men whose careers in the Public Service have carried them higher up the economic ladder than their parents feel a sense of obligation to staying on in government work? We find that the amount or direction of intergenerational mobility has a differential impact on the language groups (Table 10.20). Anglophones whose economic status is lower than that of their parents are the ones most likely to be committed to their government career. Apparently their relative lack of success does not lead to thoughts of quitting the Public Service. In direct contrast, Francophones who have attained an economic status *considerably higher* than their parents' are quite uncommitted to government work. They have already made considerable financial gains; they are more likely to be bothered by certain facets of their federal employment and think that they can do better by leaving the government.

We turn now to career specialties. Since a career requires a definite type of training, we look first at the type of academic course these middle-level men took if they attended university (Table 10.21). Francophones who specialized in a field in the Arts or Humanities are the most uncommitted. University specialization makes no major difference to Anglophone responses. Nor does membership in one of the three major career groupings (Table 10.22). However, Francophone professional and scientific personnel are less committed than the other two Francophone groups. In Figure 10.2 a more exact depiction of the careerists most and least committed is given. For Francophones there appear to be three levels of commitment. Clearly,

Table 10.20
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by amount of intergenerational mobility

Amount of inter- generational mobility	Francophones			Anglophones		
	Degree of commitment			Degree of commitment		
	Committed	Uncommitted	<i>N</i>	Committed	Uncommitted	<i>N</i>
Downward	60.9	26.1	23	77.1	11.4	35
None	57.7	19.2	26	58.6	13.7	29
Slight upward	62.7	21.3	33	69.6	15.2	46
High upward	48.9	35.6	45	67.3	15.5	58
Total middle level	59.4	26.6	128	67.9	14.3	168

Table 10.21
Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by university specialization

University specialization	Francophones			Anglophones		
	Degree of commitment			Degree of commitment		
	Committed	Uncommitted	<i>N</i>	Committed	Uncommitted	<i>N</i>
Arts and Humanities	43.5	47.8	23	62.5	15.6	32
Science and Engineering	52.5	30.0	40	67.9	3.6	81
Commerce and Law	63.7	18.2	33	55.6	22.3	18
Total middle level	59.4	26.6	128	67.9	14.3	168

Figure 10.2
Degree of commitment to continuing to work in the Public Service
among middle-level public servants, by career type B

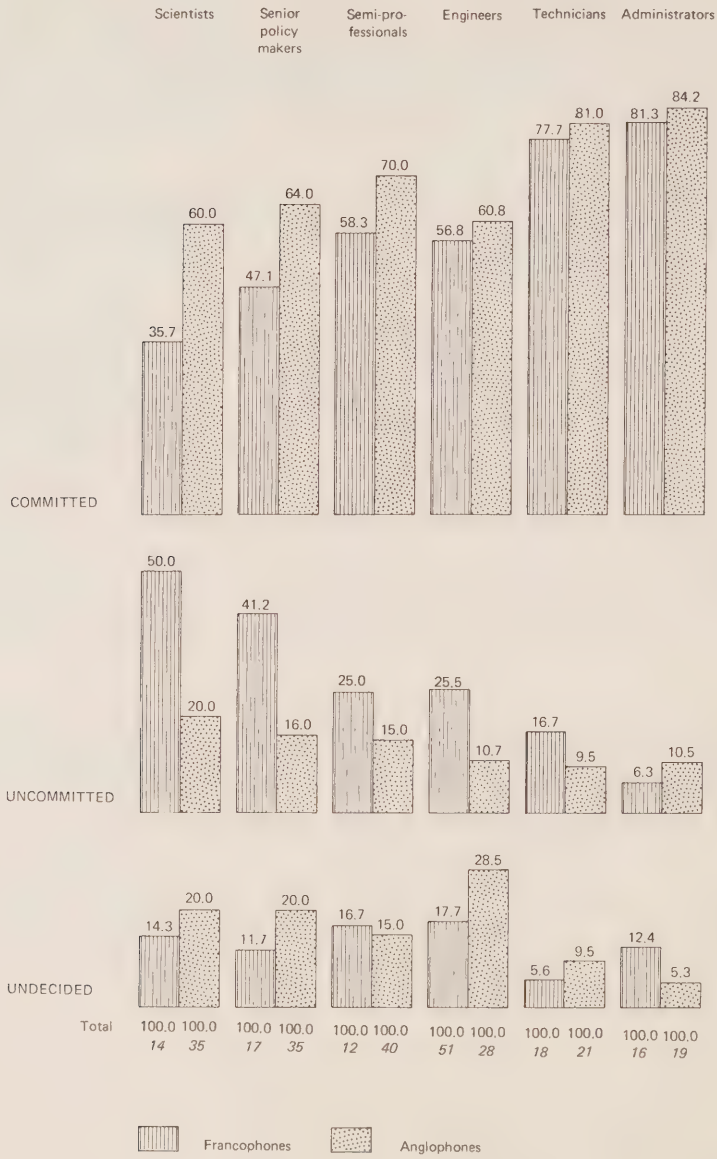


Table 10.22

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants committed and uncommitted to continuing their career in the Public Service, by career type A

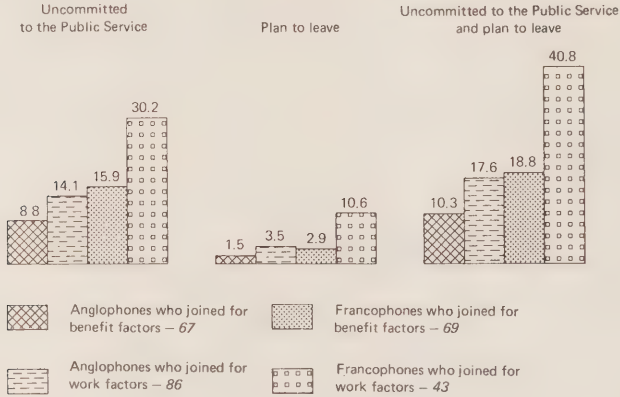
Career type A	N	Degree of commitment	
		Committed	Uncommitted
<i>Anglophones</i>			
Professional and scientific	84	64.3	16.7
Technical and semi-professional	42	71.5	9.5
Administrative	42	73.8	14.3
<i>Francophones</i>			
Professional and scientific	43	48.8	34.9
Technical and semi-professional	54	63.0	24.1
Administrative	31	67.8	19.4

Francophone scientists and senior policy-makers are quite uncommitted. On the other extreme is the firm resolve to stay on in government work demonstrated by the technicians and lower administrators. Between these extremes are the semi-professionals and the engineers. Only two categories are recognizable among the Anglophones: the lower administrators and technicians in whose ranks are numbered a high proportion of committed persons, and the rest. Interestingly, the same two career groupings in both language groups—technicians and lower administrators—both show high levels of commitment. Since these are posts where most of the persons lacking university degrees and having lower salaries are located, it is not surprising that these careerists should be so committed.

One last finding brings us back to our opening comment about the high level of discontent among Quebec Francophones in the Public Service and also serves to tie together several of the foregoing results. We find that 42 per cent of the Francophones who were attracted to the federal administration by creative work opportunities are either uncommitted to continuing their Public Service careers or have definite plans to leave (Figure 10.3). Anglophones who were attracted to the Public Service by an interest in the work going on there are much less likely to be disenchanted. Only 19 per cent are uncommitted or have definite plans to leave. Among those attracted to Public Service careers because of the benefits afforded rather than the work itself, it is again the Francophones who are the more disenchanted. However, the proportions for each language group are low, and the differences are not great. Only 19 per cent of the Francophones and 10 per cent of the Anglophones were found to have no commitment. It would thus appear that the retention of the most talented and creative Francophones presents a special problem for the federal administration. As pointed out earlier, these men tend to be

Figure 10.3

Per cent who are "uncommitted" to continuing to work in the Public Service or "have definite plans to leave" among middle-level federal public servants, by reasons for joining



from Quebec. Those from Quebec are also overrepresented among Francophones with postgraduate degrees, high salaries, and those in scientific and policy-making careers — all groups which are quite uncommitted to staying in the Public Service. Thus the portions of the Francophone group in which the uncommitted persons are most concentrated are the very ones in which Quebec Francophones abound. The language difficulties and the problems of working in a "foreign" culture which afflict those from Quebec more than other Francophones lead them to be more tentative and uncertain about pursuing a lengthy career in the federal administration.

Nowadays the character of the community in which a person's workplace is located is almost as important an influence on his career decisions as is the actual nature of the work he does. When a man considers whether he should remain in a work organization or move on to another job in another place, community factors can weigh in the balance as much as work factors. What is relevant varies widely: housing and neighbourhoods; educational facilities; entertainment resources; accessibility to wilderness or cottage areas; and especially the styles of thinking and living which predominate—the culture of the area. All these factors influence an individual's decision as to whether he will come to work for an organization and whether he will remain after joining.

Our focus in this chapter is on the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area, where the headquarters of the federal departments are located. The federal government is the major employer in the area. The Ottawa-Hull region is almost a "company town." One in four persons in the local labour force works for the federal government (Table 11.1). To be specific: 27 per cent of the total labour force in the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area worked for the federal administration in 1961. However, the proportion was greater on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River than on the Quebec side: 29 per cent in the Ontario portion and 20 per cent in the Quebec portion of the metropolitan area were federal employees. In Ottawa and Eastview, the major Ontario cities within the metropolitan area, 29 per cent of the labour force were in the federal employ while in Hull, the major Quebec city in the area, 22 per cent were federal employees. Despite the differences between the provinces, it is clear that by sheer weight of numbers the federal employees in the Ottawa-Hull region set the tone of community life.

Table 11.1

Presence of federal public servants in the labour force of the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area (1961)

Geographic area	Number of federal employees*	Total labour force	Percentage of federal employees in labour force
Ontario portion of the metropolitan area	38,957	134,785	28.9
Quebec portion of the metropolitan area	6,662	32,927	20.2
Total Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area	45,619	167,712	27.2
City of Ottawa	32,620	111,124	29.3
City of Eastview (Ont.)	2,903	9,911	29.3
City of Hull	4,525	20,867	21.7

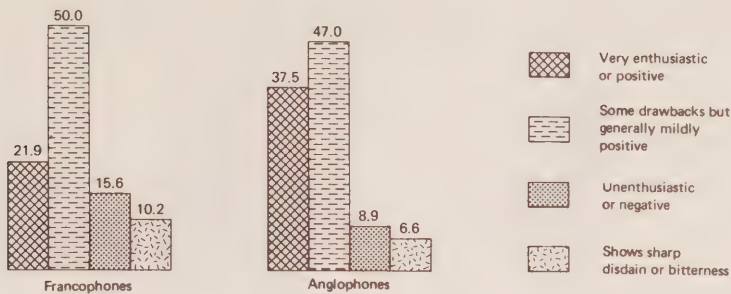
Source: Special tabulation provided by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It included every person in the 1961 census of the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area who was in the labour force.

*A person was deemed to be a federal public servant if he was a member of an organization falling into the D.B.S. categories of Defence Services (excluding commissioned officers and other ranks in the Canadian Forces), other federal administration, or the Post Office.

A. General Reactions to the Capital Region

"At present, what do you think of the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live?" was the question we put to our middle-level public servants. We wondered whether they were generally enthusiastic or perhaps critical, even disdainful, about living and working in the national capital. The attitudinal data show that middle-level public servants are favourably impressed with the living arrangements in the area, but "favourable" must be loosely interpreted. As Figure 11.1 reveals, the most common reaction—found among half the Francophones and 47 per cent of the Anglophones—was a mildly approving response to what the metropolitan community offered. Public servants in this category had complaints to make but were not overly negative or hostile. Relatively more Anglophones than Francophones were genuinely enthusiastic about the area: 38 per cent of the Anglophones, but only 22 per cent

Figure 11.1
Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants



of the Francophones. The reverse pertains among those who are unenthusiastic or bitter. About a quarter of Francophones and 16 per cent of Anglophones hold negative views. These differences are significant but not particularly large. More enlightening are the reasons underlying the Anglophone and Francophone attitudes of enthusiasm, tolerant acceptance, or bitterness. We shall examine these in a moment, but first we shall locate the sub-groups which hold particularly favourable or unfavourable views of living in the federal capital.

As in the previous chapter, we start by emphasizing the differences in attitude between Francophones raised in the Ottawa-Hull area and those who come to the capital from points in Quebec (Figure 11.2). Thirty-five per cent of those from Quebec, compared to 20 per cent of the "natives," express dislike for the area. We shall see in a moment why those who spent their early lives in the midst of French culture and institutions, with little penetration by "English" modes, are likely to find the capital area deficient on a number of grounds.

The sample base is small, but it seems that Anglophones from farming backgrounds are especially likely to be enthusiastic and rarely critical about the Ottawa-Hull region (Table 11.2). Also, there is a slight tendency for Anglophones from upper-middle-class origins to be critical. Among Francophones, the upper-middle class is definitely more critical than are those of other class origins: more than a quarter of them disparaged the style of life in the national capital.

Francophones with university degrees are more likely to be critical than their confreres without degrees (Table 11.3). (The overlap between degree-holders and those raised in Quebec should be recalled.) Among Anglophones, level of education seems to make no difference to the views about the Ottawa-Hull region.

Figure 11.2

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by geographic origin.

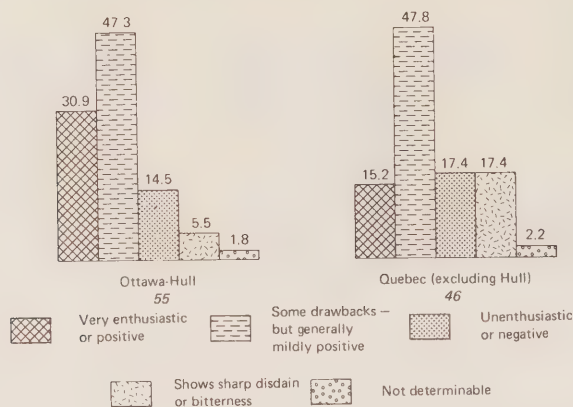


Table 11.2

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by social background (percentages)

		Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area					
Social background	N	Very enthusiastic	Mildly positive	Unenthusiastic	Sharply critical	Not determined	Total
<i>Francophones</i>							
Upper middle	26	23.1	34.6	11.6	26.9	3.8	100.0
Lower middle	39	20.5	53.8	20.5	2.6	2.6	100.0
Working	51	23.5	52.9	11.8	9.8	2.0	100.0
Farm	12	16.7	58.3	25.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Upper middle	49	36.7	44.9	6.2	12.2	0.0	100.0
Lower middle	49	30.6	53.1	10.2	6.1	0.0	100.0
Working	51	23.5	52.9	19.7	3.9	0.0	100.0
Farm	19	63.1	31.6	5.3	0.0	0.0	100.0

Table 11.3

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by level of education (percentages)

		Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area					
Level of education	N	Very enthu- siastic	Mildly posi- tive	Unenthu- siastic	Sharply critical	Not deter- mined	Total
Francophones							
Some univer- sity or less	46	19.6	58.7	17.3	2.2	2.2	100.0
First univer- sity degree	47	21.3	42.6	19.1	14.9	2.1	100.0
Postgraduate degree	35	25.7	48.6	8.5	14.3	2.9	100.0
Anglophones							
Some univer- sity or less	44	38.6	43.2	9.1	9.1	0.0	100.0
First univer- sity degree	78	25.6	56.4	14.2	3.8	0.0	100.0
Postgraduate degree	46	43.5	39.1	8.7	8.7	0.0	100.0

Previously, those who joined the Public Service because of the benefits it offered have been found to differ significantly in attitudes and behaviour from those who enter the Service for reasons involving career opportunities and creative work. With regard to feelings about the national capital, however, there is no major difference between Anglophones who mention an organizational benefit as their prime reason for joining and those who enter for the work itself (Table 11.4). The distinction has some import for Francophones. Those Francophones who seek creative expression in their government work are more likely to be very enthusiastic about the area than those who value the benefits that accrue to their employment. However, when the two positive categories are combined (very enthusiastic plus mildly positive), the difference between the two orientations disappears.

There is no simple correlation between age level and feeling about the Ottawa-Hull area (Table 11.5). It is the oldest Francophones—those 41 to 45 years of age—who are most favourably disposed towards living in the capital. The most critical groups are the youngest

Table 11.4

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by main reason for joining the Public Service (percentages)

Main reason for joining	N	Very enthusiastic	Mildly positive	Unenthusiastic	Sharply critical	Not determined	Total
<i>Francophones</i>							
Benefit reason	69	17.4	56.5	14.6	10.1	1.4	100.0
Work reason	43	30.2	39.5	13.9	14.0	2.3	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>							
Benefit reason	68	32.4	57.4	6.0	4.4	0.0	100.0
Work reason	85	36.5	40.0	14.1	9.4	0.0	100.0

Table 11.5

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by age level (percentages)

Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area							
Age level	N	Very enthusiastic	Mildly positive	Unenthusiastic	Sharply critical	Not determined	Total
<i>Francophones</i>							
25-30 years	16	31.3	37.5	18.7	12.5	0.0	100.0
31-35 years	36	19.4	50.0	16.7	11.1	2.8	100.0
36-40 years	38	23.7	39.5	21.0	13.2	2.6	100.0
41-45 years	38	18.4	65.8	7.9	5.3	2.6	100.0
<i>Anglophones</i>							
25-30 years	25	28.0	44.0	16.0	12.0	0.0	100.0
31-35 years	30	23.3	56.7	16.7	3.3	0.0	100.0
36-40 years	48	35.4	54.2	4.1	6.3	0.0	100.0
41-45 years	65	40.0	41.5	12.3	6.2	0.0	100.0

Anglophones (between 25 and 30 years old) and the Francophones aged 36 to 40 years. But these differences between the age levels within each language group are really not very substantial.

Like age, salary level does not produce marked differences in attitudes (Table 11.6). The only notable feature is the relative contentment of high-salaried Francophones. Three in 10 of them were very enthusiastic about life in the capital region, a figure close to the level of Anglophone satisfaction.

The Anglophone administrators and the Francophone professionals and scientists are the most likely to be disenchanted with the Ottawa-Hull area (Table 11.7). The other two career types in both linguistic groups are quite similar in the distribution of attitudes and are generally more satisfied. Table 11.8 deals with specific career categories. It shows the Anglophone agricultural scientists as highly satisfied. At the other extreme, Anglophone Finance Officers have a low proportion of very enthusiastic persons. The Francophone research scientists, like their Anglophone colleagues, are relatively contented with the Ottawa-Hull area. Other fairly contented Francophones are the technicians in Public Works and the professionals in National Revenue. The Translators, among the Francophones, have the smallest proportion of persons who take a favourable view of the culture of the capital. The discontent of the highly-educated Anglophone Finance Officers and the Translators, specialists in the French language, will be surveyed later in this chapter.

Table 11.6

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by salary level (percentages)

		Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area					
Salary level	N	Very enthu- siastic	Mildly posi- tive	Unenthu- siastic	Sharply critical	Not deter- mined	Total
Francophones							
Low (\$6,200- \$8,999)	95	18.9	52.6	16.8	8.4	3.1	100.0
High (\$9,000 or more)	33	30.3	42.4	12.1	15.2	0.0	100.0
Anglophones							
Low (\$6,200- \$8,999)	98	31.6	49.0	13.3	6.1	0.0	100.0
High (\$9,000 or more)	70	37.1	47.1	8.7	7.1	0.0	100.0

Table 11.7

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by career type A (percentages)

		Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area					
Career type A	N	Very enthu- siastic	Mildly posi- tive	Unenthu- siastic	Sharply crit- ical	Not deter- mined	Total
Francophones							
Professional and scien- tific	43	27.9	37.2	18.6	14.0	2.3	100.0
Technical and semi- professional	53	20.8	56.6	15.1	7.5	0.0	100.0
Administrative	31	16.1	58.1	12.9	9.7	3.2	100.0
Anglophones							
Professional and scien- tific	84	39.3	51.2	8.4	1.2	0.0	100.0
Technical and semi- professional	42	38.1	42.9	11.9	7.1	0.0	100.0
Administrative	42	19.0	47.6	16.7	16.7	0.0	100.0

The foregoing leads naturally into a consideration of departmental differences and similarities (Table 11.9). Half the Anglophone employees of the department of Agriculture are very enthusiastic about the capital region, the highest proportion in any department. As well, although they do not have a high percentage of very enthusiastic persons, nine out of 10 of the Anglophones of Public Works are very or mildly enthusiastic about the Ottawa-Hull area. In the department of Finance, by contrast, there is a sizeable group that is unenthusiastic or sharply critical: 29 per cent of the Anglophone employees. More than eight in 10 of the Francophone employees of the department of National Revenue are generally satisfied; a third are extremely pleased to be in the Ottawa-Hull region. These employees, therefore, reveal the highest level of satisfaction of any Francophone group of departmental employees. Public Works had the next highest level of satisfaction. (It may be recalled that both these departments draw heavily on the local Francophone population for their personnel.) As for Francophones living in the capital region, findings for the department of the Secretary of State, with its preponderance of Translators, and the department of Agriculture reveal that about 14 to 15 per cent of the personnel are sharply critical.

Table 11.8

Percentage of middle-level federal public servants who are very enthusiastic about living in the Ottawa-Hull area, by career categories

Francophones			Anglophones		
Career categories	Percentage feeling very enthusiastic	<i>N</i>	Career categories	Percentage feeling very enthusiastic	<i>N</i>
Agricultural Researchers	38.5	13	Agricultural Researchers	60.9	23
Public Works professionals	22.2	9	Public Works professionals	33.3	18
Public Works technicians	36.4	11	Public Works technicians	30.8	13
National Revenue professionals	38.9	18	National Revenue professionals	30.0	20
National Revenue lower administrators	26.7	15	National Revenue lower administrators	30.8	13
Translators	4.3	23	Patent Examiners	25.9	27
Finance Officers	20.0	5	Finance Officers	21.7	23

This level of discontent is matched by the Anglophone employees in the department of Agriculture. Interestingly, it will be recalled that the Anglophones of Agriculture also have a relatively high level of satisfaction. Apparently, there are extreme reactions among Anglophones in this department. They tend to be concentrated among the very enthusiastic—half of the Anglophone employees—or the sharply critical.

B. Favourable Reactions

A wide range of feelings is covered by the responses we obtained to our questions about the Ottawa-Hull region. A technician in the department of Agriculture and a Translator responded in these words:

I have no appreciation whatsoever for the City of Ottawa. It's a god-awful place.

Je n'aime pas la ville. C'est impersonnel et froid.

On the other extreme, a Tax Assessor in National Revenue and an Architect in Public Works have this to say:

Table 11.9

Attitudes towards the Ottawa-Hull area as a place to live among middle-level federal public servants, by department (percentages)

		Attitude towards Ottawa-Hull area					
Department	N	Very enthu- siastic	Mildly posi- tive	Unenthu- siastic	Sharply critical	Not deter- mined	Total
Francophones							
Finance	6	1(16.7)	2(33.3)	1(16.7)	2(33.3)	0(0.0)	100.0
State	33	6.1	54.5	21.2	15.2	3.0	100.0
Agriculture	28	25.0	46.4	14.3	14.3	0.0	100.0
Public Works	28	25.0	50.0	21.4	3.6	0.0	100.0
National Revenue	33	33.3	51.5	6.1	3.0	6.1	100.0
Anglophones							
Finance	28	21.4	50.0	21.4	7.2	0.0	100.0
State	38	31.6	52.6	10.5	5.3	0.0	100.0
Agriculture	37	51.4	32.4	2.7	13.5	0.0	100.0
Public Works	32	31.2	59.4	9.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
National Revenue	33	30.3	48.5	15.1	6.1	0.0	100.0

J'ai toujours demeuré à Ottawa. . . . Je ne suis pas intéressé à déménager d'Ottawa; j'y suis né.

It's a first-class place to live. . . . I think it's a remarkable town.

What lies behind these widely differing reactions? We will treat the sources of critical comment in a moment. Here we deal with the favourable views.

Enthusiastic Anglophones tended to emphasize two themes: the easy accessibility to the "great outdoors" for cottaging, and the excellence of local neighbourhoods and schools. Concerning the first theme, two quotations, one from a Research Scientist who has lived in the area all his life, one from a Finance Officer who came just over a year ago, are typical:

The big attraction is the outdoor facilities such as parks, rivers, and so on.

I like the work of the N.C.C. [National Capital Commission]; the access to open country, the parkways.

As for the second theme, there were numerous comments about pleasant housing developments, good schools, efficient civic administration, and so on. But what is striking about these attitudes is how common-

place they are. The Anglophones could have been referring to any provincial city of a few hundred thousand inhabitants. Rarely was there a mention of or enthusiasm for living in Ottawa because of its role as a national capital, as a place where stirring political or cultural events took place. Nor was there much mention of the bicultural character of the metropolitan region. The man who said the following had a rare reaction:

I find it interesting to be living alongside the French problem and also have a chance to participate in French entertainment and French cuisine.

The great majority scarcely recognized the Francophone element in their midst. For them, the national capital, like the Public Service itself, is essentially an English-speaking environment.

Francophones, on the other hand, stressed the "great outdoors" theme much less frequently than did the Anglophones and few had praises for school facilities or housing. What is notable is that the ranks of those who were enthusiastic about living in the Ottawa-Hull area drew heavily from those who had grown up there in the first place. The reasons they gave for liking their living situation stressed, not attributes of the community, but personal ties to relatives and friends. They were enthusiastic about the place because of the pleasure of being close to familiar persons. Like the Anglophones, they almost never mentioned the attraction of being in a national capital and close to major political events.

C. Negative Comments

About a quarter of middle-level Francophones and 16 per cent of middle-level Anglophones expressed negative opinions about their Ottawa-Hull living situation. Although favourable comments were in the majority, it is important not to neglect the difference in *content* of the Francophone and Anglophone criticisms. In broad terms we found that both linguistic groups reacted to the culture of the area: Anglophones to the lack of artistic and intellectual activities, Francophones to the lack of a lively French culture.

Critical Anglophones see the deficiencies of the area resulting from the fact that it is dominated by the Public Service. A Research Scientist speaks for a significant minority:

One thing that bothered me from a personal point of view was the apparent degree of conformity of thought and action. . . [the lack of] a feeling of excitement and intellectual challenge. The problem in Ottawa is the lack of excitement which comes from the mixture of people from all skills and all walks of life, and people who are non-conformist.

He is echoed more briefly by a Computer Programmer in National Revenue:

I would like to live in a city away from the great proportion of civil servants. I'd like to go to a city where there is a greater variety of careers and hence of people.

It is also felt that a "civil service town," by its very nature, is cold and impersonal. An Information Officer in the department of Agriculture, who finds Ottawa "dreary, very dreary," and a Taxation Officer in National Revenue attempt to explain this feeling. Their reactions are typical:

I don't know whether this is because of the civil service or what. There does not seem to be any interdependence of the people who live here. . . [they] just aren't interested and don't become involved in anything.

I find it—or have found it—a little cold. It's probably because everyone is from somewhere else also. A lot of people here have a feeling of non-permanency. The effect, in short, is an aura of drabness and a lack of excitement or "spirit." Highly-educated personnel, and particularly the Finance Officers, commented on this. Here is the comment of a Finance man who grew up in Toronto:

There's not very much in Ottawa outside of your career and your family. People can recite the cultural occasions there are in Ottawa. . . . I'd be far happier in Toronto, in what is now an active theatrical community and an active university community. A Patent Examiner and an Agricultural Researcher go even further: There is not the city spirit of things. I suppose it's due to the fact that there hasn't been a generation or two of Ottawans. The city has mushroomed so quickly since the war that it is full of outsiders. . . . I think the city needs a unifying force. . . and I don't think that they are getting enough direction from the municipal administration.

In Ottawa I find that the spirit of competitiveness leads people to strengthen their own personal and family situation at the expense of the community.

Francophone respondents, on the other hand, tend to see Ottawa-Hull less as a Public Service town than as an English citadel; and they criticize it predominantly in these terms. If it is cold, for example, it is cold because of its English atmosphere:

L'atmosphère est très du type anglais d'Ontario. . . . C'est mort au point de vue social et artistique.

And when Francophones speak of the civic administration in Ottawa, it is in terms of its lack of bilingualism and an "anti-French" bias. A Taxation Officer in National Revenue and a Chemist in the department of Agriculture who have both lived in Ottawa all their lives have this to say:

Depuis que Charlotte Whitton (ancien maire) est disparue de la circulation, peut-être qu'Ottawa a des chances de s'améliorer et d'avoir une allure plus bilingue.

Ce que je reproche à Ottawa, c'est son manque de bilinguisme et l'attitude intransigeante de Charlotte Whitton, qui a incarné pendant trop longtemps les préjugés anglo-saxons. Il est temps qu'il y ait des concessions normales en ce sens car nous sommes la capitale.

By comparison, much of the Anglophone criticism was focussed on physical things: roads, building designs, civic services. A Computer Programmer in the department of National Revenue, who came to Ottawa 11 years ago, feels strongly that "It's a disgrace for a capital to be in such a run-down condition." He is echoed by an Agricultural Commodity Officer from Vancouver and a Technical Officer also in the department of Agriculture:

Civil planning and maintenance are very poor, except for the undertaking of the N.C.C. which should be accelerated.

There is a lack of public services: library facilities, inadequate development of recreation areas within the city, water pollution. Thus Francophone respondents tend to focus on the bilingual—or rather unilingual—aspects of municipal administration. They are far less concerned about the concrete aspects of building or planning than are the Anglophones.

In the same vein, Francophones feel that Hull, the largely French-speaking community across the river from Ottawa, has been swamped by English culture and cut off from the French heartland in the rest of Quebec. It is isolated from Quebec proper and yet at the same time both overshadowed and ignored by Ottawa. On the first point, that Hull "manque bien sûr l'atmosphère de Québec," a Finance Officer who came to Hull in 1958 has this to say:

(Hull) est un milieu canadien-français qui ne ressemble en rien au type de ville du Canada français auquel on est habitué. He goes on to offer an explanation, in that "on sent chez eux une mentalité de subjugué; une certaine attitude d'infériorité." And this brings us to the second point. An Agricultural Scientist and an Engineer in Public Works together point clearly to the problem: (Hull) n'est pas considérée par le Québec ni par Ottawa. Cette ville en souffre.

Il y a des conflits de frontières qu'on n'a pas d'ailleurs. . . Hull s'appuie sur Ottawa pour survivre.

And Ottawa does not provide the needed support, as this Patent Examiner explains:

Il y a ici le problème d'une ville qui appartient au fédéral. Le fédéral est omnipotent. Ça affecte le fonctionnement des gouvernements municipaux. Ça crée des problèmes administratifs. Du côté de Hull et des villes voisines il y a un grave problème: le gouvernement fédéral avantage toujours Ottawa. D'autre part, Hull c'est bien loin pour le gouvernement de Québec. Et puis ceux qui pouvaient faire quelque chose n'ont pas présenté leurs demandes d'une façon ferme et positive.

This state of affairs has a deadening impact.

Si j'avais su que Hull, de même qu'Ottawa, est une ville morte, un milieu amorphe au point de vue artistique, ça aurait affecté ma décision. . . . Malgré la différence ethnique entre Hull et Ottawa, l'apathie est la même dans les deux villes. Les gens ici manquent d'esprit culturel.

Another major problem for Francophones is education. Twenty-two per cent of the Francophones interviewed had specific complaints about the inadequacy of French-language educational facilities—a rather high proportion, considering that some are childless and many more Francophone public servants live on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River where the legitimacy of French schools is not questioned. Furthermore, the education problem is much more critical than this datum suggests. It is related to the distinction between "public" and "separate" schools. Since the Francophones, as Roman Catholics and users of the French language, depend on the separate schools for educating their children, they begin to see the situation as one of linguistic or ethnic discrimination.

The criticism starts with the difference that is perceived between the standards and quality of teaching in the two types of schools (separate and public) arising from their difference in financial status. An Engineer in Public Works, for example, who sends his son to a separate school, has this to say:

Mon fils va à l'école séparée. Je ne suis pas très heureux de l'éducation qu'il reçoit. Les avantages ne sont pas aussi accentués que ceux de l'école publique. Elles ont moins d'argent et leurs professeurs sont moins qualifiés.

It is particularly the teaching of French that is deficient. Those particularly sensitive to the problems of learning a language, especially the Translators, make frequent mention of this. Here are the comments of one Translator:

A Ottawa on a l'alternative d'envoyer ses enfants à l'école bilingue ou à l'école anglaise. Pour un Canadien français il n'est pas question évidemment d'envoyer ses enfants à l'école anglaise. Dans les écoles françaises — bilingues — de l'Ontario, cependant, on n'enseigne plus aux enfants la fierté d'être Canadiens français. Dans les écoles de Hull, d'autre part, les enfants n'ont pas l'occasion de parler anglais.

Another Francophone adds:

Je ne suis pas satisfait (des écoles). Un bon nombre de nos instituteurs viennent d'Ottawa, sont anglicisés dans l'esprit, ont un mauvais français. . . .

From the factual recognition of the inequality of the two systems the jump is made to referring to the two types of school as "les écoles françaises" and "les écoles anglaises" and to seeing injustice and even ethnic discrimination in their existence:

Quant aux écoles, le système des écoles séparées est une charge pour les Canadiens français et il faut espérer que cette situation sera changée graduellement. Parce que, présentement, c'est injuste de nous imposer une charge supplémentaire pour avoir des écoles françaises.

Thus, the bitterness engendered over the education question is partly a feeling that the French community in Ottawa is not getting a fair share of the existing resources; and of course there is a

realization that because of this, Francophones from Ontario are disadvantaged in competing for jobs. This is frustrating enough, but for the more articulate and sensitive Francophones the education issue has even greater significance: they see that the status of French instruction in Ottawa reflects their minority status in the Canadian scheme of things generally.

Whether they complain about education, cultural facilities, local politics, restaurants and night life, or the unfriendly atmosphere of the capital, many Francophones attribute what is wrong with the Ottawa-Hull milieu to "anglicization." Such sentiments are mainly applied to the English-language milieu of Ottawa, but it is not uncommon for the French-speaking communities in both Ottawa and Hull to be disparaged in this way. In this respect natives of Quebec are particularly critical. In their view, even Hull and its population have been deadened by "l'atmosphère anglaise de la capitale." It is ironic that, when speaking of the general culture (that is, the style of life) of Ottawa-Hull, what sensitive Anglophones attribute to the deadening influence of the "Public Service mentality," sensitive Francophones attribute to the "English-Ontario" mentality.

D. Implications

In sum, it should be emphasized that the majority of both Anglophones and Francophones are relatively satisfied with the living arrangements of the capital region. In spite of this fact, the discussion concentrated on the grievances because community factors are becoming increasingly important in the career choices of mobile personnel, as the following comments suggest. The first two are by Finance Officers, one from Toronto, one from Montreal:

I work here despite the fact it's in Ottawa. . . . I came for the job. Ottawa turned out to be just as bad as I thought it would be.

I think Ottawa is a terrible place. . . . It offers very little; no theatre, music, sports to speak of. . . . I stay because I like my job.

This is a Taxation Officer:

Du côté social je voudrais demeurer à Hull. . . . Ma parenté est là. . . . Mais en ce qui a trait au travail j'aimerais être dans un autre endroit du Québec où le travail se fait en français.

These statements clearly show that community factors are taken account of by middle-level men at mid-career in the Canadian federal administration. Some men stay in the national capital because they like the work but not the area; others have firm ties to the area but find their employment distasteful. Some embrace both; others dislike both. No matter the combination, it is evident that any discussion of personal satisfaction is incomplete unless it considers both career and community factors.

In this section we take a closer look at the nature of work and majority-minority relations in the Public Service. But in offering more detail it becomes necessary to narrow the scope of our inquiry. Only four careers will be treated here.

They are a varied lot: makers of economic policy, research scientists in the field of agriculture, language experts skilled in translation, and engineers or other technical specialists engaged in the examination of patent applications. They do, however, share one leading trait: each career type is the dominant element in the larger work unit in which it is found. The Finance Officer (F.O.) group encompasses those who are in the mainstream of the department of Finance. In the Research branch of the department of Agriculture, the Research Scientists (R.S.) or Research Officers (R.O.) are the most highly educated staff persons, each responsible for implementing a sector of the department's scientific programme. The Translators are the major component of the Translation Bureau and the Patent Examiners of the Patent Office. Hence, each of these four careers offers the promise of leading into the most senior positions of their larger work unit.

In general, each of these examinations of a particular career follows a similar pattern. First, we present some information on the bureaucratic structure of the workplace and the characteristics of those interviewed. The second section, which contains the bulk of the material, deals with the social background, education, and work experiences of the careerists. A final section reviews the problems of the work unit—recruitment, promotion, language use—with special reference to the position of Francophone Canadians and other minorities within the unit.

Within the second section, where fruitful, a pattern has also been followed. The discussion moves chronologically through the person's early milieu and education to work experiences outside the Public Service, if any, then on to the reasons for joining the Service, and

various aspects of work within the federal administration. The Public Service career is seen from two angles. One approach is to examine the predominant career *orientation* or *style* of the group, as well as any deviant variations. Within a single career category, it is sometimes possible to point out major and minor behavioural threads. The other approach is through the attitudes the public servants express and the perceptions they have of the federal administration as an employment setting. From these two angles, ethnic and linguistic differences often become apparent. Let us dwell on these two points for a moment.

Career orientation refers to the direction in which a career is moving and, consequently, the relative emphasis the person puts on various aspects of his work. For instance, some social scientists identify ideal types of career orientations: the "specialist" vs. the "institutionalist," the "technical" vs. the "managerial," or the "cosmopolitan" vs. the "local" or "organizational."¹ Each of these dichotomies indicates ideally opposite directions that a career can take. There is, however, a general theme underlying the three pairs. The "specialist" or the "technical" expert finds that his interests and pleasures are in the analysis and solution of complex technical problems. Such persons are also usually considered "cosmopolitans." The cosmopolitans, according to Gouldner, are highly committed to a specialized skill, are strongly motivated toward attaining status among their professional colleagues outside their employing organization, and, consequently, are low on loyalty to their employer.² At the other pole is the "managerial" or administrative orientation. Persons with such an orientation find their interests and pleasures in supervisory, policy-making, or human relations skills. It is usual, but again not inevitable, that such persons manifest "institutionalist," "local," or "organizational" perspectives. They identify with the organization and its goals and foresee their futures unfolding within the organization. Low commitment to specialized skills and high loyalty to the employing organization are the predominant characteristics of this orientation. With this scheme of viewing differing career orientations we can locate the particular career under scrutiny at either pole of the dichotomy, or at some intermediate point between the two extremes.

Differing career orientations are also expressed in the *style* which a career embodies. Career style refers to the manner in which persons approach their work and engage their environment. Edgar Schein and his associates, who have written most extensively on this matter, identify four ways of examining career style. Three of the four are of particular interest to us.³

1. Movement - Non-movement. This pertains to the degree of anticipation or desire for career changes, whether this be by promotion, transfer, or the acquisition of more responsibility or influence.

2. Active - Passive. This refers to the amount of influence on or manipulation of the work environment engaged in by the careerists. The active style advocates initiative in getting ahead by making

career changes. The passive style asserts that one need not or should not engage the environment but rather that "things" will happen in time or take care of themselves.

3. Idealistic - Cynical. This identifies the reactions of the careerist to his work environment in terms of its justness or ethical principles. The idealist acts as if rewards are commensurate with merit and the work rules operate as they should. The cynic expresses full expectations of injustice and disregard for ethics. He often feels that one must take an opportunistic approach to the organization in order to get ahead.

The conceptions of career orientations and styles outlined above will assist us in illuminating the four careers that are presented here.

A second approach which contributes to a deeper appreciation of these careers is through an examination of the attitudes towards the workplace. In particular we look at the way in which the respondents define "success" and the manner in which it may best be achieved. The interview attempted to explore these attitudes by asking the respondents what advice they would give to a young man just entering the Public Service. They were asked to define the personal qualities which would facilitate his rapid rise to the "top." We found evidence of quite provocative differences of opinion on this point between various career and linguistic groups.

This chapter focusses upon that section of the department of Finance which is responsible for the development of the economic policy of the federal government. Our concern is to examine the career of the Finance Officer within this setting.

The department of Finance was chosen for the Career Study primarily because it is a powerful, policy-advising department. At the same time, the "Ottawa Establishment" is more likely to be drawn from the senior officers in Finance than from the senior persons in any other department.¹ These are the men who are most likely to become Canada's leading public servants. Given this, it becomes important to know what makes the Finance Officer tick—what distinguishes him from the majority of other public servants. This chapter will attempt to isolate those features of his career that are most salient here.

The chapter first examines the department of Finance as a work milieu, then discusses the way the career of the Finance Officer is shaped by this milieu. A typical career pattern is constructed for the Finance Officer; exceptions to the general pattern are also examined. Finally, there is a discussion of the Francophone in Finance and of the general attitude of the department towards "the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism."

The most important source of information about the Finance Officer was 22 interviews conducted by the Career Study group in the department of Finance during August 1965, and a further six conducted in December 1965. In the latter a number of hypotheses which had already been formulated were tested. In addition, this section draws extensively on informal interviews with the most senior men of the Finance department done during the "Public Administration Survey."² These latter interviews provide an overall view of the department.

A. *The Interviewed Sample*

The central "core" of the department consists of about 245 persons, 75 of whom are Finance Officers; the rest are Administrators, Technical Officers, Clerks, and Typists. The population of the department of Finance falling within our age and salary limits totals 54 subjects, of whom 89 per cent are Anglophone and 11 per cent are Francophone. The interviewed sample contained 28 Anglophone respondents randomly selected from the 48 Anglophones and all six Francophones. The Anglophone sample constitutes 58 per cent of the Anglophone population.

Table 12.1

Mean age and salary of the middle-level Finance Officers

	Francophone	Anglophone	
	Population	Sample	Population
Age	35.6	37.1	37.5
Salary	\$10,976	\$10,392	\$10,898
<i>N</i>	6	28	48

The average age and salary of the Anglophone sample closely approximates that of the Anglophone population (Table 12.1). In both cases, over half of the respondents are between 40 and 45 and over half are earning more than \$10,000 per year (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

Since there appeared to be a career route from Finance Officer up to Senior Officer, these two groups were selected from the other interviews.³ Thirty-five Finance Officers—32 Anglophones and three Francophones—were included in the total population of 54. Of these, 24 (21 Anglophones and three Francophones) were interviewed. There were also eight Senior Officers (six Anglophones and two Francophones) in the target population, of whom four (two Anglophones and two Francophones) were interviewed. These two interviewed groups, 28 in all, will be referred to collectively as Finance Officers.

In comparison with the total population, our sample tends to overrepresent the Finance Officers and underrepresent the Senior Officers. However, the combined percentage (82 per cent) of Finance and Senior Officers in the sample is nearly equivalent to the percentage (79 per cent) of both groups in the total population. A further comparison by grade shows that the distribution of officers, and especially that of Finance Officers from whom the majority of the sample is taken, closely reflects that of the department. It can be assumed therefore that the views expressed in the Career Study interviews are representative of the views of both Finance Officers and Senior Officers in the department of Finance as a whole. It is upon this premise that this chapter has proceeded.

Table 12.2
Age of middle-level Finance Officers (percentages)

Age group	Francophone	Anglophone	
	Population	Sample	Population
25-29	16.7	25.0	18.8
30-34	16.7	10.7	16.6
35-39	33.3	14.3	8.3
40-45	33.3	50.0	56.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	6	28	48

Table 12.3
Salary of middle-level Finance Officers (percentages)

Salary	Francophone	Anglophone	
	Population	Sample	Population
\$6,200-\$7,999	33.3	32.1	31.3
\$8,000-\$9,999	33.3	17.9	14.6
\$10,000 or more	33.3	50.0	54.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	6	28	48

B. *The Finance Image: Myth or Reality?*

One respondent in an interview with the Career Study group discussed Finance's image as an "in-group." His point was that while "it is a sort of club, if you like . . . it is open to the talented—and has been for a long time." Being a club served merely to facilitate its capacity to "absorb" the entrant who was "good." A statement in a slightly different vein by a younger Finance Officer, himself a recent entrant, supports this view:

The traditional route [to the top of the department] is from Queen's to Oxford via a Rhodes Scholarship and back again. . . .

A lot of the top civil servants are Rhodes scholars. . . . But it is gradually becoming less so. This is the traditional route. Another comment on the "image" is made by A. F. W. Plumptre, a former assistant deputy minister in the department, in a paper delivered in Vancouver in June 1965: "Over the past ten years, for example, senior officials of the Department of Finance have been men educated at McMaster, Toronto, Queen's, Acadia, British Columbia, Laval,

Western, Manitoba, and McGill. In view of the persistence of a certain myth it should be mentioned that the one representative of Queen's left early in the period and has not been replaced."⁴

It seems then that there is an awareness of an historic past in which the department operated like an exclusive club. That it still functions in this way is denied, but it is recognized that there are other carry-overs from the past.

In a sense [the department] is under-staffed. . . because Finance has always wanted to show how much can be done with the least number of people. This is part of the influence of Dr. Clark.

Is the image merely rhetorical then? Although any answer can only be conjecture, it would seem that it has more importance than this. There is a sense of pride in the department and in the standards and exclusiveness of its membership. An F.O. 5, for example, expresses a very typical reaction:

Standards for Finance are exceptionally high. We expect not just people who are good: we want them to be exceptionally good. With the department being small and having an enormous amount of work to do, we need people of more than average ability.

Certain standards of workmanship would seem to have developed in Finance. These are communicated widely within the department. A set of values has emerged; conformity to these values is not demanded, but non-conformity is suspect. There is no reason whatsoever to doubt that Finance is "open to the talented," but a certain amount of doubt remains as to the extent to which an entrant who does not successfully identify with these values will be considered "good" and be absorbed. This is the import of the following quotation by an officer who had been in the department for two years:

I sometimes suspect—it may be prejudice on my part—that unconsciously when someone's face fits then it's to do with his background. The Department of Finance has been likened to the Scottish Mafia. It is very much an in-group. . . . The people who matter unconsciously see a man who doesn't quite fit when they look at me. They are unconsciously conscious—if you can be—of a man who isn't quite the right man with the right attitudes. . . . I am sometimes conscious of it . . . my lack of rapport is often, I feel, related to my type of background. . . . They think somehow that I'm strange for not sharing the same interests. The emphasis here is on certain types of sport for example. They are conscious that my metaphors come from a different source. . . . In an unconscious way I think I represent attitudes they don't want.

Although this is not a typical opinion, it is possible that the respondent has provided the explanation of the department's *mystique*. If he is right and the in-group flavour persists within the department, this may explain its explicit denial yet implicit assertion. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this in any conclusive way.⁵

C. Personnel and Promotion Policy

W. C. Clark, who was lured away from the Economics department of Queen's University in the early 1930's, first introduced into the department of Finance the tradition of hiring intellectuals. Since that time a first university degree has been a prerequisite of entry to the department, and a significant proportion of Finance Officers have their second and even third degrees. However, Clark's policy was not directed towards individuals with any particular skills, but rather at attracting a number of university graduates whose background was of a particular intellectual type. This policy has been largely continued, although in recent years and with the recent emphasis upon the role of the expert, those graduates of the other disciplines have tended to be outnumbered by those who graduated in Economics. Political Science, History, Commerce, Philosophy, and even Modern Languages are all represented, however.

University qualifications alone are not sufficient. A number of respondents referred to the necessity of the policy-maker—in this case the Finance Officer—having what A. F. W. Plumptre, formerly of the department, defines as "political judgement."⁶ As a division director said in an interview, "Although they start from the financial end, [Finance Officers] have to have an understanding and feel for the political situation." The department of Finance is not predominantly concerned with theory, although this has its place; therefore, it does not seek pure theorists, but rather men who can see the practical application of economic theory to a broad field.

Partly as a result of its particular requirements, Finance was, at the time our research was done, short of qualified personnel. A very senior spokesman gave another important reason for this shortage: the department's recruitment procedures and training policies are "not what they ought to be." There is evidence that this failing causes a certain amount of concern at the senior levels.

In the same interview, the respondent went on to say that the department followed the regular Civil Service Commission recruiting regulations, and that although some approaches are made to the universities, the department is really too busy to "beat the bushes" for people. Another senior man went so far as to say that the department's "recruiting, training, development practices, administration in general, have been appalling." There was, however, considerable optimism that comparatively recent recognition of personnel requirements and the changes that are gradually resulting from this will alter the recruiting situation for the better. In particular, respondents referred to the appointment of a new personnel officer for the department.

Personnel development policy is admittedly haphazard and proceeds on a predominantly *ad hoc* basis. There is no promotion pattern as such. Ideally the department would prefer to recruit from the bottom. However, there are no formalized internal training programmes.

Educational leave, although implemented comparatively regularly, is arranged on an individual basis, and training is far more often acquired on the job. It is revealing to read in full the notes from one interview on an explanation offered by a division director:

Asked about recognizable career channels in his division or in the department, the respondent said, "If there are any it is fortuitous. I don't think it is a deliberate policy." People who come into the department have to be well trained. The respondent said that he has six vacancies and these positions are not filled because he has not found qualified people. Responsibilities are so heavy in the department that those who respond are promoted very rapidly and moved about within and between divisions. A number of postings are possible: Washington—I.M.F.; Paris—the N.A.T.O. delegation and from time to time Geneva, Brussels, London, dealing with economic matters of some sort. What postings and where depend upon need and upon the availability of people. Officers receive postings and are assigned new problems to ensure that their experience is as broad as possible. Since the department has been expanding, this moving of people has been easier to do. "Anyone with talent," he said, "has moved ahead rapidly."

Not all recruitment is from the bottom, however. It is important to note that the department of Finance recruits a relatively large number of its personnel at the higher levels. At these more senior levels recruiting is especially done through a "web of personal contacts": a system which goes back to the time of W. C. Clark. There is an interchange at these levels between the bureaucratic, professional, and academic sectors of the nation. But Finance frequently loses more than it gains in this. To quote a senior official again: "Department of Finance men, because of their government-wide contacts, become known to other departments and then it is difficult for Finance to keep them. Persons who become division directors and assistant deputies within the department of Finance have good chances for promotion in the department as well as outside it." It is noteworthy that between 1960 and 1966 three assistant deputy ministers in Finance have gone to be deputy ministers in other departments (Industry, Secretary of State, and Citizenship and Immigration) while the deputy minister of a fourth department (National Defence) worked his way up through the Treasury Board.

Below the director level, however, any movement is generally intra-rather than inter-departmental. It might be worth noting at this point that the department would in fact appear to exercise a phenomenal hold over its personnel at these lower levels.

D. Pre-Public Service Experiences

Now that we have described the organization, image, and personnel policies of the department, we turn to a discussion of the

characteristics of those drawn into Finance. It will become clear in a moment that there is a common thread weaving together the childhood, educational, and non-governmental work experiences of those who enter Finance.

In this discussion, for most purposes, no distinction has been made between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians. In general, the experiences of the four Francophones who fall into this category reflect very closely the overall career pattern.

1. Social background

a. Early social milieu

There is no simple pattern in the early lives of the Finance Officers. Their fathers may have been anything from salesmen to lawyers or doctors and may have had anything from elementary education to a doctorate; the annual family income at the time of the respondents' youth might have ranged from as little as under \$3,000 to as much as above \$15,000. However, a few consistent trends can be noted which may prove significant in an analysis of the later careers of this group.

Of the 28 Finance Officers in our sample, an unusually high percentage were brought up in the West of Canada; moreover, in marked contrast to the distribution within the middle level, none of the Francophones came originally from the Ottawa-Hull area and comparatively few of the Anglophones were raised in this area or the Province of Ontario (Table 12.4).

These figures are largely explained by the fact that Finance is a centralized department. If a university graduate wishes to enter Finance, he has no choice but to come to Ottawa. He cannot, as in other departments, work in a regional office near his home.

It is also possible to speculate that those who grew up in the West (seven in Saskatchewan alone)—especially in families who witnessed the Depression and the provincial reconstruction following it—derived a sense of the importance of government not conveyed to those from eastern Canada where government has been less immediate. This hypothesis was partly borne out by the respondents themselves, who sometimes referred directly to the influence of the West upon them and to the fact that "at the time of the Depression, social problems and economic concerns were the things of the moment." This is not the place to discuss why, if at all, such early experiences should result in a man's entering the department of Finance, but it may be wise to keep in mind the possibility of such a formative influence.

There is a high rate of "class inheritance" among the Finance Officers; their fathers were usually at professional or managerial levels and the Officers themselves possess high economic and social status. Seventy-one per cent of the Finance Officers, above the average for the five departments we investigated, come from the combined middle class. Conversely, only 29 per cent are of working class or farm origin, compared with the middle-level average of 45 per cent (Table 12.5).

Table 12.4
Geographic origin of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Geographic Origin					Total
		Ottawa- Hull	Rest of Quebec	Rest of Ontario	Atlantic Provinces	Western Canada	Outside Canada
<i>Finance Officers</i>							
Francophones	5	0.0	60.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0
Anglophones	23	13.0	8.7	8.7	4.3	43.6	21.7
							100.0
<i>All middle-level officers</i>							
Francophones	128	43.0	36.7	7.8	3.9	3.1	5.5
Anglophones	168	18.5	6.0	23.2	8.3	23.2	20.8
							100.0

Table 12.5

Social class background of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Social class background		
		Middle class and higher	Working and farm	Total
Finance Officers	28	71.4	28.6	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	55.1	44.9	100.0

Thirty-two per cent of the Finance Officers came from families which had connections with the professional rather than the business community. A further three or four spoke of such connections in their near if not immediate families.

While no definitive conclusion can be reached on the importance of this early orientation, it seems likely that it had a profound effect upon a number of respondents. Their replies indicate the existence of a trend of thought that may prove significant when we examine the Finance Officer's motivation for entering the Public Service. For example, a 26-year-old F.O. 2, had this to say:

I come from a civil service family. I suppose to a large extent this oriented my thinking to the civil service or to teaching; more a service than a business orientation if you see what I mean.

He is echoed by a 45-year-old F.O.5:

I always had an inclination towards the kind of studies I took—I was interested in historical and political matters—so my orientation from childhood on was towards that. I wondered about influences because my family wasn't active in politics. I subsequently learned in later years when I visited my father's family in Scotland that they were active politically—I don't know whether this made a difference or not.

b. Education

The high educational level of the Finance Officer has already been suggested. Eleven, or 39 per cent, of those interviewed have a graduate degree, while the average for all five departments is 30 per cent (Table 12.6). Four of the 11 have a doctorate; a few others have only to complete their thesis. More than half of those with a Bachelor's degree are working on a Master's degree.

This determination to continue their education is typical of the general outlook of the department. These men put a high value upon intellectual achievement and are strongly motivated towards attaining intellectual goals. Perhaps the most important aspect, however, is that a surprisingly large number of Finance Officers only completed their education over a span of a number of years. Eight took more

Table 12.6

Level of education attained by middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Level of education			Total
		No uni- versity degree	Under- graduate degree	Graduate or post-graduate degree	
Finance Officers	28	3.6	57.1	39.3	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	29.4	40.5	30.1	100.0

than 10 years after they left high school to finish the university courses they had set themselves, and a further 10 took between six and nine years. These delays in education can be explained to a large extent by the war and military service, but there is also a significant number of respondents whose education was interrupted by pauses to earn money to continue, or often by a change of course following a reorientation of thinking that was recognized and acted upon. To these must be added the respondents who are still continuing their education.

The educational specialization of the Finance Officers is almost exclusively on the Arts side.⁷ Economics appears 16 times, Political Science 12 times, and Commerce and Accounting six. These figures are calculated on the total education, however, and it must be remembered that one respondent may account for one subject being mentioned twice, if he continued it through from undergraduate to graduate level. The purpose of the figures is merely to indicate the general orientation of the Finance Officer's education, manifested in his choice of courses. It is worth noting, however, that generally a Master's or Doctor's degree will be in Economics or Political Science.

The findings of our sample are largely consistent with A. F. W. Plumptre's statement, already quoted, that the Finance Officers are drawn from the whole spectrum of Canadian universities. The figures used are again based on the number of respondents who attended a particular university at some stage in their career. Again, therefore, one respondent may account for two or three universities. Five respondents attended Queen's at some stage during their education, three at undergraduate and two at graduate level. Seven attended the University of Toronto and five McGill University. Six graduated from the University of Saskatchewan, five from the universities of Alberta and Manitoba, one from British Columbia, one from Laval, and so on.⁸ One point of interest is that the Finance Officer generally tends to move from university to university as he progresses. By the completion of his education, therefore, he has gained a fairly broad and diverse experience.

Six respondents took one of their degrees at the London School of Economics, two at Oxbridge, and one in Paris, and one spent some time at Hong Kong University. It is all part of the general tone of the Finance Officer's general educational background. He is highly trained but rarely specialized, although he may have concentrated on one area rather than another. He has usually maintained a broad base to his education by moving through a number of courses, universities, or even countries.

At college, the Finance Officer generally took part in a number of extramural activities, which helped to shape his thinking about a career. He was, for example, active in student administration and politics, in debating, and in journalism. The last provided an opportunity for a number of respondents to combine their interest in public affairs with their interest in writing. But journalism as a definite factor in the Finance Officer's background can best be treated in a later section.

Despite his comparatively active university life, the Finance Officer was invariably placed in the top third of his final year—another indication of generally high intelligence coupled successfully with broad interests.

In summary, the typical Finance Officer is likely to have come from a professionally oriented family of comparatively high social standing. Contrary to the image that he is a Queen's alumnus, he is more likely to have attended one or more of a variety of other Canadian universities. By the completion of his education he will probably have gained, or at least done some work towards, a higher degree in Political Science or Economics. He will have been especially active in college activities related to the general field of public affairs and have graduated with a first or upper second class degree.

2. Career past

a. Selecting an occupation

Having obtained his degree, the Finance Officer enters an occupational field. This is not to say that he has decided upon the specific job in which he will spend the remainder of his career, but that he has determined the general field in which he hopes to work. What motivates him in this choice?

The possible importance of the Finance Officer's early family environment has already been noted. An extension of this "service-oriented" thinking can be seen in his motivation towards an area of career interest. Witness the remarks of a 27-year-old F.O. 4 and a 40-year-old S.O. 1:

When at Carleton [University] I became interested in social and economic problems. I decided then I wanted to tackle the world's problems by working in the public sector, not for industry. Some professors steered me into economics but an athletic coach was the person who started my interest in community work. I had no really definite plans. I thought about teaching economics at university.

D'abord j'ai toujours été intéressé à une carrière publique plutôt qu'à une carrière individuelle. . . . C'est une fonction utile que de contribuer à élaborer la politique de son pays et d'avoir l'impression de participer à l'orientation des destinées du monde. The emphasis on "public service" is reiterated in a statement by an F.O.5 who had once intended to enter the ministry:

I started off in university as a candidate for the United Church ministry. I decided halfway through that I had no business being a minister. . . my motives were still along the line of doing something worthwhile. I decided on public service about my third year.

Thus the Finance Officer tends to be primarily interested in either government service or university teaching. However, a number of Finance Officers are drawn towards journalism. In university, more than a third of the Finance Officers took part in journalistic activities, as editors, on editorial boards, or as contributors. Three of these eight and a further two respondents actually spent a period in professional journalism. There would seem to be no necessary connection between journalism and the department of Finance, except that both are involved in public affairs. However, an S.O. 2 offers this explanation:

It is much more the same type of work than people realize. I was working on the editorials and I had to produce an opinion in a matter of hours. It is the same here now. Journalism is good training actually. There are a lot of people who come to us from journalism. The pressure is often the same and you have to be able to produce things quickly.

b. Previous work history

Given this closely defined area of occupational choice, it is not surprising to find that, excepting those late entrants into the department, the Finance Officer typically enters the Public Service immediately or very soon after leaving university. Further, entry into the Public Service is in this case synonymous with entry into the department of Finance.

The majority of Finance Officers enter the Public Service early on in their work life. For almost a third of them it is their first full-time employment. This is about the same rate of direct entry as is found in the rest of the middle level. Those who do work elsewhere before joining are of two types. First, in line with the policy of the department, 21 per cent of Finance Officers are late entrants who have successfully established a career outside the department. Second, several Finance Officers gained their higher level education over a period of time, interspersed with a variety of jobs. Besides working during the summer like other university students, the Finance Officer is likely to have alternated full-time employment and periods of education.

Fifty per cent of the early entrants, including all Francophone respondents, entered the department of Finance directly after graduation.

Three respondents held jobs only while they were completing their education (typically, one or two years of journalism or university teaching). Two entered provincial government, each for no more than two years and only three spent a significant period working outside the department. Therefore, the Finance Officer has a remarkable career stability. He makes his choice fairly early and, from the evidence presented in the interviews, shows few signs of leaving the department of Finance once he enters it.

c. Reasons for joining the Public Service

The reasons for the Finance Officer's decision to enter the Public Service have already been touched upon in previous sections. Briefly, this decision can be seen as the result of either negative or positive factors.

The negative factors are those which propel a person away from certain fields. The Finance expert considers there are four alternatives open to him: the business world, government, university teaching, or journalism. For economic reasons, he rejects the last two. University salaries, for example, "were abysmally low" and "journalism was and is too low paid—the relative pay scale for journalists is lower in Canada than in the U.K." He rejects business on ethical grounds. By a process of elimination, therefore, the Finance Officer arrives at a decision to enter the federal government. Concurrently, his decision is the result of a positive attraction for the Public Service. The Finance Officer sees the Service as offering a unique opportunity to contribute in an important way to the regulation of the world's problems. One 44-year-old Senior Officer, for example, feels this way:

The professors at Queen's had a great deal of influence. They had, most of them, served in Ottawa through the Depression years, and there was a feeling—although it never became articulate—that this [government service] was worth doing.

This theme of the influence of his university professors upon the Finance Officer's decision is repeated by other respondents. Another S.O. 2 expresses it this way:

Ma formation en sciences économiques à Laval . . . les conseils de mes professeurs à l'époque, le R.P. Lévesque, Maurice Lamontagne, m'ont convaincu que je pouvais aider les miens aussi bien et peut-être mieux au niveau fédéral qu'à l'échelon provincial.

But it is significant that these are predominantly persons who graduated in the late 1940's or early 1950's. Any reference to the influence of the university is rare from those respondents who graduated recently. An exception is the F.O. 2 who was "encouraged by the Dean to write the civil service exams."

The Finance Officer may also feel that the federal government offers the best opportunity to involve himself in the field of work in which he is interested:

I was quite interested in economic studies while at university. And I saw the best opportunity to use the training I got in the civil service.

This is the remark of an F.O.2 in his late twenties. An F.O.5 with

recent experience at the London School of Economics echoes him:

The nature of my interests were essentially towards macro-economics and international politics. There is only one place to fulfill those interests in Canada.

More often the Finance Officer's decision is the result of a combination of these factors. A dominant theme, however, is that his decision is based almost exclusively upon what may be termed as "work" factors (attraction for the work *per se*) as opposed to the "benefit" factors of security, job stability, opportunity to stay in the Ottawa-Hull area, and so on.⁹ Seventy-eight per cent of Finance Officers gave a "work" factor as their primary reason for joining the Public Service, while only 48 per cent of the total population gave one as their first reason (Table 12.7).

Table 12.7

Reason for joining the Public Service of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

		Reason for joining the Public Service			Total
	N	Benefit factors	Work factors	Other reasons or not determined	
Finance Officers	28	28.6	67.8	3.6	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	42.2	48.3	9.5	100.0

d. Entering the department

Family and friends play only an indirect part in the Finance Officer's decision. More important are personal contacts with members or ex-members of the department of Finance itself or of other government departments. An F.O. 3 who has been in Finance for four years explains:

I learned about the department of Finance and decided that I would be interested in it rather than in External, through Mr. Plumptre, then assistant deputy minister. His personal influence was the most important factor. I met him at Toronto. He used to come to Toronto specifically to speak to the people in the economics department.¹⁰

These contacts occur most often within the university context:

J'étais étudiant en économie et c'est Monsieur Maurice Lamontagne, alors professeur à Laval, qui m'avait conseillé cet emploi.

Only three respondents had actually done work for the department before entering it on a permanent basis. Two are Francophones. It is impossible to generalize from these three, but it would appear that in each case, the experience gained during the course of summer employment had a profound effect upon the respondent:

Après mon expérience des vacances, j'ai aimé le genre de travail

du ministère des Finances. . . . Mon orientation s'est donc précisée à ce moment.

I had worked there in the summer before my Ph.D. and it just seemed natural to go back. I found the work exciting, and what they were involved in appealed to me.¹¹

Parenthetically, it is worth noting that these reactions may be significant in view of the fact that the department at present gives every evidence of being concerned with summer student programmes as a way of attracting university graduates. These summer programmes are especially concerned with Francophone students. Apart from the regular government-wide programme, Finance participates in an Institute of Public Administration programme which sent two Francophones to the department in the summer of 1964, and in another programme which brought in two or three additional Francophone students in the same year (and presumably in subsequent years) to enable them to get experience in the federal Public Service.

The proportion of respondents influenced by personal contacts and/or previous experience is, however, small; about a quarter of those interviewed. A far more important factor would seem to be that of the departmental image itself. It offers the Finance Officer, at one and the same time, work that he considers important and the intellectual stimulation he demands:

I was looking for something in the Public Service. . . in the government there are two or three departments which control the others and Finance is one of them. You have the feeling that the work you are doing has an importance beyond the present job.

Finance attracted me because it is at the centre of many types of things and the work is related to policy decisions. . . decisions which affect a number of other departments.

These are the remarks of a 35-year-old F.O. 5 and a 27-year-old F.O. 2. An F.O. 6 adds:

I was an economist. . . . The responsibilities of the department of Finance seemed interesting and challenging.

Or an F.O.4 and another F.O.2:

I had a desire to play a part in the making of national economic policy which would shape the country's future.

I liked the idea of working for Finance. It is a key department and a good place to get on.

The majority of those who entered the department upon graduation entered through the normal Public Service channels: through J.E.O. (Junior Executive Officer) or Administrative Trainee exams. The importance of personal contact becomes more marked in the case of the late entrants.

The department is proud of its flexible personnel policy, however, and it is important to note that in a number of cases Finance does tend to "absorb" its personnel from summer jobs, on individual recommendation and so on. Five cases of just such absorption among the early entrants demonstrate the department's willingness to make special arrangements to obtain the talent it wants.

Thus, in summary, it could be said that the Finance Officer is motivated in his choice of occupation by the desire to make a contribution in the public sector. Aside from the late entrants and those who spend a few years in university teaching or in journalism, most enter the federal government and, typically, the department of Finance directly after completing their education. Choice of this department is occasionally the result of direct experience of its work or of the recommendation of someone there. More often it is the result of a desire to enter the field of economic policy. In this case, one enters by means of normal examination procedures provided by the Public Service.

E. Public Service Career

Basically, two distinct career patterns can be seen within the department of Finance. The dominant pattern is of the "bright young man" who enters the department at the beginning or very near the beginning of his career and who moves very quickly within it to a senior level. Fifty-eight per cent of those Finance Officers in our sample fall into this category: 12 Anglophones and four Francophones. A less common pattern is that of the late entrant who enters the department in mid-career, having already built up a body of relevant experience. These are of two types: the entrant from university, professional, business, or other government administrations (21 per cent of the total); and the entrant from other areas of the federal Public Service (21 per cent).

The tone of the department is set by the career of the bright young man. His career will therefore be treated exhaustively and the career of the late entrant examined later in relation to it.

1. Career orientation

The young officer, as will have become clear, demands that his work should be intellectually challenging. In a few cases this emphasis upon intellectual achievement resembles closely that of the pure scientist or researcher, as is seen in these two quotations from an F.O. 2 who has been in the department for three years and an F.O. 5 with nine years of service:

I would stay in the job as long as I found it interesting. The promotions themselves I don't find the primary motivation. I'm not in an administrative pattern but rather a professional pattern related to a specific area of interest. . . . I'm not interested in administering as such.

I'm rather interested in the subject. What I am working at is rather interesting. I'm not just interested in progress. . . . I'm mostly interested in what I am doing and I wouldn't like to have to change my job.

These are not strictly typical, however, although they do represent an important element in the Finance Officer's make-up.

It is difficult to place the Finance Officer into one of our usual career types. He is neither specialist nor generalist, administrator nor technician. Conventional classifications tend to emphasize one aspect of a man's work disproportionately, and do not meet our requirements here. The Finance Officer is rather the "double-edged expert" referred to by John Porter,¹² and combines within his personality something of each of these dimensions. This will be seen more clearly through an examination of the thinking of the Finance Officers themselves, especially as they attempt to answer the question of whether their work is predominantly administrative or technical.¹³

The most common answer was that it is neither; it is "policy formulation." Several agreed, as did this 35-year-old F.O. 5, that Finance Officers are basically negotiators:

I think a lot of this can be summed up as the ability to negotiate. Ability to take a position and defend it and know how far you can go.

Almost without exception the Finance Officers pointed out that they do not administer in the usual sense of the word, except for issuing policy directives, because they have no staff to supervise. Yet the Finance Officer has a good deal of the administrator in him. An S.O. 2 who considered his work "executive" stressed that above all he had "to learn to delegate authority," and a F.O. 5 felt that the Finance Officer needs to "know how to deal with other government people." These are administrative skills.

At the same time, the Finance Officer is a technician—albeit an intellectual technician—who sets out "deliberately to make himself an expert in some field," and who sees himself very definitely as an economist, international theorist, or whatever. It is this side of his work that leads one officer, an F.O. 3 to say:

We're a policy shop, not a research staff, and yet because of our interests and the background of a few of us here I feel that what might be considered as research on other countries must be done here.

Views on the value of specialization vary: "Specialization is best. . . generalization is on its way out." "Here you have to stay as general as possible to get ahead."

These seemingly contradictory opinions are not necessarily irreconcilable. The general consensus would seem to be that beyond a certain (undefined) level, specialization becomes dangerous, but previous to this point it may prove valuable and even necessary. This is the implication of the remark of an S.O. 1:

Avoir une spécialisation et le goût de la recherche mais ne pas se limiter à la spécialisation, plus on progresse vers les plus hauts niveaux administratifs.

Or that of an F.O. 5:

Stay long enough to get depth, then move to get breadth.

A more personal view is provided by the F.O. 3 quoted below:

The more I permit myself to become limited to one area of work, the more limited I am for promotion. I was advised to move around in the department.

Insofar as the Finance Officer exercises a certain degree of interpersonal manipulation, he is an administrator. Insofar as he is knowledgeable in the economic field and emphasizes the importance of the intellectual satisfaction which he derives from his work, he is a technical expert, though of generalist rather than specialist application. Finally, there is within his personality an element of "institutionalist," in that he tends to identify with and define his career in terms of the bureaucracy in which he finds himself.

At first sight, the institutionalist perspective would seem to be inconsistent with the Finance Officer's predominantly intellectual orientation. But although he sometimes considers employment possibilities outside the federal Public Service, he intimates, more in tone than in actual words, that the most likely course is continuing within the Public Service. An important qualification is that this should be within the policy areas of the government.

2. Career style

In examining the career style of the Finance Officer, the general scheme suggested by Schein and his associates¹⁴ will be used as the starting point for discussion.

Movement - Non-movement. The young officer conceives his career in terms of upward mobility. Typically, he sees it as based predominantly within the department of Finance. More so than other public servants, he expects to move through the department to a senior level and then transfer to increasingly senior levels in other areas of the government (Table 12.8). He may contemplate returning to university teaching, but few other alternatives to government service are given more than cursory consideration. Moreover, he will only rarely think of moving to a department other than Finance until it becomes necessary for further promotion. And often this eventual transfer is considered without enthusiasm, as by this senior officer:

I'll probably be promoted pretty soon. . . . The increase in financial terms at this level is minimal, though. And I doubt whether I shall find any job to go to as interesting as the one I have now, if I go to National Revenue or somewhere. . . . This is one reason why I might prefer to go into teaching.

The Finance Officer has definite views on the subject of other departments: he considers only one or two comparable to Finance itself.

Although he expects promotions, he does not seek them aggressively. His quiet acceptance that he will reach the bureaucratic elite comes from knowledge of his own abilities rather than from any positive sense of ambition. He will not put aside other values in order to enjoy promotion *per se*. The feeling that was hinted at in the quotation above is stated explicitly by a significant number of other respondents such as this 25-year-old F.O. 2:

As long as I find the work stimulating I will stay. But I would not hesitate to move if I find I reach a point where I can no longer learn, or gain new ideas or new insights into the field.

Table 12.8
Prospects for advancement as perceived by middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers
(percentages)

		Prospects for advancement				
<i>N</i>		Unlimited prospects	Limited prospects (One or two more promotions)		At the top (advancement not desired)	Blocked or potential reached
			Optimistic	Pessimistic		
Finance Officers	28	32.1	32.1	14.3	7.1	14.4
						0.0
All middle- level officers	296	12.5	56.4	15.2	8.8	6.4
						0.7
						100.0
						100.0

An F.O. 3 is particularly vocal on this point:

I don't believe in trying to get to the top. If you have capabilities and opportunities and the time is right, then you can do things to improve your usefulness to the department. . . . If I decide that I am most excited and interested by the kinds of policy Finance has to deal with as decisions then I might be likely to make a contribution in the department of Finance stream wherever it leads. . . . To me what is important is doing what I am interested in as a human being with certain intellectual and personal interests. That is the top.

The Finance Officer accepts implicitly that the department will continue to provide him with the opportunity to "move up the ladder and to get the responsibility and get introduced to the experience that I consider important."

On the other hand, several respondents are not certain that they see their future career within the Public Service at all, and feel that they may instead move into the university community; others refuse to commit themselves outright to a field of work which they may ultimately find uninteresting. Considering such factors as these, the Finance Officer on the whole seems to show a slightly lower level of commitment to the Public Service than the average for the total population (Table 12.9). It must be emphasized, however, that these figures do not by any means represent dissatisfaction of the Finance Officer with his career as he sees it at present. The evidence of the interviews would suggest rather an immense satisfaction with its progress.

Table 12.9

Degree of commitment of middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers to continuing their federal Public Service careers (percentages)

		Degree of commitment to remaining in federal Public Service			Total
	N	Firmly committed	Mildly committed or undecided	Indifferent or have definite plans to leave	
Finance Officers	28	39.3	42.9	17.8	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	43.6	39.8	16.6	100.0

Active - Passive. Very closely allied to the question of his career movement is the question of whether the Finance Officer approaches his career actively or passively. Does he expect to take the initiative in his career, or does he feel that it is not necessary

to engage his environment, that his career will take care of itself? In relation to the Finance Officer it is difficult to present a straightforward answer, and it will be useful to examine his particular work setting in some detail as a preliminary to any discussion.

The department of Finance is structured slightly differently from most other government departments. Perhaps most important, the internal promotion system is designed to be flexible, and to accommodate individual talents and abilities as they are perceived by the senior officers. Very simply, career development depends on a system of sponsorship. A senior man offered this terse description:

It is possible for a few senior people to know the young men and pick out those that are going to be good and give them promotion.

Thus, very early in his career, a Finance Officer will usually have an experience similar to that of this F.O. 2:

Any young person here is given as much responsibility as they can handle and must sink or swim. Some sink and some swim. Just after I came here I was asked to go to a meeting with five or six A.D.M.'s and had to represent our interests on a particular matter. . . . It was not so important, but I was thrown in, so to speak, without much experience.

The inevitable corollary to this is described here by an S.O.2:

We give as much responsibility as possible as a deliberate policy, and then we find out who can handle it. Then that man will move. . . .

The entrant who does prove that he can handle as much responsibility as is given him then finds himself sent on the special projects and assignments that will continue to enlarge his experience, develop his skills, and open the way to yet further responsibility. Even the Finance Officers at the first two levels attend inter-departmental meetings as part of the deliberate policy referred to by an F.O. 4:

We tend to send the lower grades to these meetings which might be attended by the A.D.M. of another department.

The comparatively high rate of inter-departmental committee attendance of the Finance Officer is shown in Table 12.10.

Table 12.10
Number of inter-departmental committees in which middle-level Finance Officers and all middle-level officers currently are members (percentages)

		Number of inter-departmental committees			
	<i>N</i>	None	One	Two or More	Total
Finance Officers	28	60.7	21.4	17.9	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	87.5	7.4	5.1	100.0

Largely, therefore, the Finance Officer's approach to his career is passive. If he demonstrates and continues to demonstrate a high level of ability, he is moved automatically into the areas where this ability will be both used and augmented. This serves to a large extent to explain the admission by a significant number of respondents of a "drifting" approach to their career coupled with the attainment of a very successful position within the department. The Finance Officer does not find that he has to consciously engage his environment to the extent that he must deliberately plan ahead to achieve promotion. Perhaps an S.O. 1 explains their attitude best:

Il est difficile de planifier à l'avance et de prévoir les "postes successifs". . . . C'est une question d'orientation générale. Les postes se créent et disparaissent suivant les besoins. . . . Il [le fonctionnaire du ministère des Finances] doit s'occuper de son affaire en faisant son travail très bien et en surveillant ses intérêts. S'il est compétent et s'il veut monter, il montera.

An F.O. 6 says more briefly,

You work along and the department moves you.

The system of sponsorship does not operate independently of individual initiative but is complementary to it. Sponsorship does not mean, as one F.O. 5 points out, that the Finance Officer is taken "by the hand." Its implications are rather that "the sooner they can show they can work without direction the sooner they will get ahead." The Finance Officer may not plan his career but he takes every opportunity to demonstrate the qualities upon which that career will depend. A recurring theme, for example, is that the approach to work in the Finance department cannot be that of the stereotyped nine-to-five public servant. An F.O. 2 explains it as a "willingness to go a little beyond what you're asked to do." Above all, outside of doing the best job possible, this entails keeping abreast of intellectual developments in other fields through participation in educational and professional activities. A 44-year-old S.O. 1 goes further:

La participation à différents organismes, à des délibérations [est utile]; les contacts avec les milieux universitaires, intellectuels et d'affaires contribuent à maintenir l'esprit en éveil.

A 26-year-old F.O. 2 expresses a similar sentiment:

Contact with as wide a spectrum of people as possible who have some relation to your work is valuable. In the universities that would be the Department of Economics for example. Some government associations. . . these aren't organizations in the establishment sense of the word, but they are opportunities for further contact, for being exposed to particular ideas.

It is on the basis of his showing in a variety of situations that the Finance Officer is assessed: "The speeches, papers, given by members at outside conferences have an effect." Only when he has demonstrated the drive, determination, self-confidence, sense of responsibility, and other qualities that are demanded of him, will he meet with sponsorship. This is the import of the remark by an F.O. 5 that "promotion comes in Finance; it can be earned rather than waited for."

The often meteoric career of a bright young man is thus the result of an interaction of his own ability with departmental policy. A man of talent and the necessary social skills who unstintingly produces high-calibre material will be noticed by his seniors and brought along" (to use a favourite department phrase) into the upper ranks of Finance.

3. *Career skills*

What skills does the Finance Officer consider necessary for his work?

The first and most important attribute cited by the majority of Finance Officers is "superior ability." This implies an above-average intelligence and a high degree of formal economic and/or political science training. It was noted in the previous section that the Finance Officer also considers it important to maintain his standards in these fields through continuing contact with the relevant educational and professional organizations. It is equally important that his intellectual bent should be that of the pragmatist rather than the theorist:

If we assume I'm to be effective in my job then I have to have some competence in economics—with the emphasis on the practical not theoretical.

Over and above this basic ability, the job of Finance Officer demands a quality that is variously defined as political judgement or political sense: a way of thinking which makes the Finance Officer's basic training valuable in terms of the goals of the department. An F.O. 4 expresses it clearly:

One has to be able to gauge what will go. They want people who have a feel for what government is all about. It requires an understanding of what is politically possible in Canada. This is a theme which is stressed continually. It is further illustrated here by an F.O. 2 and another F.O. 4:

You need a good political sense and negotiating ability. Having a good political sense is more than simply being able to anticipate how my minister will react to my proposals. It's having a certain intuition as to what will work and what won't; what will be accepted and what won't.

You need a political sensitivity—judgement. An ability to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of a course of action and to take the right decision.

The day-to-day work of the Finance Officer brings him into regular contact with ministers and officials of his own and other departments.¹⁵ It is not surprising to find, therefore, that he emphasizes the place of both written and oral communication skills in his work. In writing he is required to prepare statements quickly, clearly, and concisely (the relevance of any journalistic training can be seen here); in speaking he must be fully articulate and capable of comprehensive explanation. The latter are the skills of a negotiator. The Finance Officer is primarily a representative of the opinions of the

Finance department. Thus he needs to be able to deal with people, especially government people, and to convey ideas effectively through the medium of personal contact.

This concept of negotiating ability is explained by a number of respondents and illustrated here by quotations taken from Finance Officers at various levels of the department:

You need to be able to get along with other people. This is very important. You have round-table discussions on policy views. You must compromise on differences. You have to be flexible.

You need to be able to speak well—and understand the point of view of the person opposing you even though you may not always be sympathetic. Plus all the qualities a negotiator needs. These are indefinable. It's like playing chess. You have to be able to see several moves ahead.

You have to be able to convince people. . . you have to have to be able to get along with people, particularly those from other governments. . . you have to wait while compromises are hammered out. These views are summed up in the previously quoted statement as the "ability to take a position and defend it and know how far you can go."

If priorities are to be established among the skills the Finance Officer considers important in his work, it must be concluded that he emphasizes above all the ability to do his job supremely well:

Do the best job possible. Do a better job than any one else around you and you'll be promoted. There is no substitute for excellence of work performance.

It must be stressed, however, that in order for the Finance Officer to fulfill this goal of "excellence of work performance" he considers it essential that he also develop human relation skills.

F. Perceptions of How To Get Ahead in Finance

The Finance Officer's *actual* approach to his career has been examined in some detail. Do his *perceptions* of career success correspond to or conflict with this picture? If he was asked for advice on how to reach the top in his career, what would be his answer?

Technical competence in his job, the ability to meet its demands, and the right personal attributes are heavily emphasized. Typical advice to the hypothetical young man who wishes to reach the top would be that given by a 35-year-old F.O. 5:

He would have to be of above average intelligence. Must show signs of potential for development. Potential or signs of a great deal of self-confidence and a presence. He must have the ability to think clearly and to write clearly. You've got to be able to work. . . with a minimum of direction.

Here are two more respondents, an S.O. 1 and an F.O. 2:

Avoir une spécialisation et le goût de la recherche, avoir de l'entregent, développer une personnalité qui sait s'imposer. . . il doit savoir faire travailler les autres.

Above average intelligence. . . ease with people, good judgement, clarity in expressing his ideas.

It can be seen that the recurring themes are "above average intelligence," the ability to apply this in such intangible skills as judgement and communication, and "confiance en soi" as it manifests itself in work and in personal relationships. To these could be added the readiness "à travailler fort et tard." An F.O. 4 perhaps sums it up best:

You need a tremendous amount of drive, physical and intellectual energy.

The Finance Officer does not simply value ability and self-confidence for himself, he feels one must *demonstrate* these qualities. Look at the two quotations from a 44-year-old F.O. 6 and a 35-year-old F.O. 4:

I don't think that people want "yes" men. They want ideas and they want them pushed as long as they are good. They are looking for new ideas and thoughts.

He should make himself noticed and indispensable. If he has ideas he should not hesitate to put them forward.

There is one other very important prerequisite of success: choice of the right department in which to make a career. The Finance Officer feels strongly, for example, that the hypothetical young man should keep out of "dead-end departments" or "tradition-ridden departments," and, interestingly, "avoid like the plague any departments with administration":

Any department where you are working in policy, you can advance more rapidly than if you are doing administration only.

This is the opinion of an F.O. 2 and he is voicing the views of a significant number of other officers. The general consensus is, in fact, that if he is going to get ahead, the very best place for the young man would be the department of Finance. An S.O. 1 says:

S'il veut un jour participer à l'élaboration des politiques de l'État, il doit élargir son domaine d'expérience. Je crois qu'un ministère comme celui des Finances peut fournir cette expérience.

It follows from this that the Finance Officer most often advises that the best route to the top is by way of intra; as opposed to inter-department movement.

The various and interlocking perceptions of how to get ahead are adequately drawn together by a 25-year-old F.O. 2 and it will be worth quoting him at some length. It can easily be seen that his advice to the young entrant resembles the success formula for Finance:

I would think his best route would be to get into one of the more important departments—to try to get his teeth into something where he has operational responsibility, where he can prove he can do it or can't do it. Good departments are Finance, Trade and Commerce, possibly *parts* of Justice. (I'm really lying. I think Finance is the only place!)

A man who spent 20 years in Finance and is now a deputy minister said, "spend 20 years in Finance and you're bound to be deputy minister of something." . . . I'm convinced that it's true. . . . It is sometimes said that you have to go the the

Civil Service Commission in order to get experience in dealing with other government departments. I went to a J.E.O. lecture where we were told this by a man from the Civil Service Commission, but I don't believe it. This [Finance] is probably better. . . .

I've been quite impressed with the senior people here. I would think he needs—there's an intelligence minimum here—I think he needs at least one technical skill. There has to be one thing you can do and do well. There has to be some reason why you are given more responsibility. It is important to have political intuition. He will need an ability to deal with ministers and people generally. . . . deal with people inside and outside the department. These are largely social skills. The personal qualities he will need are drive and determination, self-confidence. It would be tempting to say ambition, but this is not the only thing."

G. Profile of the Finance Officer: A Résumé

Those Finance Officers referred to in previous sections as "bright young men" set the tone for the department of Finance. A collective portrait drawing together their predominant characteristics will serve to identify this type more definitively.

More than 40 per cent of the Anglophone Finance Officers come from western Canada. This is much higher than the proportion in any other department. The early life of the Finance man will usually be in a family of relatively high social class, often with a parent in a profession.

The Finance Officer most often takes either economics or political science at university. He participates in a number of activities at college: student politics, administration, journalism. He will usually attain a first or upper second class degree. It is likely that he will also attain his Master's and, although less often, his Doctor's degree. His college career is a mobile one, encompassing several of both Canadian and non-Canadian universities.

During university the Finance Officer will make a career choice. His early orientation was towards the professional rather than the business communities and he feels himself very strongly motivated now towards "service" work in the public sector, and government service in particular. Also, he may have tried university teaching or journalism in the course of his education and rejected them as life-time careers because of their standards of pay, although he retains the desire to teach and may intend one day to return to it.

Having chosen employment in the federal Public Service so that he can become involved in the regulation of national problems, the young man deliberately chooses to enter a policy department. Occasionally he is influenced in his decision by a university teacher, but more often he is drawn to Finance by the image he has of it as a department at the centre of things.

The young officer usually enters either as a J.E.O. or at the lowest level. He expects to move comparatively rapidly into the senior levels of the department. However, he insists that this is not a move into the administrative levels. The Finance Officer sees his work as predominantly "technical" economic analysis but also requiring the administration of policy rather than of people.

The career style of the young officer embodies dual emphases. He retains the career desires and the personal characteristics (drive to the top, determination, self-confidence) of the administrator. At the same time he is very largely motivated in his career decisions by the intrinsic interest he demands of work in a specialized field.

The bright young man finds that the structure of the department of Finance complements his own career style. The department requires that the Finance Officer have a high level of intelligence coupled with political judgement; that he be able to communicate his ideas quickly and effectively; and that he have a number of indispensable personal characteristics such as the above-mentioned drive and determination. If the Finance Officer demonstrates these attributes, he is moved by a system of sponsorship into areas of experience valuable to him. By these means a youthful Finance Officer is able to move rapidly through the department.

The Finance Officer will move intra-departmentally, but he will rarely consider leaving the department. This reluctance stems very largely from the sense of challenge and of contribution that he derives from his work. He tends to set Finance apart as a unique, high-powered area of the government. This image becomes important in giving a sense of coherency to the department and providing a corporate identity for its work. The Finance Officer works largely on his own but does not, by reason of sharing this common image with his fellow officers, feel himself isolated.

The Finance Officer is usually well satisfied with his career. He feels at ease within both the formal and informal atmosphere of the department and is confident of his own place within it. He is successful in a department where success succeeds.

A "model" career pattern would be that of a Finance Officer who entered the department 10 or 12 years ago as an F.O. 1 or 2 and who has since progressed to level five or six and anticipates further promotions at a comparable rate. Early on in his career he was posted abroad; to Paris or to Geneva, for example, where he spent two or three years gaining a considerable amount of negotiating experience in the international field. He joined a different division of the department on his return and might have transferred again since that time. He was responsible for a period after his return for the Canadian side of the work he had been doing abroad. Then he shifted to analysis work and has since developed his career along these lines. He is variously involved in special studies and surveys connected with his work, and with projections based upon these. Much of his work, in some form or another, goes directly to the minister. He

spends a large part of his time outside Canada, travelling to Geneva, Paris, New York, Washington, for a variety of international conferences. He has not stopped to think about the pattern of his future career, but hopes that it leads to a position of some power where the work is nevertheless as interesting as he finds it at present.

H. The Late Entrant

The late entrant into the department of Finance usually enters at level four, occasionally higher. He may either be "jobbed-in"¹⁶ from outside the Canadian Public Service or he may transfer from some other area of the government. The distinction is important to any discussion of the department and each type will be treated here separately.

1. The parachutist

For the purposes of this study, a "parachutist" is someone who "drops into" the department of Finance at a comparatively senior level, after spending at least seven years (and usually far more) outside the Public Service. He has, therefore, a considerable and successful career history behind him. Six (21 per cent) of the Finance Officers interviewed fall into this category, but it should be noted that many other cases in the department have been missed because of the upper cut-off age of 45 exercised in our sample.

The parachuting of entrants is, as has been said, part of the policy of the Finance department. A few findings will suggest the types of career patterns the parachutists experience before entering the department; this data will incidentally illustrate departmental policy on this point.

None of the six respondents are Francophones and only one is Canadian born. The majority are of British origin. This does not necessarily imply that Finance either deliberately looks for foreign-born personnel or that it has a preference for British over Canadian entrants. It does however, demonstrate the department's willingness to take qualified personnel wherever it can find them. Two of the parachutist respondents came from the business community, two from journalism, and two from bureaucratic communities other than the Canadian federal government.

Only two entered via an open competition. In two cases Finance acted quickly and positively on learning that the respondents were "in the market." In the other two cases, positions were in essence created for the parachutists.

In view of these facts it is perhaps worth digressing to discuss the objection that is most often voiced against parachuting: its effect upon the morale of the department. Some people feel that it is discouraging and incentive-killing for the young entrant to see the senior positions towards which he himself is working going to

government outsiders. However, in the department of Finance this objection is successfully countered. The department is presently expanding and already short of staff. It is probable that in general there will continue to be jobs available for qualified personnel from either inside or outside the department. At the same time it is interesting to note that of the four Senior Officers interviewed by the Career Study group (three of them division directors), three had a basically "one-department" career. That is to say, each began his career in Finance and, with the exception of one or two comparatively brief periods outside, has remained on the departmental pay-roll.¹⁷

Although his basic career pattern differs considerably from that of the "bright young man," the parachutist has a similar social and educational background and expresses remarkably similar attitudes about his career. One F.O. 4, for example, states:

Where I would emigrate was determined by the kind of employment I was offered and the nature of the country. The Canadian Civil Service had a high reputation as worthwhile: more purpose and sense of direction than others. Also my wish to move into a policy field was a major component.

In a similar vein an F.O. 5, in answer to the question of what advice he would give a young man hoping to reach the top of his career, he replied:

I'd tell him not to be in such a hurry. And I'd tell him to think a little more of the service he could render his country and less of what he could do for himself.

Further parallels could be drawn. The parachutist has, in fact, much the same career orientation and style as the more typical Finance Officer. He tends, therefore, to reinforce rather than challenge the general tone of the department as it has been described through our presentation of the career of the bright young man.¹⁸

2. The transfer

A contrast to both the meteoric young entrant and the parachutist is presented by the entrant who transfers to Finance from some other government department. Twenty-one per cent (5 Anglophones and 1 Francophone) of the Finance Officers in our sample transferred from another department: National Revenue, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Trade and Commerce. All entered at the F.O. 4 level. Four had entered directly into the Public Service after graduation and two had a period of outside work before joining.

The career motivation of these transfer entrants is subtly different from that of the typical Finance Officer. Five of the six were primarily interested in entering private business and ultimately chose the Public Service mainly for reasons of security, job availability, and so on: "benefit" as opposed to "work" factors. All six moved eventually into the department of Finance for reasons of better promotions or salary increases. None was drawn by the attraction of being in a policy department, as were the bright young men and, to a lesser extent, the parachutists.

Once they have entered the department, however, the distinction between the attitudes of the two career types becomes less noticeable. The career style of the transfer is not significantly different from that of the typical Finance Officer. He actively seeks upward career movement, stresses competence over interpersonal factors as a means to attaining his career goals, and in general reacts favourably to his environment. Subjectively he identifies himself with a specialist rather than administrative career orientation. And while one expresses an intention to leave the government for private business once he is "fully conversant with government," the other five feel themselves fairly deeply committed to government service, and often to the Finance department in particular, for reasons not unlike those expressed by the bright young men. One F.O. 6, for example, is doubtful whether he will move because

I find the job that I am doing interesting.

An F.O. 4 goes further:

Whenever the challenge or interest diminishes and the opportunity for greater personal challenge declines, I will leave. . . . I don't know where I will go. . . . There are only two areas that I would consider—either teaching or government service.

However, those who have transferred from other departments do not seem to have become totally integrated into the department of Finance. Outwardly their career patterns conform, but the spark that characterizes the typical Finance Officer, and to a large extent the parachutist, is missing. It would be impossible to present concrete illustrations for this finding, but the impression gained from our interviews is that the dynamism and enthusiasm conveyed in the reactions of the bright young man is absent from, or is at least limited, in the reactions of the transfer. Less from difference in numbers than from difference in force of personality they seem to be exceptions to the general tone of the department.

I. Francophone and Other Minorities in Finance

In describing the general career pattern of the Finance Officer, no distinction has been made between Francophones and Anglophones. The number of Francophone Finance Officers involved (five) is too small to allow any viable comparison, but it can be said generally that the careers of those who fall within the sample show no significant deviation from the overall pattern. However, their very number poses a major question. It will be useful to examine some reasons for the present shortage of Francophone personnel within the department, and to assess developments planned for the future. Three major areas of examination are immediately suggested: recruitment, language of work, and sponsorship.

1. Recruitment

The Senior Officers in the department of Finance willingly admit to the very obvious lack of Francophone personnel in the department.

The majority attribute this to the extremely limited supply of Francophones. As one assistant deputy minister explains, the department "cannot get the top English-speaking economists, let alone French." This shortage is aggravated by the reluctance of French economists to come to Ottawa and by the counter-attraction to them of the Quebec government, universities, industries, and so on. On top of this, the makeshift recruitment procedures in the department do little to ameliorate the situation.

A senior official of long experience stated that the problem of recruiting Francophones has existed since the late 1940s. The existence of the problem had been recognized but not enough had been done to solve it. Now it seemed to him as though the department was beginning to act. Also, an assistant deputy minister says that having watched the senior people in the department for some time he is convinced that "they are honestly trying to get good French Canadians." A Senior Officer echoes his sentiment:

Au ministère des Finances, les supérieurs ont toujours été et sont encore désireux d'avoir des Canadiens français dans le ministère.

Recruitment and development procedures throughout the department are being overhauled, and there is a certain amount of optimism that this reorganization will help towards remedying the imbalance.

There are, however, a number of factors involved which magnify the problem. The Quebec government in particular is more attractive to a Francophone by reason of its higher salaries and potentially more exciting work. To counter the effects of this opposing pull, Finance realizes that it must approach the French-language universities directly. One director, himself a Francophone feels as well that:

The best chance of attracting people from Quebec lies in keeping track of good French-Canadian students who are studying outside the province. Many of these are more interested in broadening their outlook in Ottawa.

A further problem is that, following the policy of W. C. Clark, Finance has tended to rely heavily for its recruitment upon the "web of personal contacts" already mentioned. When a particular position falls open, a senior officer may have in mind one of several candidates who have the right qualifications for it and who may be interested in it. One F.O. 5, explains the possible implications of this for the Francophones:

I don't think that objectivity is hurt, because the applicant has still to satisfy the examining board. But then it is an advantage (to someone with contacts) because there may be others who don't know about the vacancy. From the French-Canadian point of view this might be a disadvantage. If there is a lower proportion of French in the senior echelons, then the chances that a French Canadian will be thought of are that much less.

An F.O. 2 has this to say:

Our department hasn't attracted a good senior French Canadian who

has managed to collect other good people around him. Our history stems from Queen's and the impact of Clark and Skelton. Perhaps a French Canadian of this calibre wouldn't come to this department, but we should try to find ways to attract them. Not infrequently, Finance loses Francophone Senior Officers or potential senior officers to Quebec. The departure of one Francophone officer in particular was repeatedly regretted. He was working for the Treasury Board until 1961 when Premier Lesage of Quebec apparently persuaded him that he owed it to his province to return to Quebec where he became deputy minister of Natural Resources.

Of course, one may also ask whether the Finance department itself has a deterrent effect upon Francophones. Over and above the problems of recruitment, which are faced in large part by other departments also, it is recognized and regretted within the department that the "English" image of Finance, and of the financial community with which it deals, may play an important part in keeping Francophones from applying. One senior Francophone official refutes this image strongly. He admits that Finance has the reputation as the department which does not hire Francophones but goes on to say that every time he hears this it irks him, because it is not so. He thinks Finance's reputation is due not so much to the language as to the nature of the work done. The general areas of interest of the department of Finance are areas which Francophones have not been interested in and concerned about until recently.

This minority view aside, one cannot help but be impressed with the English-speaking nature of the clientele which the department of Finance serves. How does this affect the internal workings of the department in relation to the Francophones?

2. Language of work

It is accepted at all levels almost without question that the language of the Finance department is and must be English. The primary reason given is that this is the language of the overwhelming majority of the department's clients—ministers, Cabinet, business and financial communities, and even international organizations. As one assistant deputy minister stated "we use the language of our clients: English." Only a very few within the department use French as their working language and there are no French-language units in the department.

This predominance of English as the language of work is potentially a handicap to the Francophone. One French-speaking director admits that

a French Canadian without a good knowledge of English would find it difficult to work in this division because of the use of English inter-departmentally and in the international organizations. An F.O. 5 offers a typical Anglophone reaction:

For reasons which I wouldn't care to make any judgment on, the bulk of officials in the economic side of government have tended to be English-speaking and the working language in this area is English. So the French Canadians have a basic disadvantage

here—even more so if you've taken your basic economic training in French.¹⁹

Few respondents, Francophone or Anglophone, go beyond the recognition of the problem. It is accepted that the difficulties of having French as a working language would be too great, and that while the department is prepared to hire Francophones to work in their own language, their usefulness would be limited:

Je ne peux conduire mon travail en français: c'est un travail trop spécialisé. Tout se fait en anglais.

A high-level Francophone is convinced that

most departments could not make efficient use of a French Canadian who spoke only French.

This is the generally held view.

However, there is some evidence that the department of Finance would nevertheless be comparatively able to accommodate a Francophone working in French. Although the total number of Francophone Finance Officers is seven or eight, it is estimated that 15 to 20 Anglophone Officers are fully bilingual and that up to half of all officers have substantial skill in reading French. For example, in the Economic Analysis division, almost all of the officers can get by in French; most officers in the Tariff division can read French; everyone in International Economic Relations division reads French and two of the 10 officers are fully bilingual and several more are partially bilingual. In this latter division with its international focus, the director and others foresaw and welcomed greater participation by those of French background. Officers abroad, whose mother tongue is French, are encouraged to send reports and telegrams in French. However, it should be noted that the use of French is far more extensive in relation to Francophone countries outside Canada than to French Canada itself. A significant number of those officers who are bilingual or partially bilingual use their French almost exclusively for international confrontations with officials from European or African countries.

Some consideration is given in the interviews to the possibility of having a Francophone use his mother tongue. One Senior Officer offers an interesting and possibly significant opinion:

We are probably the most bilingual of all divisions here. . . . One French Canadian from Montreal actually suggested that we have someone to work under him in French. . . . I think that we are near enough to be able to make the move into having French-speaking personnel working in French without too much trouble. . . . We can all read French. . . . It would even be good for us if a French Canadian came along and said that he was going to speak in French.

A number of other officers offer as a "solution" to the problems of bilingualism within the department the concept of receptive bilingualism whereby each member works in the language most familiar to him and is understood by the other members:

The effect I hope it [the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism] has, is of people being translated. . . . In terms of central administration and key people in the government I hope that it will very quickly be the case that people can speak and be understood in their own language.

The majority of the Finance men are willing to give serious thought to increasing the use of French as a working language, but tend ultimately to agree with one director that they "can't really visualize the department working efficiently in two languages."

3. Sponsorship

We have already pointed out that there is no formal personnel development programme within the department of Finance. Such career patterns as there are develop on an *ad hoc* basis through a system of informal training and, more specifically, of internal sponsorship. Does this system work to the disadvantage of the Francophones?

Informal training depends to a large extent upon personal contact and communication. For the new entrant to acquire the necessary experience and for his superiors to assess his abilities correctly, there must be successful communication between them. In social relationships, it is difficult to deny that a successful bond is more likely to be developed between persons of similar backgrounds and interests. Contact here is easier and more natural.

To the extent that this "rule" operates, the implications for ethnic relations are clear. Persons of non-English background have different interests, and often, language of communication, which would tend to work against successful informal relations. There are very few explicit statements about this point in our interviews, but some indications exist that the rule may have some basis in fact. Only one Francophone in our sample, an F.O. 4, noted the discrepancy of interests between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians, but his is a significant view:

Les Canadiens français n'ont pas les mêmes goûts pour les activités, donc ils [les francophones et les anglophones] ne se rencontrent pas. . . . Ces contacts sont très importants surtout avec les supérieurs.

Later he goes further:

[On doit] se faire connaître par les gens qui auront à choisir les gens futurs. . . . Mais l'effort du supérieur anglais sera moindre pour connaître l'individu français que l'individu anglais.

One other respondent, falling below the range of our sample, makes a similar point. His opinion cannot be taken as typical but is nevertheless worth quoting in illustration:

Au début. . . je prenais des repas avec des collègues ou même des supérieurs mais je me suis vite rendu compte que nous n'avions pas les mêmes préoccupations, les mêmes point d'intérêt.

If personal rapport is not developed, as the respondents would seem to suggest, then a large part of the socialization process of the Finance Officer and of his integration into the department is lost. It

is probable that the system of sponsorship operating within the department of Finance has a built-in bias against Francophones. If this is true, then it is almost certainly not often the result of conscious discrimination but rather the unintentional result of the "natural structure" of human relationships in a department where informal training has a special function.²⁰

There is a further point, not entirely unrelated. If rapport is not established between the Francophones and their Anglophone colleagues and superiors, identification with those ideals of the department referred to earlier is more difficult for them. They may not feel themselves caught up in the challenge and excitement of a fast-moving department; instead, they may feel disillusioned. This, perhaps, is the significance of the remark by an F.O. 4 that "en théorie" he transferred to Finance for more interesting work. He offers an interesting contrast, for example, to the F.O. 2 who is "still enthusiastic about my move to Finance from university" after two years in the department.

The number of cases is far too small for any conclusions on this point to be reached. No more than a tentative suggestion can be made. However, it is possible that one reason for the scarcity of Francophones in the department of Finance may be that they are unwilling to undergo the sense of alienation and the difficult human relationships that usually are the by-products of taking on a new language and social identity.²¹

J. The Department and Bilingualism and Biculturalism

The previous section discussed some possible causes for present Francophone underrepresentation in the department of Finance. The all-important question remains as to how far the department would be prepared to accommodate efforts to counter these.

The views of the Finance Officers on the French issue are generally intelligent and sophisticated. An effort is made on every level to see the complexity of the problem and to be objective in any evaluation of it. The result is a diversity of opinions in which it is possible to pinpoint a few recurring themes.

The Finance department gives every impression of seeing the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism as political problems and of considering it "politically necessary" to achieve some resolution. This may be the result of the department's Senior Officers' reading of the political situation in their capacity as policy advisors. An unusually explicit statement on this point comes from a senior man in reply to the question of whether the language difference would affect his future chances for promotion:

Perhaps not strictly the language difference. We have an English minister and an English A.D.M. and three non-French directors in our branch. It is important now that we have a French Canadian—not a French-speaker; the two are quite different problems.

The import of the remark made by one senior official that he would like to have a Francophone on the staff "as a matter of principle" is similar, as are the implications of another director's stating that it would be desirable to have more Francophones because of the understanding of Quebec that they would bring to the department. This would, he said, be a great gain "apart from the general political advantage."

Are the two Francophone directors, for example, regarded as valuable political assets? There is no suggestion that they are figure-heads in the sense in which a Francophone would appear to be in the department of Agriculture: a titular head with few actual powers.²² Both are recognized to be extremely able men. But sufficient ambiguity remains in the various reactions to them to raise at least some doubt as to their value as Francophones to the department. It is possible that their position makes it easy for the department subtly to deny the existence of a Francophone personnel problem as far as it is concerned. It becomes possible to point out that all routes are open to all candidates because "two of the directors are French Canadian." But it is also possible that this may block further thought on the question.

Passing reference was made above to the concept of a Francophone contribution to the federal government. A considerable number of officers take up this point. A division director, for example, agrees that:

It is desirable to have French Canadians on the staff. . . . More specifically, it would help in working on such things as the ARDA programme in Quebec; a French Canadian might find his way through more easily. Or he might have friends or contacts which would facilitate the work.

An F.O. 6 in the Tariff division and an officer in International Economic Relations echo his point:

In another sense, a knowledge of Quebec is essential to the Tariff division, and having someone here with an understanding not so much of the problems but of the local mores perhaps would be valuable.

It would be useful to have someone who knew something about Quebec and who had contacts inside the Quebec government.

However, an important distinction is repeatedly made between someone's bringing special knowledge of an area to the department and coming as a representative of that area: "If a civil servant considers himself to be a representative, this is not much good." On this point of regional knowledge versus regional representation one director says that, while it is helpful if people have different geographic backgrounds, this is not to say that people should be hired for geographic reasons. He is voicing the recurring concern that exists within the department that, as one Finance Officer sees it, "the merit system will suffer if it is relaxed in the direction of parity representation." This echoes the sentiments of A. F. W. Plumptre who wrote soon after he left the department that: "It is

difficult to imagine anything more divisive, and hence more dangerous, to our public service than a notion that individuals drawn from the various regions should consider themselves as representatives of, i.e. spokesmen for, the public will in those regions. . . . Such a procedure would undermine the authority of the elected representatives and of responsible government itself."²³ Senior officials see the problem as one of putting people who are qualified but who also have the "right name" into senior positions. At first sight this might appear to contradict the apparent acceptance of the political expediency of such measures. But the emphasis is upon the qualifications. Finance wishes to retain its high standards. As long as they are not jeopardized it is willing to make concessions. The concern of the department on this point becomes particularly significant in view of the repeated insistence that there are not many Francophones qualified in the relevant areas of experience, and that those so qualified are often not able or willing to come to Ottawa.

Note that the emphasis is almost exclusively upon the "bicultural" aspects of the French-Canadian situation. Thinking in Finance is focussed upon the problems of the two cultures coexisting and interacting usefully, and especially upon the political considerations implied by this. Finance Officers, then, display an unusual departure from the greater part of the Public Service who are concerned most with the "bilingual" problem. Most public servants phrase the problem in terms of "the language requirement" or "having to speak French in my job."

In part this is the result of the sophistication of thought of the Finance Officers. But it is also the result of a refusal, or an inability, to consider the French *language* viable within the structure of the department as it is at present; or to consider very seriously that this structure may change.²⁴ This largely accounts for the other major qualification evident within Finance's thinking. One

Table 12.11
General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism among Anglophone middle-level Finance Officers and all Anglophone middle-level officers (percentages)

Reaction to the emphasis					
	<i>N</i>	Sympathetic	Apathetic	Hostile	Total
Anglophone					
Finance Officers	23	56.6	21.7	21.7	100.0
All Anglophone					
middle-level					
officers	168	41.7	28.6	29.7	100.0

director makes the point adequately:

I hope we never get to the position where the speaking of French is forced and artificial. I do not like the terrible waste involved in doing things in two languages just for the sake of two languages.

Support for this view comes from the lower ranks of the department as expressed by an F.O. 3:

I'm concerned that too much of "formal" value may be placed on the language, especially in competitions where French has no relation to the job in question. I've seen one like that in Economic Analysis. It is a disadvantage to the efficiency of the department.

Again the concern is with standards of workmanship.

The emphasis put upon these negative factors may have been misleading. The overall tone of the department is one of sympathy and understanding for the French-Canadian situation. The realities of it, and of it being a "long hard struggle" are accepted determinedly.²⁵ It is true to say that at least among the very senior officials there is no evidence whatsoever of open hostility or deliberate discrimination. Among the Finance Officers the predominant feeling is of sympathy: they are significantly more sympathetic than the average public servant (Table 12.11).

It is probable in fact that, as long as standards are not affected, the Finance department will prove generally accommodative to any measures that may be taken to remedy the present Francophone imbalance. That some respondents are merely reading the political barometer, is inevitable, but a large part of the department's attitude would appear to stem from real concern.

In this chapter, the career patterns, attitudes, and perspectives of the research scientists in the department of Agriculture are outlined. First, the work context of the research scientist is discussed in a short profile of the Research branch of the department of Agriculture, its organization, and function. This will be followed by a lengthy consideration of the research scientist within this work setting.

A. Research Structure and Personnel

In virtually no other government department is there such a large concentration of scientific experts doing basic research. The Annual Report of the department estimates that approximately one-fifth of the total staff of the department has specialized training in the science of agriculture or a related field; most of these specialists work in the Research branch, which has a total establishment of about 3,800 (*see* Figure 13.1).

The Research branch was formed in 1959, by bringing together the staffs of the Experimental Farm service, and the Science service. The Annual Report outlines the organization and function of the Research branch:

The Research Branch has establishments in localities representing the main soil and climatic areas of Canada. It conducts a broad programme of research on problems selected for their regional or national importance. The staffs cooperate with their counterparts in universities and provincial departments of agriculture in providing research information required to aid Canadian farmers in producing maximum yields of high-quality products for home consumption and export.

The Branch has nine research institutes, seven of them in Ottawa. They supply basic information to field establishments and study selected problems common to a large part of Canada. The research stations, farms and laboratories, which comprise the field establishments are situated in major agricultural areas of Canada.

Many of the findings at these centres are used by provincial and regional organizations in preparing guides to agriculture.

Dr. J.A. Anderson, director general of the Research branch of the department of Agriculture at the time of our study, estimated that 70 per cent of all agricultural research done in Canada is done by the Research branch. The rest is done by universities and provincial governments. These three communities work in close collaboration.

The Research branch, more specifically, carries out research in the four broad areas of soils, crops, animals, and crop protection.¹ In soil surveys, the types of soils which have developed in various areas are examined and their fertility and the type of management required to give maximum efficiency in food production are determined. Crop research involves measuring the qualitative and quantitative improvement of Canadian crops. The emphasis in animal research is on producing and selecting animals which are efficient in converting livestock feeds into high quality human food, and on feeding and managing them economically so that their production is maintained at the highest possible level. The crop protection programme is designed to improve the efficiency and stability of agricultural production by seeking immediate, empirical solutions to individual pest problems and by developing the knowledge needed for more lasting solutions.

There are other research personnel scattered throughout other branches and divisions of the department as well. In the Economics division, a staff of professional economists provides research and advisory services for departmental policies and programmes, and conducts research leading to more efficient agricultural production and marketing, and improvement of farm living conditions. In the Plant Products division of the Production and Marketing branch, a research staff maintains laboratories which provide certain analytical services to the branch on products sampled by the inspectors. In the Health of Animals branch, minor research is carried on in the Contagious Diseases and Meat Inspection divisions, and a major contribution is made by the laboratories of the Animal Pathology division. Here research is conducted on diseases capable of causing significant losses of livestock, and on the development and improvement of tests for disease detection.

The personnel employed in research in the department of Agriculture are regularly classed as Research Officers, Veterinarians, Economists, and Technical Officers. The one outstanding fact about this group of personnel is the high average level of education. Approximately 50 per cent of the researchers in the department have doctorates.

The Research Officers comprise the main body of research personnel. Designation as a Research Officer is based on the criteria of educational level and scientific reputation. These are the men who carry out the bulk of the department's research. A large number of Technical Officers work in the same milieu as the professional scientists, carrying out scientific research under the direct supervision of the Research Officers. While most Research Officers have a Ph.D.,

the Technical Officer usually has only a high school education, though he may occasionally have undergraduate university education. But he may aspire to the position of Research Officer, and does sometimes reach that classification. Technical Officers carry out lab tests under the direction of the Research Officer, or, in some cases, direct their own specialized labs for carrying out these tests.

B. The Promotion System

On the first of October, 1965, new classes of Research Scientist 1-3 and Principal Research Scientist were introduced to replace the old Research Officer classification. Under the new classifications it was decided that recognition should be given to the status of the individual scientist, and should therefore be based largely on evaluation by competent scientists of the scientific contribution of the individual. Salary progression would be related closely to the individual's demonstrated performance as a research scientist. In the administration of the new classification, the most important role would be played by an appraisal committee which would evaluate the individual's contribution. At regular intervals the appraisal committees would review the performance of all scientists within their jurisdiction to make recommendations on in-grade salary increments and promotions. All promotions into the highest grade of the new system would be reviewed by a senior appraisal committee composed of scientists, including at least two distinguished scientists from outside the ranks of the Public Service.

The committee is instructed to assess individual scientists on the basis of scientific performance as evidenced by: the quality and quantity of publications and appropriate products of personal research; scientific reputation and contacts; and scientific consultation and advisory activity, and/or the direction of research.

The new classes, Research Scientist 1-3 and Principal Research Scientist, together make four stages in a career. The aim of the work in this career is the extension of existing scientific knowledge or the production of novel or original scientific processes. The career path is reserved for those persons performing professionally responsible research, either independently, as a supervisor or research team leader, or, in some cases, as a director of a major segment of the organization devoted to research. The department of Agriculture is in the process of applying this new classification and is moving all of its research staff into this career pattern.

It seems worthwhile to look for a moment at an example of the terms of reference for promotion. For a Research Scientist 2, the grade controlling factors are:

(1) *Productivity*—authorship or equal co-authorship of a substantial number of scientific papers of good quality, which show evidence of maturity and soundness of research; or authorship of a smaller number of scientific papers of exceptional quality showing

evidence of unusual originality and insight; or tangible evidence of mature research productivity of other appropriate types.

(2) *Contacts*—wide acquaintance or correspondence among experts in appropriate fields would normally be expected; membership and sometimes holding office in professional societies would be normal.

(3) *Status*—a fully qualified and mature scientist, or an exceptionally accomplished young scientist, such as would hold the rank of associate professor in a recognized university; an expert of national and usually international reputation in his field.

C. The Interviewed Sample

Department of Agriculture personnel selected for interviewing were those who engaged in activities that fell within the definitions of research used by the United Nations:

(a) Basic research is analysis, exploration, or experimentation directed to the extension of knowledge of the general principles governing natural and social phenomena.

(b) Applied research is the extension of basic research to the determination of generally accepted processes with a view to specific application generally involving the devising of specified products, processes, techniques, or devices.

(c) Developmental research is the adaptation of research to experimental demonstration or for clinical purposes, including experimental production and testing of models, devices, equipment, materials, procedures, and processes.

Under these definitions, 46 research scientists were identified in our study; 30 were Anglophone, 16 were Francophone.

Thirty of the research scientists in the group are classified by the Civil Service Commission as Research Officers or, under the new classification now being brought into effect, Research Scientists. Of these, 18 were Anglophone, 12 Francophone. In addition, three Economists, two Research Directors, and one Chemist were included in the "Research Officer" sample. The total group of 46 also contained 10 Technical Officers whose work was considered to closely approximate that of the professional research scientists.² It was from the interviews with these 46 research scientists in the department of Agriculture that the largest body of information for this study was drawn.

In the discussion immediately following no distinction is drawn between Francophone and Anglophone respondents. Any statistical results presented are "weighted" so that the Anglophone sample, which represents a much larger number of persons than the Francophone sample, is given extra weight.

D. Social Background of the Researchers

1. Early milieu

There appears to be a high degree of consistency in the backgrounds of the research scientists in the department of Agriculture. Understandably, there is great variation between individuals. For example, certain of the sample come from large cities; others come from small towns or farming communities. The research scientist comes from anywhere across Canada, and often enters the department from other countries: Britain, Hungary, or Pakistan, for example.³ The head of the family in which the researcher grew up may have been anything from a skilled surgeon to a semi-skilled tradesman or farm labourer; his salary may have ranged from \$1,200 up, his education from some primary school to a doctorate.

Nevertheless, there are clearly definable threads of coincidence in the backgrounds of research scientists made clear by the statistical evidence. From the data, it is possible to construct a reliable picture of the activities of the research scientist before he entered the department of Agriculture.

While it is apparent that the research scientists are drawn from almost every rank and social class in Canada, one fact does stand out: a significant proportion of them lived on a farm during their formative years (Table 13.1): about 22 per cent come from farm backgrounds, compared to 13 per cent of middle-level personnel.

Further, those who come from areas of population density of less than 50,000 make up 47 per cent of the total group of research scientists, while the proportion in the middle level coming from this type of area is 35.5 per cent (Table 13.2). But these two tables do not tell the whole story: a glance through the interviews shows that a fairly large number spent the summers working or living with relatives on a farm.

Although it is difficult to define any positive correlation, there appears to be some connection between the incidence of farm experience and the entry into the field of agriculture because of the appeal of the work itself, not for any monetary benefits or security derived from it. This connection will be discussed under *Occupational choice*. The suggestion of a correlation of these two dimensions may be, however, only a variation of the simple idea that usually one enters an occupational field in which one has had some kind of previous experience.

2. Education

It has been noted previously that about 50 per cent of the 900 Research Officers in the Research branch of the department of Agriculture have doctorates. All of the Francophones in the Ottawa region whom we interviewed, and eight in 10 of the Anglophones, have a

Table 13.1

Social class background of middle-level research officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Social class background			
		Middle class and higher	Working	Farm	Total
Research Officers	36	47.2	30.6	22.2	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	55.1	31.8	13.1	100.0

Table 13.2

Size of place of origin (as of 1941) of middle-level Research Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Size of place of origin			
		50,000 or more	Under 50,000	Not determined	Total
Research Officers	36	44.5	47.2	8.3	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	60.5	35.5	4.0	100.0

postgraduate degree (Table 13.3). Not all of the postgraduate degrees are Ph.D.'s, however. There are several who have D.M.V.'s (Veterinary Medicine), or M.Sc.'s. These advanced degrees are taken almost entirely in the field of agriculture, with specialization in one major field of interest such as horticulture, apiculture, entomology, or soils (Table 13.4).

Among the Technical Officers a bachelor's degree is uncommon; usually the Technical Officer has only senior matriculation, supplemented by some night or extension courses in his special field of work.

The research scientist is not often very active in extracurricular activities during his college years. Athletics is often the total extent of his extracurricular effort in this period. Most of his time appears to be spent working in the university lab, or with his books. This tendency seems to manifest itself in relatively high marks during his years of formal education.

Table 13.3

Level of education attained by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	N	Level of education			Total
		No university degree	Under-graduate degree	Graduate or postgraduate degree	
<i>Research Officers</i>					
Francophones	13	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Anglophones	23	0.0	17.4	82.6	100.0
<i>Technical Officers</i>					
Francophones	3	3	0	0	3
Anglophones	7	5	2	0	7
<i>All middle-level officers</i>					
Francophones	128	36.0	36.7	27.3	100.0
Anglophones	168	28.0	41.1	30.9	100.0

3. Summer jobs

As a student, the research scientist, like any other student, has to earn money in the summer, often taking what is available or what will bring in the most money. However, a very high proportion of research scientists held summer jobs related to their present positions, interests, or skills. Of the 46 in the sample, 16 worked for the federal department of Agriculture at various stations throughout the country; seven laboured on farms for part of their working summers; and another 14 worked in related settings: in university laboratories, federal government departments, and large corporations. Only 10 held summer jobs unrelated to agriculture. Of these 10, five are Technical Officers. Obviously, the department of Agriculture has tremendous implications for recruitment into the department.

4. Occupational choice

We now come to the more difficult problem of assessing the reasons for the occupational choice of the research scientists. It seems that the research scientist commonly enters the field because he has an intense interest in nature or farm life. The most broad suggestion of this was made by a 34-year-old Research Officer 2:

Table 13.4

Type of educational specialization of middle-level Research and Technical Officers (percentages)

Educational specialization	Research Officers
Economics	2.8
Biological Sciences	36.1
Physical Sciences	19.4
Mathematics - Statistics	5.6
Agriculture	19.4
Medical	11.1
Commerce	5.6
Total	100.0 (N=36)

Educational specialization	Technical Officers
General Arts	10.0
General Science	20.0
Agriculture	10.0
Technical diploma	20.0
No university degree	40.0
Total	100.0 (N=10)

I had a clear idea of what I wanted to do from childhood on. I was born on a farm, and wanted to do something connected with it. An RO 4 aged 43 phrased it more poetically:

I was nature oriented. . . . I didn't want the humdrum of farm life, but I did want a close tie with nature. There is also a strong indication that this sentiment is not lacking among the Technical Officers:

Entomology is something you go into because it is a hobby.

The research scientist is often directed toward the field of agriculture by a teacher or a parent who is in the same field. Thus, a childhood hobby or interest, often nurtured by an adult, becomes a full-time occupation. The 10-year-old bug collector becomes an internationally renowned entomologist.

There are naturally deviations from this general pattern which appear to have strong, though not overriding, importance in motivating the research scientist toward the field of agriculture. One important factor which should be mentioned here is the fact that a B.Sc.

in Agriculture is often cheaper than other related courses, like Medicine. In some cases, the degree in Agriculture is free, such as the one which is offered by the school at St. Hyacinthe, P.Q.

During or soon after he has finished his basic education, the student of agriculture confronts positive attractions towards pure research, as well as equally strong negative "pushes" away from other fields. The strongest positive motivation is the desire to do research for research's sake. This interest is often discovered in the last year of undergraduate work, and thus acts to motivate the research scientist to undertake graduate work in his specialized field. One Hungarian RO 4 stated:

The only thing I planned and still plan to do is good quality research.

There are few statements as explicit as this one, but this motivational factor is strongly indicated by the fact that the main reason for joining the department of Agriculture given by many of the research scientists is that it is the only place in Canada which offers research opportunities with broad scope and freedom.⁴

The negative factors might also be denoted the "elimination method" of occupational choice. For a person who has done undergraduate or graduate work in a specialized field of agriculture, there are only a few areas of work open. He can teach at universities like Laval, the University of Guelph, or University of British Columbia; he can work for an industrial concern in applied research; or he can do basic research, in which there are few positions available, and those are chiefly in the department of Agriculture. For various reasons the agricultural graduate often rejects the first two choices open to him:

I wanted an opportunity to work in a research organization without being burdened by teaching and extensive duties of this sort.

At some time we all have to make the choice between industry and research. They [industry] talked only of money and not the job. To that extent, it wasn't a better opportunity.

Dans l'industrie on ne fait pas ce qui nous intéresse.

One common attitude towards industry was stated as follows by an RO 2 aged 43:

I felt like doing something more than being responsible for producing something.

He was seconded by a 33-year-old RO 3:

I have been biased against industry because of the necessity of pushing products.

In this case, the research scientist makes a conscious choice between two or three possibilities, and, either because he likes the type of work involved in research or because he does not like the pressures, demands, or characteristics of the other possibilities in agriculture, or for both reasons, he selects research.

5. Previous work history

The research scientist spends relatively little time in jobs outside the Public Service: those in our sample had worked an average of 3.4 years before entering, compared with 3.9 years for the total middle level.⁵ Furthermore, 26 of the 46 officers in the sample had held no job, or only one job, before entering the Public Service. The relatively low incidence of previous work history before entering is apparently easily explained, as it was by an RO 2 of 34:

There is no other organization in Canada doing food research to the extent of this Institute. If there was a large company doing this type of work, I would go with them.

An RO 3 of 45 expressed it thus:

There is very limited opportunity in my field. I could not have done it elsewhere.

And a 35-year-old RS commented:

A cause de ma spécialité, je me devais pratiquement de travailler sur une ferme expérimentale. Dans l'industrie, il y a moins de possibilités.

However, while most research scientists enter the department of Agriculture soon after graduation, there is another group of scientists who enter the department only after a period of a few years and several jobs. This movement seems to be indicative only of the dissatisfaction evinced by many research scientists with research opportunities outside the Public Service. The scientist in this group moves from job to job before joining the department of Agriculture, but it is apparent that once in the department, he settles down. The average length of service of the research scientist in the federal Service is relatively high (about 10 years). And it must be kept in mind that the research scientist begins his working career later than the average public servant because he stays longer at university in pursuit of a postgraduate degree.

To sum up, it might be said that the majority of the research scientists in the department of Agriculture have had little experience outside the department, primarily because of the lack of real opportunities in research outside the federal administration. Those research scientists who have tasted life outside the Public Service try out a number of posts in quick succession, then join the Public Service to rid themselves of unwanted pressures, and the responsibilities of applied research or teaching. This is not, however, to imply that they are retreating from reality in any way. It is a positive entrance into the type of job which is most satisfying to the research scientist.

E. Reasons for Joining the Public Service

The department of Agriculture has apparently evolved a highly efficient system of sponsorship in the recruitment of scientific personnel in the department (Table 13.5). Sixty-two per cent of the

Table 13.5
Chief means by which middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers gained entry to the department in which they are currently employed (percentages)

Means of gaining entry to the department					
	N	Contacts*	Previous analogous experience	Other or non-classifiable	Total
Research Scientists	46	62.2	7.2	30.6	100.0
All middle-level Officers	296	22.0	2.0	76.0	100.0

*The individuals in this category entered the department by either:
a) *sponsorship or contacts* - the individual is recommended for a job by someone inside the department, or is nominated by an outsider who has some influence on whether or not the individual gets the job.
or
b) *summer work* - the individual has worked in the department for a summer, liked the work, and decided that he would like to make it a full-time proposition.
or
c) *both of the above*.

research scientists in our sample are drawn into the department of Agriculture either through their previous contacts with the department in summer jobs or through personal contact with senior personnel. Another 7 per cent come into the department from analogous positions in the departments of Agriculture in other countries which have put them in contact with personnel in the Canadian department. These particular mechanisms thus are used to draw valuable research personnel into the department.

The research scientist, because he is highly educated, is more often drawn to a position by "work factors," rather than "benefit factors." As previously mentioned, there is a connection between a "work orientation" and specialist work, while "benefit factors" are more important to the "institutionalists" or "organizationalists" who identify with the affairs of the organization.

The data definitely show that the research scientist is drawn to the Public Service for the jobs which it can offer, and not for the organizational benefits which may accrue. The latter, although important, are still secondary considerations to the research scientist. Of the sample of 46, 53 per cent said that they joined the Public Service because it offered unique occupational opportunities (Table 13.6). Another 14 per cent which might be added to this group,

Table 13.6

Reasons for joining the Public Service given by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	N	Reason for joining the Public Service			Total
		Public Service offers unique occupational opportunities	Only job available	Other reasons	
Research Scientists	46	53.0	13.7	33.3	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	17.9	11.1	71.0	100.0

said that the Public Service made the only job offer at the time they sought employment. This could be attributed to the vicissitudes of trying to find a post in a small, high specialized field. Underlying the idea of the unique occupational opportunities which draw the research scientist into the Public Service are the freedom and autonomy apparently enjoyed by the researchers, the ability to specialize to a high degree in basic research, and the enjoyment of certain facilities that are usually hard to get and maintain. As one scientist states:

For the Civil Service itself, I don't care for it one way or the other. I came here because of the research facilities and the salary. The security, I don't need. With a Ph.D. and experience I could get a job anywhere.

An RS 1 of 44 expressed similar thoughts:

Je n'ai aucun "sentiment" envers le gouvernement fédéral; c'est pas que j'aime ça ici, la fonction publique, mais c'est que je peux y faire de la recherche fondamentale.

Another research scientist, an RO 2, phrased it thus:

It was a position that I liked: tree and root stocks. This was always interesting to me because I had worked in orchards from the time that I was able to drag a ladder. . . . It wasn't much money, but that didn't matter. I've always been like that: it is the job that is important, and not the money.

These statements suggest explicitly the separation of task from benefit factors and indicate that the concern of the scientist is usually with the former when he joins the department of Agriculture.

F. The Public Service Career

1. Career orientation

Once in the Public Service, does the research scientist maintain this emphasis on the job, or does he become aware of the benefits which might accrue from belonging to an organization and having a relatively stable job?

As indicated in the Introduction, the "specialist," contrasted with "institutionalist," is more likely to see his career unfolding in a specialized skill, to stress task-oriented factors, and to demand that tasks be suited to personal skills. A "specialist" is *content* bound, rather than *place* bound. His major interest is the job, not the organization. In addition, specialists are also likely to be "cosmopolitans," oriented toward seeking status within their professional group, and therefore likely to be low on loyalty to the employing organization.

In attempting to define the career orientation of the research scientist in the department of Agriculture using this conception, it is immediately apparent that these scientists do not fit the model. The technical and research respondents, while apparently primarily concerned with the work and not tending to identify with the organization to a great extent, are also "local-oriented" in the sense that in their particular field there are few other employers who offer parallel advantages in terms of salary, facilities, opportunity for research, and recognition in Canada. Therefore, while not specifically identifying with the organization and its goals, the research scientists must perforce work within its boundaries. From this flows the enthusiasm and gratitude displayed by many of the research scientists towards their employer, the department of Agriculture.

Thus, while the research scientist strongly identifies with specialized role skills, and certainly uses outer reference groups, there is an extremely high commitment to the organization *per se* for what it can offer in the support and promotion of the professional role. One RS 2 of 31 stated the case thus:

Pour le travail qui m'intéressait, les probabilités [de travailler en dehors de la fonction publique] sont bien limitées. . . . J'y tiens tout à fait [à mon travail] et je suis resté ici car c'est un endroit de travail idéal.

The apparent contradiction between affirming both a specialist and a local orientation is evident in the following two statements. When asked how committed she was to the Public Service at the moment, an RS 3 replied:

I wouldn't feel committed if I found anything more interesting but I think this is unlikely. The possibilities are industry or teaching: I'm not really interested in either. Any move would be to another government department. The question of whether it is the Civil Service or not, is not applicable. The question of the work area is.

The same question put to a Research Director 2 elicited this response:
I am fully committed. . . . The opportunities outside are limited.
I've no real interest in either industry or university teaching.

Apparently then, as far as the career orientation of the research scientist is concerned, it is possible to say that while he appears to place the major emphasis on the content of his work, he is still basically loyal to the organization itself. This is brought out by the fact that 63 per cent of the researchers state that they are "committed" to a career in Public Service, close to the average for the total middle level (Table 13.7). On the other hand, some do suggest that there could be career opportunities in other areas such as teaching and industry. There appears, however, on a careful reading of the interviews, to be recurring emphasis in the responses which largely confirms that there is little wavering sentiment present on the part of the research scientists concerning their commitment to the Public Service. A majority are fully committed to the organization and claim that there is for the most part no appropriate work setting for them elsewhere.⁶

There is yet another dimension which must be discussed in regard to career orientation. Usually a "specialist" would look forward to years of work in non-administrative positions. However, a person with a technical orientation may see his career unfolding within a particular organization and often leading on to administrative duties. By the same token, someone with a managerial orientation does not automatically take over an institutionalist point of view in which he identifies with the organization and its goal, uses the organization as the principal frame of reference for his career, and feels that he will remain in the organization. In short, a technical specialist may aspire either to a "place-bound," institutional career or to a career which is not defined in terms of administrative posts within a particular organization. This conclusion appears to be justified by the findings which follow.

It appears that the research scientist in the department of Agriculture tends to stress the technical rather than the managerial skills. This may be only natural, as it is in this area that the greater part of his training and experience lie. This tendency was expressed in two ways in the interview. First, when asked to define the primary skills he employs in his job, the research scientist emphasizes above all the technical skills: "technical and scientific knowledge" or "technical competence." Second, when asked to define his future progress, the research scientist generally tends to make the distinction between research and administrative possibilities very explicit. And most often the research scientist states firmly his desire to remain in research and to avoid administration if possible. One RS 3, who at one time was approached to take an administrative position, says that she avoided it:

I like the work I'm doing now, even enough to stay here rather than going into administration. The salary is not that important.

Table 13.7

Degree of commitment of middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers to continuing their careers in the federal Public Service (percentages)

		Degree of commitment			Total
	<i>N</i>	Firmly or mildly committed	Indifferent or have definite plans to leave	Undecided or other	
Research Scientists	46	63.0	17.4	19.6	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	66.6	16.7	16.7	100.0

An RO 2 of 37 with no apparent aspiration for an administrative position put it thus:

In research you don't have to reach a certain level, and then need to continue on a new level for it to be interesting. You are always doing something interesting.

Or very simply, as a 40-year-old TO 5 put it:

I would move into an administrative position, but I prefer to be in a technical one.

Or again, an RS 1 of 35 stated:

Ce qui me regarde, c'est mes recherches. . . . Si j'étais directeur, obligé de mettre trop de temps à l'administration, pas assez à ma recherche. . . .

But it must be noted that it is not possible to suggest a pure dedication to technical knowledge and competence, although this does seem to have a greater emphasis in most cases. On the other hand, a surprising number make either tenuous or overt suggestions that they might be interested in greater managerial-administrative duties. It should be stressed, however, that when many of these scientists speak of administration, it is administration of a special sort. The model administrator in their eyes is the senior scientist who supervises and stimulates a "team" that works under him.

I would like to get into an administrative post eventually, but I want to postpone it for another ten years.

Eventually, I hope to get into administration, to get a responsible directive position. But this is later. At present I want to have some fun doing research.

Others were actually enthusiastic about administrative functions.

One RO 2 with some supervisory experience said:

I like supervisory work though. It's fun dealing with people.

Another, now at the TO 4 level, stated:

If I stay in the government, I want to get into administration positions and more responsibility. I should be given more responsibility and more money with my experience and background.

Further, when the research scientist is asked about the skills required for his job, he mentions as a close second to technical competence the ability to get along well with other people, the ability to plan and organize, to direct a programme, the "ability to assess people." These skills are surely thought to be more concomitant with managerial rather than strictly technical orientations. One RS 2 went so far as to say:

If they don't have administrative skills, they won't go far.

This fact appears to have certain implications for the study of these scientists as part of a bureaucratic organization; there are two particular points concerning the situation which should be made. The first is an apparent lack of real tension between the administrative branches and the scientists working in the Research branch. Criticism of the administrators by the research scientist appears quite rarely in the interviews and indeed is found almost solely where the topic of ethnicity or bilingualism is being considered.

Secondly, and apparently closely related to the point made above in terms of causality, is the fact that the department of Agriculture appears to have evolved a satisfactory ranking system which tends to reduce conflict between the scientist and the administrator. To begin with, the administrative branches work separately from the research branches for the most part. The research group does research and develops methods to assist the administrative group; the administrative group interprets the research to the public. Neither group interacts to any great extent with the other.

To be sure, there are administrators connected to the Research branch—Personnel and Administrative Officers. But for the most part the research scientist appears to be personally affected only by his Research Director. The Research Director is usually drawn from the ranks of the research scientists, and he tends to remain just as concerned with basic research as with administrative details. Thus a system has evolved with a Research Director at the top, administering the research scientists. And it is important to note here in examining the organizational structure that the research scientist in his own milieu is of equal importance and prestige to his administrative counterparts in the department. As a 40-year-old TO 5 suggests:

There are really only two alternatives: you can pursue the scientific aspects or you can gradually work into administration. . . . Now you don't have to be in administration for higher pay. . . .

There may often be an administrator who is paid less than you are. This statement is supported by another from an RO 2 of 31:

At the present time, you can go nearly as far in research as you can in administration.

In this respect, then, in this department, certain factors tending generally to produce dissatisfaction among professional employees have been reduced. The prestige of the research scientist is not inferior to that of the administrative employee. Also, the availability of the post of Research Director provides an outlet for those with administrative ambitions who do not want to move out of the research field.

2. Career Style

From the point of view of career style, how does the research scientist approach his career? The dimensions of career style defined by Schein and his associates⁷ can be applied effectively to this study.

Movement - Non-Movement

With respect to the question of moving up through the ranks of the Public Service, the research scientist appears generally to desire promotion, but does not tend to seek it aggressively or consciously. Transfer to other departments or through various branches of the department is to a large extent impossible for reasons discussed earlier.

Additional responsibilities are for the most part welcomed because they are generally concomitant with influence, and influence is the most desirable goal for the research scientist. Influence here does not imply power, but rather prestige, reputation, and the collection of disciples. This desire for influence is expressed explicitly in several ways:

To become an RS 3 or RS 4 requires international recognition, and my new projects are progressing well, so that I have good chances to get this recognition and hence to move into top research positions.

I see at least two more promotions in the RS classification. I expect to increase my publications by a good bit now with my experience behind me. I shall acquire more status at the international level.

A respondent self-designated as "avant tout un scientifique," stated: Ici, j'essaie d'établir des contacts avec le monde international, les congrès internationaux. J'envisage une renommée internationale, publier dans les revues.

These are, admittedly, strong expressions of the ultimate goal of the research scientist. However, less grandiose statements generally seem to reinforce the idea that the research scientist is a "mover," and is not content to rest in one rank or one job for too long:

My plan is to continue on the administrative side of research. . . . I hope this will lead fairly high.

I would hope to become at least a section head in my work.

To summarize, it is not possible to assume that the research scientist is any less interested in or ambitious for increase in responsibility and influence than other career types. The difference lies only in the fact that the research scientist is more concerned with increases in the task content of his work; he tends to minimize the importance of increases in such marginal benefits as salary and security:

People can't express progress in any other way except in terms of money or title. In research though, a title doesn't mean a thing. My ambition is to do the best quality research possible. The title or money doesn't make that much difference.

The research scientist is very aware of the criteria of promotion, and actively seeks to improve himself according to these standards.

Active - Passive

For the research scientist, as we have seen, promotion through the ranks of the department of Agriculture is largely based on reputation and prestige within the larger scientific community. Those who reach the top positions in the Public Service ranks are those who have created international prestige for themselves, and then are promoted by the employing organization. Thus, in the case of the research scientist, there is no *need* to manipulate the immediate environment. Rather, if he is active within the scientific community, his promotions seem to take care of themselves. A simple statement of this fact was made by one RO 3:

In the research field, the top scientists and the top civil servants are the same thing.

This activist attitude with regard to the scientific community appears to be deeply rooted. The most obvious manifestations of this attitude is the "publish or perish syndrome." Seven out of 10 research scientists publish, or assist in the publication of, at least one article per year (Table 13.8). The importance of publishing is stated most succinctly by an RO 2 who just recently joined the department:

As far as getting ahead in the *research field* though, it's a case of "publish or perish." We're required to turn out some worthwhile publication in a year. It must be of sufficient quantity and quality. It is on this that we advance.

The research scientist also continually emphasizes the importance of scientific societies in getting ahead in the Public Service (Table 13.9). The scientific organizations allow the research scientist to publish and keep abreast of the top men and new ideas in his own field. Conferences play a similar role (Table 13.10). One RO 3 stated the importance of this type of activity as follows:

If you are active in professional societies and become better known, this helps in advancement.

His statement is supported by another RO 3:

Il faut détenir des positions "exécutives" dans les sociétés professionnelles: ça compte beaucoup sur les promotions.

Table 13.8

Number of articles published in the past year by middle-level research officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Number of articles published			Total
		None	One-two	Three or more	
Research Officers	36	25.7	43.1	31.2	100.0
Technical Officers	10	41.4	34.3	24.3	100.0
Research Scientists	46	29.1	41.2	29.7	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	73.3	17.9	8.8	100.0

Table 13.9

Number of memberships in professional or scientific organizations of middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Number of memberships in organizations			Total
		None	One-two	Three or more	
Research Scientists	46	8.9	29.6	61.5	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	22.0	46.9	31.1	100.0

Table 13.10

Number of professional or scientific conferences attended in the past year by middle-level Research Scientists and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Number of conferences attended			Total
		None	One-two	Three or more	
Research Scientists	46	28.0	45.5	26.5	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	58.8	36.5	4.7	100.0

Paradoxically perhaps, this flurry of activity in the international scientific community is paralleled by a relatively passive attitude toward the immediate environment. The research scientist believes that his activity in the scientific community as a whole is enough to ensure the promotion he desires within the Public Service. Hard work is emphasized, and this, the research scientist seems to believe, is the main criterion for getting ahead, as long as one has the international recognition discussed above:

Much of my success depends on my ability to develop highly structured working methods and my ability to adhere to them.
This remark by a TO 4 was seconded by a TO 5 and an RO 3:

A high level of performance is the main thing in getting to the top.

A man who keeps his nose clean, and works like hell - publishes - will get to the top as quickly as a man with connections.

The research scientist has implicit faith that technical competence, if accompanied by a modicum of personal affability, will be rewarded. But he does recognize at the same time that he must prove himself in the larger outside reference group before recognition comes within the organization itself. This faith in recognition by the Public Service of proven ability is represented in the following remarks of an RS 2 who stressed the importance of a reputation for getting ahead:

I've never really stopped to think about my progress in the Civil Service. . . . Things happen to me. . . . Moves happen and I've no reason to doubt that they will go on happening.

Idealistic - Cynical

On the whole the research scientist is firm in the belief that the whole system of success is based on merit and that rewards are indeed commensurate with merit, except perhaps in the area of salary. Hard work combined with a pleasant personality will produce the desired results. In examining the attitudes of the research scientist toward the promotion system we find that the majority (61 per cent) perceives it as being "fair," a figure close to the average for the total middle level (Table 13.11).

As far as I'm concerned, it's based on my scientific productivity, and I feel this is a sound basis in view of the nature of the work being done here.

Even when a violation of the principles of justice is detected by the research scientist, there appears to be a marked lack of rancour or bitterness in most cases. Instead, odd variations on the theme of criticism appear, in a cool and rational approach to any known injustice:

I think that the promotion is fair to the individual, but maybe not to the employer.

In theory the promotion system is good: in practice it is tailored to the men they want. In such a specialized field as this, it is really the only way it can be done.

Table 13.11

Attitudes toward the promotion system of middle-level Research Officers and all middle-level officers (percentages)

	N	The promotion system is			Total
		"Fair"	"Unfair"	Other*	
Research Officers	36	61.1	16.7	22.2	100.0
All middle-level officers	296	59.8	17.6	22.6	100.0

*Non-committed and not determined.

I'm not 100 per cent satisfied with the promotion system. It takes so darn long. . . . But the good men get ahead, and the poor don't just like anywhere else.

Ses défauts sont des défauts humains.

The idealistic view of the Public Service may be concomitant with and related to the passive attitude of the research scientist regarding Public Service promotion. The research scientist trusts implicitly that hard work and reputation will be rewarded. He has seen little or nothing which would make him doubt this fact. He has only to apply himself diligently to his work for the department and, aided by his international reputation, he will inevitably rise.

G. Perceptions of How to Get Ahead in Research

Having discussed the style with which the research scientist actually approaches his position and work in the Public Service, it seems logical to look for a moment at the other side of the coin. How does the research scientist *perceive* the best way of acting in the interests of career or work success? What does he *perceive* to be rewarded activity? The research scientist will approach his job in a manner related to his personality, experience, and training. This has been discussed above. This is not necessarily connected in any way with the manner he perceives as being necessary and desirable. Here the schema offered by Schein and his associates is useful in examining the researchers' conceptions of "success" and how one gets ahead.

Research scientists emphasize above all technical competence and performance, high education, hard work, and ability. A doctorate is vitally necessary for getting to the top or close to it. Nearly every respondent in the group emphasized this point. Assuming these educational prerequisites, the research scientist believes that to

succeed one must be prepared to work hard and become an expert in a delimited area.

Only average or better ability will do, if you combine that with hard work.

In the mind of the research scientist, technical competence is almost taken for granted, and the main emphasis put on gaining recognition. Over and over again, the data show that the research scientist sees international recognition as the greatest instrument for success. International reputation gives him extended facilities, a more influential position in the organization, and more money. No matter what goal he has set, the research scientist is sure that he can obtain it through the media of international recognition.

It seems worthwhile here to quote in detail the discourse delivered by an RO 2 of 34 who had been in the Public Service for two years:

If he has decided on a scientific career, he should attempt to do master's work at a university where there is a world authority on the subject. Then go to a university with another world authority on the subject for his Ph.D. Then post-doctoral work in Europe or England under another world authority followed by further post-doctoral work! At the moment, a Ph.D. alone isn't adequate to get to the top of the scientific field.

Then he should take a job where he can get enough money and contacts to do what he wants. Then there should be nothing to stop him. The ideal thing is that he should become the world authority on something. He should write numerous articles on the subject recognized by everyone as being the definitive work in his field. He should write a book that is so good that it will be translated into numerous languages. . . he should give numerous, well-attended lectures. . . take sabbaticals in order to travel around the world and make more contacts and as well, have students come to him from all over the world, because he is after all the world authority on the subject.

Notice that through this whole speech not one mention is made of the Public Service.

H. Important Characteristics: A Résumé

Research scientists come from varied backgrounds, but many have had farm experience. In addition, they may have worked for the department of Agriculture during summer vacations, or they may have had summer employment in related fields.

The research scientists are educationally highly specialized, having usually obtained a Ph.D. before or soon after joining the department. Most spend a great deal of their early lives at school but are not very active in extracurricular activities.

They often study Agriculture because of a basic interest in that field developed by youthful experience or directed by parent or teacher. While pursuing agricultural studies many decide that research

in agriculture would be a desirable and fulfilling full-time job. If they do not discover this while still in school, they do find out soon after that research is too important to them to be interrupted by clamouring students or capitalists interested only in applying their knowledge to make a "fast buck."

When the research scientists look about for a job in the field of agricultural research, they find themselves very limited in their range of choices. In fact, the federal government is almost unique in offering acceptable facilities and prestige. The Public Service also offers a certain freedom and autonomy to research scientists, which allows them to follow their natural bent. It seems the obvious place to work.

Once in the Public Service, the involvement of the agricultural researchers in their work is almost total. Their prime concern is with their job, and their reference group is their scientific peers outside the federal administration. But at the same time, they show loyalty to the Public Service for offering and sustaining research opportunities unique in Canada. Further, while they are mainly concerned with technical performance, they also display an interest in administrative functions within the research field.

Stylistically, the research scientists tend to be concerned with upward movement in the Public Service through the instrument of international reputation. Far from hiding securely in the lab, they are more outgoing than the stereotype often suggests. They tend to be aggressive and active in the international scientific field, although they passively await promotion and recognition in the Public Service. At all times research scientists emphasize technical competence as being of prime importance for success, but they appear to rely heavily upon interpersonal means for establishing themselves in the scientific community. All in all, they are generally satisfied with their positions in the Public Service. If they do well scientifically, Public Service recognition will as surely follow as night the day.

I. The Francophone in the Department of Agriculture

The "ideal pattern" for the research scientist has been constructed from a consideration of 46 interviews, 30 with Anglophones and 16 with Francophones, with no particular attention given to ethnic difference. On the basis of this defined ideal, it is now possible to discuss ethnic variations on the theme as they exist in the department of Agriculture.

To start with, it is essential to note that although both Francophone and Anglophone research officers are similar in average age (38 years old) and length of government service (8 years), the Francophones receive an average of about \$825 less in salary than the Anglophones (Table 13.12). This begs explanation.

Table 13.12

Mean salary, age, and length of service of middle-level Research Scientists

	Francophones	Anglophones
<i>Salary</i>		
Research Officers	\$8,696	\$9,521
Technical Officers	\$6,510	\$6,805
<i>Age</i>		
Research Officers	37.5 years	38.8 years
Technical Officers	43.3 years	39.0 years
<i>Length of service</i>		
Research Officers	8.2 years	8.8 years
Technical Officers	19.3 years	16.6 years

Because of the orientation to an outside reference group—the international scientific community—it would seem logical that the "ideal pattern" would be basically an international one, involving norms which cut across national or linguistic boundaries. However, within the context of the department of Agriculture, the "ideal pattern" is basically an English one.

After an examination of the data, and of this ideal, it is not surprising to find that the Anglophone group conforms more rigidly to the pattern than the Francophone. It is not surprising in view of the fact that the largest proportion of the functionaries in the department of Agriculture in Ottawa, and indeed across Canada, are Anglophones, and also in view of the fact that English concepts pervade the department as a whole. An English atmosphere has been established, and it is in this environment that both ethnic groups pursue their careers.

The dominant English ethos is clearly recognized by the Francophone scientists. Three-quarters of them were required to learn English while at university either by using English texts or by attending American or British schools to obtain higher degrees. The remaining quarter had picked it up earlier in life. The following statements voice their common experience:

Et je dois mentionner le fait d'avoir fait mes études en anglais au Minnesota et à Edinburg. . . , Je pense en anglais en matière de science et de recherche. Ma tournure d'esprit est devenue comme la-leur.

Ici, ça présuppose une formation anglaise. J'ai des diplômes et de l'expérience, mais je n'ai pas le Ph.D. qui semble être très prestigieux en Amérique. Le fait de ne pas l'avoir peut m'empêcher de monter ou me nuire considérablement.

Tout le vocabulaire technique est anglais. . . les outils de travail sont en anglais et il serait extrêmement difficile de travailler autrement qu'en anglais.

Within the department of Agriculture, deviations from the "ideal pattern" for research scientists often stem exclusively from ethnic or cultural differences. This section will discuss those differences which seem to contribute the greatest insight into the sources of dissatisfaction and lack of monetary success for the Francophone research scientists.

Before dealing with the career experiences of the Francophone research scientist, we will examine the work context in which he operates. How does the department of Agriculture cope with the problem of socializing French-Canadian personnel? Does it cope? Does it try to cope?

1. Use of the French language

There is evidence in the interviews carried out with senior personnel in the department and in several government documents that a policy was instituted in 1963 which made an effort to increase the bilingual capacity of the department of Agriculture on an experimental basis:

This policy allows every employee of the Department to express himself in the language of his choice. The experience of the department of Agriculture is very recent, and conclusions should not be too hastily drawn. . . . Contacts with a few Departmental officers indicate that there is much interest in the experiment, and that many English-speaking public servants are taking upon themselves the task of learning enough French to understand correspondence coming in from regional offices in Quebec. However, as correspondence coming to the department must receive a reply in the same language, the translation office is now overloaded, and there are therefore considerable delays.⁸

When our study group visited the department of Agriculture two years later, in the summer of 1965, the outlook for a functionally bilingual department was not optimistic and the experiment apparently a qualified failure. It is true that many senior officers were partially bilingual in that they could read French communications. French was being used in Quebec districts to serve the French clientele where it was needed. And a memo was circulated throughout the department advising that officers were to feel free to send correspondence in any language they wished. But all this does not make for a bilingual department, especially when we look at the other side of the coin. Senior officers admit that the memo of 1963 has had little

effect. English is almost the sole working language of headquarters. One senior official noted that, since 1960, there has been a tendency for Francophones in the department to use more French in meetings and at meals, for example, but that this was creating some embarrassment for Anglophone personnel.

Communications between Quebec districts and headquarters is almost solely in English. Senior personnel in the department, when questioned about this, say that there really is no problem dealing with Francophone personnel in Quebec, since they are "fluently bilingual." They claim that there are pressures on the department from clients to use English. English is the language of work in most agricultural and related industries. National and provincial agricultural organizations are English-speaking, or else they contain French Canadians who are willing to speak English (for example, the deputy minister of Agriculture in Quebec, the Laval University faculty.) And as far as the Francophone scientist is concerned, senior officials feel that there are no communications problems here because these scientists have usually taken postgraduate work outside Quebec and can therefore speak English.

One Francophone researcher who had received both his M.A. and Ph.D. at a large American university put the matter quite bluntly:

Si je veux travailler en français, fournir mes rapports en français, on ne s'occupera pas de moi pour l'avancement.

2. Recruitment and Francophone personnel

The department of Agriculture appears to have tried to look after biculturalism and bilingualism by staffing the Quebec district with Francophones,⁹ by following a policy of at least one Francophone in each division at headquarters, and by having a Francophone "figure-head" for the department as a whole. The policy of having one Francophone in each division, however, has fallen short of the goal. While the associate deputy minister in 1965 was a Francophone, neither of the assistant deputy ministers nor any of the ten directors in the Production and Marketing branch were Francophones. There are a few Francophone economists in the Economics branch, and a few at the lower levels of headquarters, but the main concentration of Francophones remains in district offices and research stations in Quebec.

The part of the problem which was heavily emphasized in the interviews is the apparent unwillingness of the Francophone agricultural professionals to move from Quebec. This situation grew worse when the French-language faculty of Agriculture was established at Laval in 1962. The faculty took about "eight to ten" of the department's senior Francophones, mainly research personnel. However, the loss of about "eight to ten senior personnel" does not fully explain the low Francophone presence. Out of 307 Agricultural personnel who fitted our age-salary specifications, only 28 (9.1 per cent) were Francophones.

The supply and recruitment of Francophones is apparently badly deficient somewhere. The problem may have something to do with the fact that we encountered more open prejudice against Francophones in the department of Agriculture than in any other department studied.

J. The Career Experience of the Francophone Agricultural Researcher

1. Social background

It is of prime importance to note here that the Francophone public servants who are classified as Research Officers have educational qualifications as high as, if not higher than A,¹⁰ our "ideal type." Like A, the French research scientist takes his degrees in Agriculture, with some later specialization (Table 13.13).

Table 13.13
Level of education attained by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Officers at the middle level (percentages)

		Level of education			Total
	<i>N</i>	No university degree	Under-graduate degree	Graduate or postgraduate degree	
Francophone Research Officers	13	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
All Research Officers	36	0.0	16.7	83.3	100.0

It also appears that the formative experience of the Francophone research scientist tends to coincide closely with those of A.

2. Career past

Here also there are certain factors which coincide closely with A. For example, there is a high incidence of summer employment with the department of Agriculture, or at least work in a related field. However, it is also in this area that important differences begin to appear.

Occupational choice is, for the Francophone research scientist, not as clearly defined as it is for A. There is no clear commitment to the field of agriculture out of a sense of personal feeling for or interest in a specialized field of agriculture. Rather, it seems that a large proportion of French research scientists fall into the field of agriculture purely by accident:

Le choix s'est développé assez lentement; je suis tombé par hasard plus qu'à dessein. J'avais la formation et le caractère pour la profession.

. . . J'ai toujours eu le désir de créer, de travailler dans du neuf. . . . J'ai besoin de rétablir des valeurs humaines, à une époque où on ne pourrait que crever de faim en écrivant. En effet, je voulais me destiner à la littérature, mais c'était impossible. Je me suis éloigné du rêve et de l'évasion pour retomber sur la terre. . . . Mon père était professeur à la faculté (d'agriculture de la Pocatière); c'était donc un domaine que je connaissais bien, et c'est là que je suis allé. J'étais animé d'un désir de logique et de rationalisation.

It should also be noted here that the previous work history of the Francophone research scientist is almost nonexistent: 85 per cent of them enter the Public Service immediately upon graduation. Some possible explanations of this fact will be discussed in the next section.

3. Public Service career

In this area, there are very definite differences between the Francophone research scientist and A.

The first difference is noticeable in the reasons for joining the Public Service given by the two types. When the Francophone research scientist is asked to describe when and why he chooses an occupation, he not only describes his choice, but also states why he decided to come into the Public Service, either provincial or federal. In many cases, therefore, occupation is equated with the organization. But it is *not* equated in the same way that A equates organization and occupation. While A selects the organization after the completion of his formal education, and often after a period of work outside the Public Service, the Francophone research scientist indicates that he often selects the Public Service before he completes his formal education. He implies that not only does he want to work in a certain occupational area, but that he also wants to work in a certain organizational setting. Fifty per cent of the Francophone respondents indicated that they had decided on the federal or provincial Public Service before completing their formal education. This suggests that the Francophone research scientist is oriented towards federal or provincial Public Service earlier than A, and that it is a more positive orientation.

It is now left to establish the factors which influence this orientation and which lead the Francophone research scientist to direct his attention to the Public Service. It was suggested earlier that A joins the Public Service because of the work and career opportunities which it offers in the field of agricultural research. On first impression the Francophone research scientist differs little from A. He realizes that the Public Service offers the best job opportunities

in his specialized field. But certain other considerations have an important bearing on the career decision of the Francophone research scientist.

A primary factor is language. The Francophone may want to work in the field of agricultural research or teaching, but he wants to work in French. Thus his choice is automatically narrowed from the whole of North America to the Province of Quebec. But the opportunities in Quebec for working in his own language are few, and places hard to obtain. Several, finding the provincial government closed, turn to the federal government for a position, often with the hope that they will be located in a research station where French is the working language:

Je voulais faire de la recherche, peu m'importait où je devais aller. Toutefois à la fin de mes études, j'aurais voulu travailler dans ma langue, au Québec. Mais au Québec, il n'y avait que l'université et l'enseignement. Il n'y avait rien non plus ni au gouvernement de Québec, ni dans l'entreprise privée. J'ai donc été obligé d'aller à McGill. J'ai donc été à McGill par moindre mal. Je ne voulais pas aller à Winnipeg. Il ne restait pas de choix. Tout ce que je voulais faire, c'était de la recherche. Ici, une position était ouverte, j'y suis venu. Vous voyez, c'est donc la force des choses qui m'a conduit à la fonction publique.

The idea that his possibilities were limited on the grounds of language alone does not totally explain the orientation of the Francophone research scientist toward the federal Service. A second consideration which affects his decision is the emphasis which he seems to place on factors extraneous to the work situation. Security and marginal benefits are more important for the Francophone research scientist than they are for his Anglophone counterpart:

Je demeurais à Ottawa et, comme le gouvernement est le plus gros employeur, c'était normal que je m'oriente vers le "civil service." Je connaissais plusieurs employés civils qui se disaient satisfaits de leur sort. Ils m'ont dit les avantages d'avancement, de salaire, de stabilité. Pas de chômage pour les employés du service civil. Puis je me trouvais à demeurer dans la région.

It should be noted in passing that the Francophone research scientist is not drawn into the department as often as A by the means of contacts with personnel within the department or previous summer work with the department (Table 13.14). While this feature of the recruitment system is more operative for the Francophone research scientist in the department of Agriculture than for Francophones in the rest of the Public Service, it is still less important for the Francophones than it is for A. The department apparently does not utilize this important mechanism as often in the recruitment of Francophone personnel.

Thus, as far as *career orientation* is concerned, we begin to see important differences between the Francophone research scientist and

Table 13.14

Chief means by which Francophone Research Officers and all Research Officers gained entry to the department of Agriculture (percentages)

	N	Means of gaining entry to the department			
		Contacts	Previous analogous experience	Other or non-classifiable	Total
Francophone Research Officers	13	38.5	7.7	53.8	100.0
All Research Scientists	46	62.2	7.2	30.6	100.0

A. We have already seen that the Francophone researcher is more concerned with the benefits attached to his job in the Public Service than is his Anglophone counterpart. A fairly low proportion of Francophone research scientists tend to be primarily concerned with the work itself.

Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the Francophone research scientist is less committed to the institution employing him than is A (Table 13.15). While A is task-oriented and fairly loyal to the Public Service because it offers good occupational opportunities, the Francophone research scientist tends to value his position for the marginal benefits connected with it, rather than primarily for task factors, and is therefore less committed to the Public Service.

Table 13.15

Degree of commitment to continuing their careers in the Public Service of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages)

	N	Degree of commitment			Total
		Firmly or mildly committed	Indifferent or have definite plans to leave	Undecided or other	
Francophone Research Officers	13	38.5	46.2	15.3	100.0
All Research Scientists	46	63.0	17.4	19.6	100.0

In the *career style* of the French research scientist, there appear to be few significant deviations from A. The Francophone research scientist has attended about the same number of conferences in the past year as A (Table 13.16), and his memberships in professional organizations are as numerous as those of A (Table 13.17). Further, it appears that he is publishing as prodigiously as A (Table 13.18). We know that these are important criteria for promotion in the department of Agriculture, and the Francophone research scientist appears to fulfill these requirements adequately. With his high educational qualifications, he couples a high degree of professional activity. His career style, in these important dimensions, closely approximates A.

Table 13.16

Number of professional or scientific conferences attended in the past year by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Number of conferences attended		
		None	One or more	Total
Francophone Research Officers	13	38.5	61.5	100.0
All Research Scien- tists	46	28.0	72.0	100.0

Table 13.17

Number of memberships in professional or scientific organizations of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages)

	<i>N</i>	Number of memberships in organizations			
		None	One-two	Three or more	Total
Francophone Research Officers	13	0.0	30.8	69.2	100.0
All Research Scien- tists	46	8.9	29.6	62.5	100.0

Table 13.18

Number of articles published in the past year by Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages)

	Number of articles published			
	<i>N</i>	None	One or more	Total
Francophone Research Officers	13	23.1	76.9	100.0
All Research Scien- tists	46	27.6	72.4	100.0

Despite these traits, there is an apparent lack of Francophone research scientists at the higher levels in the department of Agriculture, in terms of salary and decision-making power. In part, this situation can be accounted for by the attitudes and aspirations of the Francophone researcher. His conceptions of his career as a scientist, and of "success" in this career, differ markedly from those of A. With A, there is a correspondence or "fit" between career goals and the activities he carries out to attain them. However, although the Francophone research scientist engages in activities similar to A, he views them quite differently.

That the career style and the career attitudes of the Francophone research scientist are at variance is illustrated by two important discoveries about the opinions held by these scientists regarding the best method of reaching the "top" in research. While A sees outside activities (membership in professional organizations, in clubs, and other associations) as being of prime importance for Public Service promotion, the Francophones are not nearly as emphatic about this, and a fairly large proportion (23 per cent) of Francophone researchers say in fact that this type of activity is *not* important for getting ahead in the Public Service. When asked specifically about the importance of such membership, the proportion of Francophone research scientists who felt that this was a basic prerequisite for success in the Public Service was considerably smaller than for A. A second relevant variation in the attitudes of the Francophone scientist and A is in their views of the types of activities which are important for getting ahead in the federal Public Service. The Francophone research scientist does not stress educational qualifications or technical competence to the same extent as A, nor does he even specifically mention the "work recognition" so important for A.

What is the importance of these factors in relation to the career success of the Francophone research scientist in the department of Agriculture? The above findings would seem to indicate that his ideas about the road to distinction in the Public Service are not as

clearcut as A's. While his *activities* seem to conform to the pattern of behaviour required for a successful career in the department of Agriculture, his *perceptions* of that pattern are not consistent with the departmental norm. Nor does he maintain, as a careful reading of the interviews shows, a clear idea of what actually comprises "career success." Several Francophone research scientists evince a rather disinterested, wait-and-see attitude regarding their future career progress. Few display any desire to reach higher administrative positions.

One RO 3 stated:

Ce n'est pas une question de niveau. Du moment où je fais de la recherche, de la recherche fondamentale, je suis satisfait.

Another RS 1 concurred with this attitude:

Je suis satisfait par le travail que je fais. Je ne suis pas ambitieux.

And a Technical Officer 4 stated in the same vein:

Je m'attends à des augmentations de salaire plus qu'à des promotions, mais il peut y avoir des reclassifications et je pourrais peut-être encore monter.

Part of this seeming disinterest is certainly attributable to the attitude which we noticed earlier with A: many research scientists have little or no desire to quit the lab. But A has also been seen to display a very definite orientation toward higher administrative and research positions. This orientation, however, is far less noticeable among the Francophone research scientists. They seem far more tied to their laboratory and to their technical skills.

We might sum up this part of our discussion by saying that the Francophone research scientist does not appear to be as conscious of career goals and the means required to attain them as A. His attitudes and his *modus operandi* seem to lack a clear grasp of the workings of the promotion system and the career goals as they operate in the department of Agriculture. The Francophone may be as interested in establishing a reputation in the international scientific community as A, but he is, as far as his career in the Public Service is concerned, less decisive.

This might be ascribed to two different factors. On one hand, it seems likely, on the strength of the previous discussion of the problems faced by the Francophone employee in the department of Agriculture, that, perhaps realizing that the upper reaches of this bureaucratic organization are almost certainly closed to him, he has foregone any desire to proceed in this direction. But this is only one possibility. On the other hand, it may also be that the Francophone scientist is not as highly motivated to pursue an effective career in the Public Service. He may be content with remaining in a position at lower levels where his demands for security are met.

Thus, in attempting to explain the failure of the Francophone research scientist to achieve higher administrative and research positions in the department of Agriculture it seems logical to isolate

two major causes. The first is the structural blockage which is the creation of the department itself. The very linguistic and cultural atmosphere in the department means that Francophones cannot do their work in the style and at the pace they like. The second is the failure of the Francophone research scientist himself to grasp fully those career opportunities which are open to him in the department.

4. Career satisfaction

Is the Francophone research scientist generally idealistic about or satisfied with his career possibilities in the department of Agriculture, or does he tend to be critical and cynical?

We discovered earlier that A views his environment as being just, its rewards commensurate with merit, its barriers only the barriers of personal ability. The Francophone is not so satisfied with his position: a high proportion are cynical or dissatisfied with their career opportunities in the department of Agriculture (Table 13.19), although they seem as satisfied with the promotion system as their colleagues (Table 13.20). These tables alone, however, do not illustrate adequately the amount of hostility toward the department felt by many of the Francophone Research Officers working in it. A careful reading of the interview material indicates that there is a large and vocal body of criticism of the department.

The major criticism of the department—and the one from which all other points of criticism seem to stem—concerns the English ethos which, the Francophone feels, pervades the department. It is this ethos which he feels is hardly conducive to the development of a successful career by a Francophone in the department:

Nous travaillons pour une compagnie strictement anglaise. Je n'ai, ni par le haut, ni par le bas, de contacts avec les Canadiens français. Ici c'est un désert au point de vue canadien-français. . . . La façon de penser, d'agir, de réagir, les relations personnels sont plus compliquées pour moi. Cette idée peut s'étendre, affecter le déroulement d'une carrière, sachant que le groupe qui dirige est anglais. On tend à ne pas vouloir s'introduire dans un milieu étranger. Vis-à-vis des Anglais, je n'ai donc de point commun qu'avec la science. Ce qui fait aussi que je me mêle jamais d'administration.

Si je reste ici, c'est parce que j'ai fait ce que je veux. Mais je vous assure que je n'ai aucun "sentiment" envers le gouvernement fédéral; c'est pas que j'aime ça ici, la fonction publique, mais c'est que je veux y faire de la recherche fondamentale.

In a situation like this, there are several crucial problems which arise for the Francophone research scientist. One is the problem of language:

En général, il y a la difficulté de communiquer avec les patrons. Si l'anglais avait été ma propre langue j'aurais pu poser des questions, proposer des solutions dans le cours de mon travail. A cause de la difficulté de communiquer en public je n'ai pu le faire.

Table 13.19

Evaluation of the environment by Francophone Research Officers, all Research Scientists, and all Francophone personnel at the middle level (percentages)

	Evaluation of the environment				
	<i>N</i>	Idealistic	Cynical	Other	Total
Francophone Research Officers	13	46.2	38.5	15.3	100.0
All Research Scientists	46	83.3	3.7	13.0	100.0
All Francophone middle-level officers	128	61.7	15.6	22.7	100.0

Table 13.20

Attitude toward the promotion system of Francophone Research Officers and all Research Scientists at the middle level (percentages)

	The promotion system is			
	<i>N</i>	"Fair"	"Unfair"	Other*
Francophone Research Officers	13	53.8	15.4	30.8
All Research Scientists	46	61.1	16.7	22.2

*Non-committed and not determined.

Quand on ne comprend pas toujours ce qui nous est dit et qu'on n'est pas toujours compris, ça influence votre rendement parce que d'abord vous ne travaillez pas dans une atmosphère détendue. Vous êtes toujours sous tension.

For some the problem reaches far beyond the language issue:
 . . . le fait de travailler dans une langue différente implique le fait de travailler dans une autre culture; il faudra penser selon des schèmes différents de ceux qu'on a dans son esprit. C'est plus qu'une question de langue, c'est une question de coloration de tout le comportement, et cela, ajouté au tempérament latin.

However, the most crucial problem which arises for the Francophone in a department which he feels is dominated by an English ethos is the problem of felt discrimination, either indirect or direct:

Ici on est un Canadien français sur 25 ou 50; alors si on croit à la probabilité on a des chances de passer sous les autres. Ce n'est pas le fait que je suis Canadien français, mais si je suis un sur 500, la probabilité est mince.

Si on veut réussir? Change ton nom, donne-toi un bon nom anglais et ça va t'aider beaucoup. Coûte que coûte va à un bon collège d'Ontario plutôt qu'au Québec ou au Nouveau-Brunswick. . . . Puis si vous êtes franc-maçon ou protestant. . . . Moi, je suis dans les Chevaliers de Colomb et ça ne m'aide pas du tout: ils savaient que j'y étais. . . . Savoir flatter les supérieurs, savoir aller à la bonne place où on va trouver les supérieurs; s'il y a deux théâtres et que les directeurs ont l'habitude d'en fréquenter un, il faut y aller, même si on aimerait mieux aller à l'autre.

Discontent, therefore, is widespread among the Francophone research scientists in the department of Agriculture, which seems, for the most part, to have failed in any attempt which it might have made to incorporate satisfactorily this vital part of its employee population.

« La traduction¹, c'est le mal nécessaire de la Confédération. » Cette définition donnée par l'un des sujets interviewés campe assez bien la situation de la traduction dans la fonction publique fédérale. Car c'est bien un mal, avec ses difficultés et ses contradictions, dont les traducteurs sont à la fois les victimes et les bénéficiaires, et dont la nécessité découle bien souvent « du bilinguisme artificiel (traduction de l'anglais au français) des tenants de la bonne entente à tout prix ». Au prix même de l'absurde et de l'inutile érigé en système. Aussi faudra-t-il, tout au long de ce chapitre, garder présent à l'esprit le scepticisme dans lequel évoluent les traducteurs, et qui n'est pas sans rapport avec leur mobilité et leur insatisfaction : « Sentir que ce que l'on fait est à peu près inutile ». Cette aigreur compliquera passablement notre étude lorsqu'il s'agira d'interpréter des réponses qui ne sont pas toujours sincères. Et comment distinguer ?

A. Position du problème et méthodologie

Notre objectif consiste essentiellement à analyser comment se déroule la carrière d'un groupe de fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire qui, de par la spécialité, ne peut être comparé à aucun autre. Les raisons qui interdisent toute comparaison viennent d'elles-mêmes à l'esprit : homogénéité culturelle et linguistique, milieu de travail français, formation scolaire particulière. Il s'agit donc d'une étude indépendante, plus qualitative que quantitative, dans laquelle nous dégagerons les attitudes, les sentiments et les aspirations tels que les interviews nous les ont révélés, car ce sont eux qui, en dernière analyse, constituent les ressorts de la profession.

1. Le Bureau des traductions²

Ce Bureau, qui fait partie de la fonction publique et relève du Secrétariat d'État, fut créé en 1934. Il comprend actuellement plus de 300 traducteurs répartis entre les 21 divisions ministérielles, la

Division des langues étrangères, la Division de la traduction générale, la Division des lois, la Division des débats, la Division des interprètes, le Centre de terminologie et la Section des stagiaires³. En 1965, le volume des traductions a atteint 102 millions de mots, soit 300 000 pages de chacune 500 mots.

Nous ne pousserons pas davantage l'examen des structures de ce Bureau, à moins que les traducteurs ne fassent eux-mêmes état des effets heureux ou malheureux qu'elles peuvent entraîner.

2. L'échantillon interviewé

Avant tout, voyons comment a été constitué l'échantillonnage qui fut soumis aux mêmes critères que ceux devant déterminer le choix des autres fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire : âge compris entre 25 et 45 ans; traitement annuel supérieur à \$ 6 200; ville de travail, Ottawa, à l'exception des sujets interviewés à Montréal⁴.

Sur 55 traducteurs répondant aux normes établies, 31 furent choisis dont trois allèrent à l'échantillon anglophone. Ce dernier nombre ne nous permet évidemment pas de comparer, selon la langue maternelle, les carrières des traducteurs, d'autant que deux d'entre eux sont des Néo-Canadiens récemment arrivés dont la langue maternelle n'est ni l'anglais ni le français. Pour les fins de l'étude, nous avons cependant cru bon de tous les grouper, car les lignes de force des carrières des non-francophones ne divergent pas de celles de leurs collègues; elles suivent le même cheminement, accusant des motivations tout aussi complexes.

Quant aux moyennes d'âge et de traitement étudiées selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail, elles nous sont présentées au tableau n° 14.1.

Il faut noter l'écart très faible entre les moyennes de la population et celles de l'échantillon qui comprend deux interprètes. En outre, cinq traductrices ont été interviewées, ce qui est beaucoup par rapport à l'ensemble de la fonction publique, mais leur carrière ne présentera pas de différence marquée avec celle de leurs collègues masculins.

La première partie de ce chapitre étudiera comment on devient traducteur et pourquoi on entre à la fonction publique fédérale. La deuxième traitera de la situation faite aux traducteurs dans ce milieu particulier, en passant en revue les moteurs et les freins de leur carrière, pour aborder ensuite l'aspect bilinguisme et biculturalisme; cependant, notre étude portant sur le déroulement des carrières, nous ne ferons qu'effleurer ce dernier point, en corollaire.

Tableau 14.1

Âge et traitement moyens de la population et de l'échantillon des traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail

Groupe linguistique	Nombre		Âge moyen		Traitement moyen \$	
	P	N	P	N	P	N
Anglophones	9	3	38,7	38,6	7 885	8 450
Francophones						
Ottawa et Montréal ¹	46	28	37,5	38,0	7 830	7 817
Ottawa seulement	41	23	37,6	38,2	7 872	7 890
Montréal seulement ²	5	5	36,6	36,6	7 216	7 216
Total (moins Montréal) ³	50	26	37,9	38,3	7 875	7 991
Total global	55	31	37,8	38,1	7 844	7 920

P = population; N = échantillon.

1. Pondérés pour la ville de Montréal.

2. Nous avons isolé les cinq sujets de Montréal afin de ne pas fausser le parallélisme entre cette étude et celle des autres types particuliers de carrières appartenant à l'échelon intermédiaire d'Ottawa.

3. Pondérés pour le groupe linguistique.

B. Comment devient-on traducteur ?

Pour déterminer comment on peut devenir traducteur au Secrétariat d'État, nous remonterons dans la vie de chacun des sujets de l'échantillon, considérant successivement leur lieu de naissance, leur milieu social d'origine, leur éducation, leurs antécédents professionnels et, enfin, leur formation spécifique.

1. Lieu de naissance

Le tableau no 14.2 répartit les traducteurs interviewés selon le lieu de naissance.

Si on ne considère que les traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire d'Ottawa, on remarque que 35 % des sujets francophones interviewés sont nés dans la province de Québec, ce qui est sensiblement inférieur à la proportion correspondante pour l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire francophone qui atteint 48 %, et 17 % en France. Ces Néo-Canadiens ne sont arrivés au pays que depuis peu, et il faudra en tenir compte lorsque nous étudierons leur perception des problèmes nationaux. Généralement rattachés par leurs aspirations ni à l'un ni

à l'autre des deux groupes ethniques, les problèmes posés par le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme les touchent assez peu, et il semble même qu'ils fassent effort pour s'en détacher totalement. Au total, donc, 52 % de nos informateurs francophones sont originaires de régions où le français est la langue dominante (la province de Québec et la France) et 48 % de provinces où les Canadiens français sont en minorité (l'Ontario, les Maritimes, les Prairies). Ajoutons, enfin, que le quart est originaire de la région d'Ottawa-Hull, fraction un peu faible comparée à l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire francophone interviewé (43 %).

Tableau 14.2

Lieu de naissance des traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe linguistique et la ville de travail (%)

Lieu de naissance	Ottawa seulement			Montréal et Ottawa		
	Franco- phones	Anglo- phones	Total	Franco- phones	Anglo- phones	Total
	%	N	%	%	N	%
Québec	34,8		30,8	46,4		41,9
Ontario	26,1	1	26,9	21,5	1	22,5
Maritimes	13,0		11,5	10,7		9,7
Prairies	8,7		7,7	7,1		6,5
France	17,4		15,4	14,3		12,9
Autres pays étrangers	0,0	2	7,7	0,0	2	6,5
Total	100,0	3	100,0	100,0	3	100,0
N	23		26	28		31

Cette répartition des traducteurs selon le lieu de naissance pourra trouver son importance dans l'interprétation des questions⁵ où percent souvent des notes nationalistes, des ressentiments, ou le désir de voir s'affirmer la Confédération.

Rappelons que les cinq traducteurs interviewés à Montréal ne pouvaient envisager d'aller travailler à Ottawa, aussi émettent-ils des opinions très nettes en réponse à plusieurs questions⁶. D'ailleurs, le Bureau des traductions de Montréal, dont le travail consiste en grande partie à traduire des textes venant de la capitale, fut créé essentiellement en raison de la difficulté, voire de l'impossibilité, à faire venir des traducteurs compétents à Ottawa. Cette difficulté peut s'expliquer par la qualité médiocre du français parlé et même enseigné en Ontario, les environs de la capitale ne pouvant dans ce cas, comme pour les autres fonctionnaires, servir de réservoir. Mais la nature même du travail de traduction n'est peut-être pas attirante, aussi les personnes d'Ottawa (ou d'ailleurs) éventuellement qualifiées ne manifestent aucun intérêt pour cette profession.

2. Milieu social d'origine

Tous les traducteurs canadiens-français (à deux exceptions près) ayant fréquenté le collège classique, leur milieu social d'origine correspond assez bien à celui que fournissent d'ordinaire ces établissements. Disons, en gros, que les traducteurs sont, pour les deux tiers, issus de familles dont le père est col-blanc, ce qui, pour des raisons évidentes, est le cas de la plupart des fonctionnaires fédéraux originaires de la région outaouaise. Quant à l'autre tiers, leurs pères peuvent être ouvriers spécialisés, manoeuvres, agriculteurs, ou exercer une profession libérale. À première vue, il semble que le milieu social d'origine des traducteurs soit quelque peu supérieur à celui de l'ensemble des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, où seulement 39 % viennent de familles dont le père est col-blanc. Notons cependant que plusieurs diront n'avoir pu poursuivre leurs études universitaires pour des raisons financières, prétexte qui ne saurait évidemment être invoqué par ceux qui sont originaires de milieux aisés. Ce motif est vraisemblablement justifié dans certains cas; néanmoins, et c'est ce que nous apprend l'étude des carrières, il constitue souvent un alibi « commode » pour masquer la non-persévérance scolaire; la majorité des traducteurs sont en effet fils de cols-blancs, lesquels avaient les moyens d'assumer l'éducation de leurs enfants dans des collèges classiques. Un fait demeure, cependant, partiellement expliqué : l'acrimonie que manifestent les traducteurs lorsqu'ils se comparent à d'anciens camarades de collège maintenant médecins, avocats, ingénieurs, etc.

3. Instruction

Tableau 14.3

Niveau d'instruction des traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)

	Niveau d'instruction					Total	N
	École publique	BA-*	BA	BA+**	Licence ou maîtrise		
Ottawa							
seulement	0,0	15,4	7,7	42,3	34,6	100	26
Montréal et							
Ottawa	3,2	16,1	6,5	45,2	29,0	100	31

*Signifie que le sujet a laissé ses études avant la fin du cours classique.

**Signifie que le sujet, après son baccalauréat, a commencé des études universitaires au niveau de la licence ou de la maîtrise.

On voit, au tableau n^o 14.3, que seulement 19 % (15 % si l'on se limite à Ottawa) des traducteurs ne possèdent pas le baccalauréat, diplôme obtenu au Québec dans les collèges classiques et en France dans les lycées, et que 16 % étaient sur le point de l'obtenir. On peut dire, du moins pour ce qui concerne Ottawa, que tous les traducteurs ont suivi le cours classique, et l'importance de ceci se révélera au moment d'étudier les qualités requises par la profession.

Pour permettre un examen plus détaillé, étudions séparément le cas des bacheliers et des licenciés.

a. Bacheliers

La quasi-totalité des bacheliers (deux seules exceptions) possèdent « une demi-licence » ou une « demi-maîtrise ». À tout le moins, quelques cours de traduction. Souvent d'ailleurs ils sont spécialisés, au Bureau des traductions, dans un domaine qu'ils avaient étudié en vue d'un diplôme supérieur⁷, les spécialisations, très variées, allant de la théologie à la géologie en passant par la médecine, et c'est dans cette branche que se poursuivent des carrières brillamment entreprises parfois, mais ayant avorté pour des raisons diverses — maladie, difficultés pécuniaires (soutien de famille par exemple), échec académique, perte de vocation. Signalons aussi les cas nombreux de double, voire triple, réorientation, des étudiants faisant six mois en sciences sociales, un an en lettres, pour finalement aboutir en commerce et se retrouver, quelques années plus tard, au Bureau des traductions ! Mais disons que ces bifurcations se produisent surtout chez les étudiants en lettres et en sciences dites sèches. Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que la plupart des traducteurs, une fois installés dans leur carrière actuelle, ont suivi des cours de traduction, le plus souvent à l'université d'Ottawa.

b. Licenciés

Neuf de nos informateurs (dont six francophones) possèdent des diplômes supérieurs⁸ : une licence en philosophie; une licence en histoire; quatre maîtrises (licences) en lettres; un diplôme d'optométrie; trois licences en droit.

Pour conclure, notons le phénomène de la « double diversité » : diversité chez le traducteur même qui, dans la plupart des cas, a abordé des domaines fort divers et accuse une large mobilité professionnelle; diversité au sein du Bureau, véritable capharnaüm de diplômés de tous genres et de toutes disciplines. Soulignons que les traducteurs possèdent une formation générale étendue, ce qui est évidemment essentiel dans une profession où il faut « tout savoir »⁹.

4. Les antécédents professionnels

Nous avons étudié très en détail les antécédents de nos sujets avant leur orientation vers la traduction, et l'on comprendra pourquoi en constatant la complexité de ce qui les a poussés vers cette profession.

a. Choix de la carrière

Ici, nous avons groupé les fonctionnaires de Montréal et d'Ottawa, car nous ne croyons pas pouvoir déceler de disparités entre les deux groupes.

Nous donnons ci-après quelques-unes des réponses à la question concernant le premier et le deuxième choix quant à la carrière, et qui, le plus souvent, ne constituaient pas, comme on aurait pu s'y attendre, une réponse directe à la question posée¹⁰ : « J'ai songé à la traduction parce que... ». La réponse type était généralement celle-ci : « Assez tôt, je songeais à me diriger vers la carrière A, mais en raison des circonstances B, j'ai dû faire C. J'ai donc entrepris des études dans ce sens. J'ai dû les interrompre et travailler pour les raisons D. C'est finalement par la force des choses que je suis devenu traducteur. » Parfois, la réponse était plus brève et sautait l'étape A; c'est le cas de ceux (49 %) qui n'indiquent pas de deuxième choix. Illustrons cette sinuosité :

Tableau 14.4

Type de carrière projeté par les traducteurs de l'échelon intermédiaire lors de leur premier et de leur deuxième choix (%)

Type de carrière projeté	1er choix exprimé	2e choix exprimé
Génie, sciences	12,9	0,0
Médecine et sciences de la santé	6,5	0,0
Droit	16,1	3,2
Commerce	3,2	3,2
Enseignement	12,9	12,9
Journalisme	0,0	3,2
Vie religieuse	29,0	9,7
Vie militaire	9,7	0,0
Fonction publique en général, hormis la traduction	6,5	3,2
Traduction	0,0	16,1
Aucun ou sans réponse	3,2	48,5
Total (Montréal et Ottawa)	100,0	100,0
N	31	31

Remarquons immédiatement le caractère plutôt arbitraire des différentes catégories de ce tableau. En effet, le premier choix exprimé peut bien souvent ne correspondre qu'à un souhait puéril qui ne trouvera pas un soupçon de réalisation, comme pour cet informateur qui nous a dit :

Dans ma jeunesse, j'avais songé au sacerdoce, mais ce n'était pas très sérieux !

Par contre, ce premier choix a pu trouver sa réalisation partielle

(deux années de médecine, par exemple) ou, plus rarement, totale (plusieurs années de pratique du droit).

Ceci dit, un premier chiffre saute aux yeux : c'est le zéro vis-à-vis de *traduction*, dans la première colonne. Aucun des interviewés n'a d'abord envisagé la traduction comme profession. Dans la colonne « deuxième choix », on trouve le pourcentage 16,1 aussi stupéfiant que le zéro précédent, d'autant que la réponse est exprimée en ces termes : « C'est à ce moment que, par la force des choses, je suis devenu traducteur ». Cette proportion correspond au nombre total de fois où l'on a stipulé la traduction comme deuxième choix; dans plusieurs cas (la quasi-totalité des 15 « sans réponse »), on devient traducteur à cette étape, mais sans le mentionner; il ne s'agissait donc pas d'un choix au sens propre du terme. Pour plus du tiers, la traduction sera à tout le moins un troisième choix.

Nous n'avons pu établir de dominantes indiquant que l'on passe plutôt d'une catégorie de choix à une autre; tout au plus peut-on dire que trois aspirants-religieux sont devenus aspirants-éducateurs.

Il convient de s'arrêter un moment sur la phraséologie utilisée par nos traducteurs pour répondre, car elle apparaît extrêmement révélatrice de l'état d'esprit défaitiste ou fataliste de nombre d'entre eux. Dominent ici les formes volitives conditionnelles du passé ou l'équivalent : « j'aurais voulu », « je désirais », « j'avais songé à », « ma première idée était de », etc. Domine ensuite une causale exprimant les obstacles qui empêchèrent ces ambitions de se réaliser : « mais à la suite d'un échec », « mais la maladie », « comme j'avais besoin d'argent ». Enfin, lorsqu'on mentionne que l'on en est venu à la traduction, c'est toujours (sauf un cas) sur un ton de résignation : « par la force des choses, des circonstances », « le destin », « la providence ». On profite alors de l'occasion, comme en s'excusant, pour affirmer le fortuit du début de la carrière : « en passant dans un bureau de poste, j'ai vu un avis où l'on demandait des traducteurs », « par hasard en lisant les journaux... ».

En somme, ce n'est pas de gaieté de coeur que l'on devient traducteur, mais après bien des tergiversations, des échecs, des entreprises avortées. Comment dès lors parler de « choix » ? C'est un choix qui n'en est pas un, et l'on serait davantage porté à parler de planche de salut.

b. Monographie des emplois (avant la traduction à la fonction publique ou ailleurs)

On le devine déjà, la monographie de travail d'un traducteur est aussi mouvementée que celle de son éducation ou que le cheminement dont on vient de parler. La durée moyenne de l'emploi avant l'entrée au Bureau des traductions est de 7,6 ans (s'échelonnant pour notre échantillon de zéro à 25 ans). Quatre traducteurs seulement n'ont occupé aucun emploi à plein temps avant de devenir fonctionnaires fédéraux : cependant, un seul d'entre eux est arrivé directement à la traduction. Deux ayant été engagés comme employés de bureau, faisant un peu de secrétariat, un peu de rédaction, un peu de correction

d'épreuves avant de se retrouver traducteurs, et le quatrième venant du service de l'immigration où il travaillait depuis dix ans.

Sauf un cas peut-être, aucun traducteur n'est arrivé à la fonction publique sans avoir auparavant fait autre chose, ce qui souligne une fois encore le caractère de pis-aller de la profession, spécialement au gouvernement fédéral.

Les emplois occupés par les traducteurs avant leur entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale varient à l'infini, non seulement pour l'ensemble de l'échantillon mais aussi, bien souvent, pour chacun d'eux. Si l'on se limite non pas au nombre d'employeurs, mais au nombre de tâches vraiment différentes, on arrive à 55 pour les 26 traducteurs d'Ottawa, ce qui signifie que chaque sujet, avant de devenir traducteur (à la fonction publique ou ailleurs), a occupé en moyenne plus de deux emplois différents et connu environ le double d'employeurs. Citons le cas extrême de l'un d'eux qui fut successivement interviewer, manoeuvre, chasseur, vendeur d'assurances, « sollicitateur pour une paroisse », douanier, professeur et, enfin, traducteur !

Cependant, il ne faut pas oublier que notre échantillon comprend six Néo-Canadiens, ce qui gonfle ces chiffres, la plupart des immigrants acceptant à leur arrivée, « en attendant », n'importe quel travail (manoeuvre par exemple).

Quant à la nature de ces emplois antérieurs, elle ressortit en général au secrétariat ou à l'administration (commis, secrétaire, sténographe, gérant, etc.), mais on trouve aussi d'anciens professeurs (dans six cas), des rédacteurs ou des reporters (dans trois cas), le reste se répartissant fort diversement : représentant, optométriste, chapelain, etc. Par ailleurs, près des deux tiers des sujets (16 sur 26) sont arrivés au Bureau des traductions sans aucune expérience ni études préalables en ce domaine, ce qui illustre remarquablement le caractère d'improvisation forcée de la profession.

Disons donc, pour résumer, que la monographie des emplois d'un traducteur s'inscrit sous le signe de la mobilité, de l'extrême mobilité.

5. La formation d'un traducteur et le cas des interprètes

a. Formation empirique

Traduction. Par quelle opération surnaturelle devient-on traducteur, du jour au lendemain ? Dans bien des cas, en effet, il s'agit d'un revirement, d'une décision aussi brusque qu'imprévue imposée par le hasard, comme par exemple la lecture, dans le journal, d'une annonce séduisante.

Souvenons-nous d'abord du niveau d'instruction de nos sujets. Nous avons noté qu'ils ont tous suivi un cours classique (ceux d'Ottawa du moins) et que quatre d'entre eux seulement n'avaient pas leur baccalauréat (mais étaient sur le point de l'obtenir). Or, s'il est un endroit où l'on fait de la traduction, c'est bien dans un collège classique québécois : que d'années passées à faire des versions et

et des thèmes grecs, latins... et anglais. Et pour quelqu'un qui a traduit du Cicéron, les discours de nos hommes politiques ne présentent guère de pièges ! Ajoutons à cela une bonne connaissance des lettres et de la grammaire (française autant qu'anglaise), une culture générale comme en dispense un cours classique, et le tour est joué.

Il ne s'agit plus dès lors que d'être bien conseillé par un réviseur expérimenté qui vous apprendra quelques formules passe-partout et le jargon particulier à tel ou tel ministère, si vous ne le connaissez pas (ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas; exemple : un licencié en droit affecté à la traduction des lois). Au bout de quelques mois, vous serez traducteur chevronné. En outre, si presque tous les sujets ont suivi des cours de traduction, ce fut après être devenus traducteurs, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé plus haut. Cela n'affecte donc en rien le caractère empirique de leur formation, puisque ce n'était nullement une condition de leur carrière.

Enfin, pour illustrer l'importance de cette filière, disons qu'elle fut suivie par tous les traducteurs, à l'exception d'une jeune fille du bureau de Montréal et de l'un de ses collègues outaouais dont les études spécialisées en traduction sont antérieures à la carrière.

Interprétation simultanée. Des deux interprètes interviewés, l'un fit des études spécialisées, l'autre reçut une formation empirique. Dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit d'un fonctionnaire entré au Bureau des traductions au bas de l'échelle qu'il gravit d'ailleurs très vite, puisqu'il ne lui fallut que trois années pour passer de la « classe 1 » à la « classe 4 », et quatre autres pour devenir interprète. Très facilement, à ses dires, il avait passé tous les examens lui permettant de monter en grade. C'est de lui-même qu'il décida de devenir interprète, s'entraînant deux ans durant, à ses frais, avec des collègues. La seule facilité que lui fournit son employeur fut la permission d'utiliser l'équipement. Et ainsi, grâce à ce « don » nécessaire à ce métier bien particulier, il subit avec succès les examens particulièrement sévères qui conduisent à l'interprétation simultanée.

Cette voie difficile fut suivie par plusieurs de ses confrères. On devine quels efforts durent être déployés pour parvenir à une fonction somme toute à peine mieux rémunérée¹¹ et certainement plus astreignante que celle de traducteur de textes écrits; aussi conçoit-on que la politique du Secrétariat d'État en la matière rebute même les plus courageux.

b. Études spécialisées

Traduction. Deux traducteurs seulement ont bénéficié d'une telle formation.

Un immigrant français qui, après ses études secondaires, avait obtenu un « diplôme supérieur d'interprète », ne vint à la traduction que 11 ans plus tard, après son arrivée au Canada. Ses études précédèrent donc d'assez loin sa carrière actuelle. Brillante exception,

une traductrice du bureau de Montréal est diplômée de l'École de traduction de Genève, ce qui lui permet de travailler comme traductrice dans le secteur privé avant de devenir fonctionnaire trois ans plus tard. On ne peut guère tirer de conclusions de cas aussi isolés, mais nous avons certaines raisons de croire que les écoles de traduction forment d'excellents sujets.

On devrait encourager le recrutement de tels diplômés, car ils constituent une source d'économie pour le Bureau, qui n'a pas à les former. Le travail des réviseurs s'en trouverait en outre allégé. Mais l'Université de Montréal est seule à dispenser au Canada français des cours de traduction, et les Québécois n'acceptent pas volontiers d'aller à Ottawa. Aucun de ces deux traducteurs n'envisagerait d'ailleurs de s'y installer.

Interprétation simultanée. Ici aussi, il s'agit d'une femme, diplômée de l'Université de Montréal en interprétation simultanée. Elle reconnaît (et son collègue dont nous avons parlé plus haut abonde dans le même sens) que ce genre de cours didactique ne présente qu'une valeur relative. Un diplôme n'assure pas la compétence car il faut, dans ce domaine, posséder des qualités innées, dont nous parlerons plus loin, qu'une école ne saurait faire naître, mais seulement développer. L'Université de Montréal ne dispensant plus de cours d'interprétation simultanée, il faut aller à Genève pour en suivre.

Il semble donc qu'ici l'empirisme soit de rigueur, du moins, paradoxalement, au début : on ne peut être certain de pouvoir faire de l'interprétation simultanée avant d'en avoir déjà fait !

6. L'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale

a. Les motifs

Pourquoi la fonction publique fédérale ? Notons immédiatement que nous avons déjà répondu partiellement à cette question. En effet, comme près des deux tiers des sujets de notre échantillon sont arrivés au Bureau sans jamais avoir fait de traduction, les motifs d'entrée se confondent ici avec les motifs du « choix » de la carrière. On ne songeait pas plus à la traduction qu'à la fonction publique, mais étant donné qu'on ne savait pas trop quoi faire, que l'emploi occupé était mal rétribué¹², qu'on sentait s'envoler une vocation, on saisissait cette bouée de sauvetage. Quant à ceux qui étaient déjà traducteurs, leurs motifs d'entrée à la fonction publique sont du même ordre.

La traduction restait jusqu'à ces derniers temps un métier souvent très aléatoire en dehors de la fonction publique, fort mal rémunéré, surtout dans les journaux de province¹³, instable et soumis au fonctionnement hasardeux d'agences peu sérieuses. Dans les circonstances, la fonction publique était donc encore ce qu'il y avait de mieux, ou plutôt de moins mal, et 39 % des traducteurs francophones l'ont choisie parce que les chances de faire une carrière en traduction y étaient relativement bonnes.

La situation a cependant quelque peu changé. Des débouchés intéressants sont nés dans diverses entreprises, notamment dans les importantes compagnies établies au Québec et les sociétés de la Couronne¹⁴. Aussi la fonction publique ministérielle a-t-elle perdu dans ce domaine le monopole de l'emploi stable.

Toujours est-il que l'on n'est pas sans déceler une certaine angoisse chez d'aucuns qui, dans la quarantaine, instruits et cultivés mais matériellement démunis, accueillent le Bureau des traductions comme un havre de paix, après une carrière mouvementée. La recherche de la stabilité liée à un salaire confortable joue donc ici un rôle capital, et cet aspect matériel sera généralement le premier mentionné. De tous les traducteurs interviewés, un seul a invoqué « le désir de servir le pays »; mais il s'y est pris bien tard : à 40 ans seulement ! Parmi d'autres motifs d'entrée isolés invoqués, notons l'avancement et le désir de travailler en équipe.

Aucun fonctionnaire, croyons-nous, ne doit avoir moins l'impression d'appartenir à la fonction publique qu'un traducteur qui y travaille dans sa langue, isolé des ministères et de leurs strictes hiérarchies. Et ceci est particulièrement vrai pour les traducteurs de Montréal qui paraissent presque surpris de se découvrir fonctionnaires !

En somme, sauf quelques rarissimes exceptions, et pour parler par euphémisme, on entre à la fonction publique fédérale sans enthousiasme. Les motifs en sont purement négatifs.

b. Les examens d'entrée

Beaucoup d'appelés, peu d'élus. Mais disons tout de suite que le nombre important des candidats ne signifie pas grand'chose. Lorsque la Commission de la fonction publique lance par la voie des journaux un avis de concours, elle peut recevoir plusieurs centaines de candidatures. Dans un pays comme le Québec, où tant de gens sont plus ou moins bilingues, la chose n'étonne guère. Beaucoup s'imaginent cependant que le fait de parler deux langues rend apte à la traduction, ce qui est une grossière erreur, et le Bureau, malgré ses énormes besoins, n'en retiendra qu'une dizaine. On nous a rapporté les cas extrêmes de chauffeurs de taxi qui s'étaient présentés à un concours d'interprétation simultanée.

L'examen est loin d'être chose facile, et certains traducteurs ont dû le repasser deux et même trois fois. L'un d'eux n'a réussi qu'à la sixième tentative ! Mais cette question dépasse notre étude, touchant beaucoup plus le recrutement. Une chose demeure : la difficulté des examens valorise les traducteurs à leurs propres yeux, ce dont ils ont grand besoin après toutes les difficultés qu'ils ont si souvent rencontrées et face au peu de considération professionnelle dont ils jouissent.

c. La carrière du traducteur dans la fonction publique

Le traducteur est un fonctionnaire bien à part en ce qui concerne tant sa formation et ses motivations professionnelles que son milieu

de travail en général : isolement, statut professionnel, ambitions. On comprendra son réel désarroi en mesurant la distance qui sépare sa propre conception de son travail de celle qu'en font les autres fonctionnaires.

1. Trois types de traducteurs

En gros, et de façon assez arbitraire, on peut distinguer trois types de traducteurs : mobiles, confinés, et aux Débats.

a. Les traducteurs « mobiles »

À cette catégorie appartiennent ceux que leurs fonctions obligent à une certaine mobilité, que ce soit sur le plan géographique ou de la diversité des tâches. C'est le cas non seulement des traducteurs qui changent fréquemment de lieu de travail, passant d'un ministère ou d'un organisme à l'autre et cela pendant des périodes assez brèves pour qu'ils ne se sentent pas attirés à ce ministère, mais aussi des fonctionnaires qui travaillent à la traduction générale, où sont traduits les « surplus » des différents ministères¹⁵. Cette mobilité semble ne pas devoir faciliter la spécialisation, mais les opinions sont partagées quant à la nécessité d'être spécialisé. Pour certains, il faut une bonne formation spécialisée acquise par les cours et l'expérience pour bien saisir le sens de l'autre langue et la bien traduire [...] Si on a la bougeotte, si on change de ministère on ne se perfectionne pas, alors que pour d'autres la mobilité apparaît préférable, car la spécialisation « représente un grand danger ».

Quand on est trop spécialisé dans un domaine donné, on devient indispensable dans son bureau et on peut être gelé là pendant des années.

C'est ainsi que l'on devient un traducteur « confiné ».

b. Les traducteurs « confinés »

La définition précédente traduit admirablement ce type de traducteur. Mais faut-il ajouter que certains ne s'en plaignent nullement, particulièrement chez les plus médiocres qui semblent fort bien s'accommoder de cette situation, empreinte d'un certain confort, faite d'une routine reposante, et sans imprévus. Quant à ceux qui, dans un souci d'efficacité et d'avancement, choisissent délibérément de se spécialiser, ils se rendent compte tôt ou tard qu'ils se trouvent engagés dans un cercle vicieux et ils essaient alors de se faire muter.

c. Les traducteurs aux Débats

Cette catégorie se rapproche assez de celle des traducteurs « mobiles ». La traduction des débats à la Chambre des communes offre un travail varié, mais, étant donné les qualifications exigées, y accéder apparaît souvent comme une consécration. Ces traducteurs peuvent être appelés à travailler à n'importe quel moment du jour ou de la nuit, durant plusieurs heures d'affilée, sans même parfois avoir le temps de manger. Soumis à une extrême tension, ils doivent traduire les délibérations dont une première version imprimée est publiée dès le lendemain.

Par contre, ils bénéficient des longs congés propres aux « sessionnels », c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne travaillent pas (du moins en général) entre les sessions.

C'est une consécration que de traduire aux Débats où l'appartenance à la « classe 5 » est exigée. On y reste généralement assez peu longtemps, les impératifs de la vie sociale (et surtout familiale) s'accommodant mal d'horaires aussi imprévus. Au sortir des Débats, véritable purgatoire où « les bons se séparent des méchants », on est mûr pour la revision ou la direction d'une section. Cependant, bien des fonctionnaires en appréhendent les risques : « Il ne faut pas aller aux Débats tout de suite; ou on coule, ou on nage... ».

2. Le statut professionnel du traducteur

Plus encore que du milieu fonctionnel, il faut tenir compte de l'environnement humain dans lequel évolue le traducteur. Nous avons vu plus haut ce qu'il est, et c'est assez pour exciter sa susceptibilité. Nous touchons ici à un point capital. Incompris et isolé, le traducteur attache une énorme importance à son statut. Pour commencer, soulignons qu'il existe un écart considérable entre la façon dont il considère sa profession et celle dont les autres fonctionnaires le jugent.

a. Comment se considèrent les traducteurs ?

Les traducteurs se considèrent unanimement comme des « professionnels¹⁶ », invoquant à l'appui de leur affirmation divers arguments : nature spécialisée du travail, qualités requises, quasi-nécessité de posséder un diplôme universitaire¹⁷, difficulté de l'examen d'entrée, etc. Autre point, jamais invoqué mais latent, la réminiscence des ambitions déçues; nombre d'entre eux en effet avaient envisagé de faire carrière dans une profession libérale, se trouvant même souvent sur le point d'aboutir lorsqu'ils durent en venir à la traduction. Leur traitement, relativement élevé, les autorise en outre à revendiquer l'appartenance à la catégorie des professionnels. Définissant les qualités et les aptitudes que requiert leur travail, les traducteurs parleront, pour les deux tiers, d'un travail technique pré-établi et assez mécanique, les autres se considérant davantage comme des artistes, et insistant sur l'intuition, l'humanisme lié à de vastes connaissances indispensables à l'exercice de cette profession. Mais au départ, tous se considèrent comme professionnels.

b. Comment les considère-t-on ?

L'attitude des autres fonctionnaires envers les traducteurs est, au dire de ces derniers, bien négative. C'est ici que les sujets interviewés ont déversé tout leur fiel, nous disant avec quel mépris ils sont considérés. Qu'on en juge par ces quelques extraits d'interviews :

Quand on fait notre métier, il faut savoir encaisser bien des niaiseries.

À l'Institut professionnel du Service civil, nous sommes considérés comme de drôles de professionnels. On vous traite tout au

plus comme sténographe un peu plus qualifié. À l'O. N. U., un traducteur est beaucoup plus considéré qu'ici.

Notre travail manque de prestige.

On doit faire un rapport quotidien du nombre de mots que l'on a traduits; ça ressemble à de la comptabilité. C'est humiliant à la fin.

On vous dit : « vous ne faites pas de travail créateur ». C'est idiot, on fait du travail créateur. Nous aidons les Anglais à refaire leur charabias.

On vous arrive avec un texte anglais, on le jette sur la table en disant : « Type me this in French ».

Mais il ne faudrait pas prendre le sort des traducteurs trop au tragique. On décèle chez eux un certain goût à se louer, se prenant volontiers pour de grands écrivains méconnus. S'ils se considéraient professionnels, c'est aussi par dépit. À la question concernant les qualités requises pour l'exercice de cette profession, ils se sont montrés intarissables, tant sur le nombre que sur la rareté de ces qualités.

Il demeure cependant certain que ce refus de reconnaître aux traducteurs le statut de professionnels n'est pas, de leur part, une simple impression. Nous apprenons¹⁸ en effet que la Direction du bureau de reclassification de la Commission du service civil envisage de les faire passer dans la catégorie « administration et service à l'étranger », faisant valoir qu'ils rendent « des services de régie interne ». Pour être acceptés comme professionnels, il faudrait qu'ils fournissent un diplôme de traduction et soient en même temps reconnus par un institut professionnel, mais la première de ces exigences équivaut déjà à un refus pur et simple de leur reconnaître le statut de professionnels puisque presque personne ne possède un tel diplôme !

Tollé général chez les traducteurs de l'Institut professionnel des fonctionnaires fédéraux qui jugent l'argument futile, la plus grande partie de la traduction étant destinée au public et non pas au fonctionnement interne.

Cet incident, dont nous ignorons au moment où nous écrivons ces lignes quel sera le dénouement, illustre suffisamment l'état d'esprit des traducteurs face aux fonctionnaires fédéraux.

Par ailleurs, il y a fondamentalement, de la part de l'employeur et de ceux qui font traduire les textes, une incompréhension chronique de ce qu'est la traduction. Ils croient que, bien souvent, « la traduction c'est de la frime », qui ne sert qu'à satisfaire quelques Québécois car, habitués à travailler, dans les ministères à Ottawa, avec leurs collègues francophones qui parlent tous parfaitement l'anglais, ils s'imaginent qu'il en va de même pour tous les Canadiens français. Ils savent pourtant, même si c'est confusément, que l'on ne traduit la plupart du temps que de l'anglais au français¹⁹. Enfin, les exigences de la publication simultanée de certains textes les obligent à des dates de tombée plus sévères.

c. Quel devrait être leur statut ?

Nous ne pouvons qu'abonder dans le sens des traducteurs qui souhaitent se voir accorder un statut, et cela pour plusieurs raisons d'ordre théorique autant que pratique.

Le Bureau international du travail reconnaît la traduction et l'interprétation comme des professions.

Le ministère du Travail du Canada a reconnu comme professionnelle toute occupation nécessitant un diplôme universitaire²⁰.

La traduction et l'interprétation, dans la fonction publique fédérale, ne peuvent être considérées comme des tâches administratives, car elles ne visent pas au premier chef le fonctionnement de la régie interne. Les traducteurs servent d'abord le public. La traduction et l'interprétation exigent une spécialisation professionnelle.

On ne peut s'engager au Bureau des traductions sans posséder des qualifications professionnelles.

Cette dernière raison nous importe au plus haut point, car l'exclusion des traducteurs de la catégorie professionnelle nuirait à leur moral déjà bien atteint. Par ailleurs, le recrutement en souffrirait, surtout celui des traducteurs hautement spécialisés, comme les médecins et les ingénieurs, qui ne sont pas prêts à abandonner un statut dont ils sont fiers.

3. Le problème du multiple isolement

L'incompréhension, la négation des qualités que nous venons d'évoquer, ne contribuent pas peu à isoler les traducteurs. À cette forme d'isolement s'en ajoutent d'autres. Ainsi, les traducteurs se trouvent, pour la plupart, dispersés dans les ministères auxquels ils sont rattachés; de ce fait, ils se connaissent peu, n'ont guère de contact ni avec les employés desdits ministères, pour lesquels ils constituent une espèce d'oiseau rare, ni avec leurs collègues des autres services. Ceci ne s'applique toutefois pas aux Débats, où les conditions de travail imposent une large coopération et un esprit d'équipe cohérent.

Ils constituent par ailleurs un groupe linguistique à part formant, là où ils sont groupés (à Montréal, aux Débats, à la Traduction générale), de véritables « unités francophones », n'utilisant l'anglais que pour communiquer avec l'extérieur²¹. Leurs communications internes s'effectuent totalement en français et leurs chefs de services sont tous canadiens-français.

L'un d'eux, expliquant pourquoi il n'avait jamais hors du travail de contacts avec des anglophones, disait savoureusement :

C'est assez de traduire leur baragouinage toute la journée sans baragouiner avec eux après le travail.

4. Les ambitions et les freins aux ambitions

L'ambition des trois quarts des traducteurs est assez limitée et se cantonne à des mutations ou des promotions à l'intérieur du Bureau.

La plupart diront espérer devenir chef ou sous-chef de section, ce qui correspond au grade six ou sept. Deux seulement souhaitent « monter le plus haut possible », alors que deux autres affirment, pour fuir les responsabilités, être prêts à demander (et obtenir) une rétrogradation, préférant un traitement inférieur mais une vie plus tranquille. Certains ont manifesté le désir de quitter la fonction publique pour retourner au secteur privé (fonder une agence, par exemple), mais à l'exception d'un seul, aucun ne songe à changer de métier²².

Nous avons interviewé 26 traducteurs au cours de septembre 1965 et cinq au cours du mois d'avril 1966. Entre temps, le système de promotion a considérablement changé, cette pierre d'achoppement continuuel que constituait l'examen de compétence de la « classe 3 » ayant notamment été supprimée. En effet, pour passer dans cette classe, il fallait subir un examen encore plus sévère que celui d'entrée dont la préparation pouvait demander des mois. De telles exigences n'existaient, à notre connaissance, nulle part ailleurs dans la fonction publique fédérale. Toujours est-il que ce point était très souvent mentionné comme un obstacle à la promotion. Mais laissons cet aspect qui ne revêt plus qu'une valeur historique.

Autre frein, le nombre limité de postes, mais doutons de la validité de cet argument, car ce n'est voir qu'un aspect bien restreint des choses. Il est vrai que les dimensions du Bureau connaissent des limites et qu'il faut évoluer dans ce cadre restreint, cependant la traduction, avec la nouvelle politique de bilinguisme, subit et subira un essor considérable qui conduira, d'ici peu, à un véritable *boom* de la traduction.

On conçoit cependant que certains traducteurs en place depuis longtemps se sentent menacés par la venue de jeunes éléments mieux formés et ayant bénéficié des réformes entreprises au Québec dans le domaine de l'éducation, visant entre autre à un meilleur enseignement du français.

On peut prévoir, sans craindre de se tromper, que les traducteurs auront à se plaindre, avec raison peut-être, du système d'ancienneté.

Parmi les autres freins, notons la trop grande spécialisation que nous venons d'évoquer et dont souffrent plusieurs, ainsi que, dans certains cas, des facteurs purement personnels mais déterminants, tels le manque d'ambition avoué et la maladie.

5. Le cas des interprètes

Signalons immédiatement qu'il y a 13 interprètes (interprétation simultanée) au Bureau des traductions : sept anglophones et six francophones. Les premiers ne travaillent en général que dans un seul sens (français-anglais), les autres dans les deux sens. Or, 10 à 12 % seulement du travail se fait du français à l'anglais. Cette inégalité, les interprètes francophones la ressentent cruellement.

On peut traduire pendant des heures d'affilée. Parfois, ça va même beaucoup plus loin. Par exemple, au Sénat, pendant des heures je me suis trouvé seul interprète... J'étais obligé de courir d'une cabine à l'autre selon la langue de celui qui parlait. En effet, je traduis à la fois de l'anglais au français et du français à l'anglais.

Cette insatisfaction due à un surcroît de travail minera à la longue leur moral.

6. Les traducteurs et la question du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme

Les traducteurs vivent dans un monde linguistique à part, travaillent dans leur langue, et leur groupe de travail est canadien-français; aussi ne sont-ils guère à même de nous informer sur la situation générale qui prévaut pour les autres fonctionnaires francophones. Par ailleurs, et nous le signalions au début de cette étude, le Bureau compte un certain nombre de Néo-Canadiens insensibles aux problèmes créés par la dualité culturelle du pays.

Tableau 14.5

Attitude générale des traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et de l'ensemble du personnel francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale (%)

	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes mixtes	Attitudes pessimistes	Indiffé- rence	Total	N
Traducteurs francophones	42,4	26,9	19,2	11,5	100	23
Échelon inter- médiaire francophone	39,1	23,4	28,1	9,4	100	128

Néanmoins, l'attitude générale des traducteurs quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme suit d'assez près celle de l'échelon intermédiaire francophone en général. À peine remarque-t-on chez eux une moindre incidence des attitudes pessimistes; ce qui ne signifie pas pour autant que, lorsqu'ils s'expriment, leur pessimisme ne soit pas prononcé. C'est peut-être en effet chez les traducteurs (canadiens-français) que l'on rencontre les commentaires les plus virulents à propos du bilinguisme. Le bilinguisme, ce sont eux qui en font les frais. Plusieurs savent que la traduction n'est qu'un artifice visant à donner aux Canadiens français un visage acceptable d'un pouvoir étranger. Qu'on en juge par ces paroles amères :

Le bilinguisme, c'est une influence de façade, car c'est une question d'actualité. Mais, ça ne change pas grand chose. C'est un bilinguisme très vivant : « Va traduire cette note pour faire plaisir aux Canadiens français ». Comme je vous le disais tout à l'heure, c'est même souvent un bilinguisme absurde²³.

Fait à noter, en aucun cas les traducteurs ne relieront leur insatisfaction à une discrimination ethnique à leur égard. L'homogénéité linguistique et ethnique de leur propre milieu de travail, l'importance officielle accordée à la traduction dans la fonction publique vont à l'encontre, pour ainsi dire, d'une éventuelle discrimination ou d'un blocage d'ordre linguistique. Ils n'entrevoient d'ailleurs pas d'un si mauvais oeil les effets que des développements éventuels du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme pourraient avoir sur leur carrière.

Tableau 14.6

Effets du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme sur la carrière, tels que perçus et anticipés par les traducteurs francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et l'ensemble du personnel francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)

	Bons effets « assuré- ment »	Bons effets « pos- sibles »	Aucun effet	Mauvais effets	Sans opinion	Total	N
Traducteurs francophones	39,2	8,7	34,8	4,3	13,0	100	23
Échelon inter- médiaire francophone	26,8	14,2	47,2	4,7	7,1	100	128

L'insistance mise actuellement sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme peut être bénéfique à leur carrière dans 39 % des cas, ou n'y rien changer dans 35 % des cas.

D. Conclusion : portrait du traducteur

En somme, on pourrait définir ainsi le traducteur : être insatisfait, cultivé, qui ne peut faire profession de ses connaissances qu'en traduisant; être incompris, dont la susceptibilité doit être ménagée; enfin, être instable, pour qui la fonction publique fédérale représente un havre de paix où il trouve enfin la sécurité professionnelle longtemps recherchée.

C'est là du moins l'image que nous avons pu dégager à partir d'entrevues menées quelques mois avant l'annonce d'une hausse de traitement substantielle²⁴ et l'abolition de l'examen jusqu'alors requis pour être promu à la classe 3.

Mal payés et soumis à un système de promotion trop rigide, les sujets interviewés pouvaient peut-être alors justifier plus facilement leur insatisfaction. Jusqu'à quel point leur mécontentement professionnel s'est-il atténué depuis ou diminuera-t-il ? L'esprit des changements récents dans les conditions de travail vise sans doute à

les motiver plus fortement et à les inciter à poursuivre une carrière (de traducteur) dans la fonction publique. N'oublions pas cependant que, même si cela est plus sensible dans le cas des traducteurs, ce sont en fait tous les fonctionnaires qui se sont vus récemment et se verront davantage motivés à demeurer dans la fonction publique pour y faire carrière.

Si l'on voulait esquisser le portrait du successeur de l'actuel traducteur, on se trouverait sans doute en face d'une machine électronique. En effet, des machines à traduire seront sans doute largement utilisées à partir de 1975 et les traducteurs les plus chevronnés se retrouveront pour un temps conseillers en programmation. Mais le métier disparaîtra (sauf pour le travail littéraire, du moins pour le moment); il disparaîtra progressivement, en commençant par le travail technique.

The chapter deals with the Patent Examiners working in the Patent and Copyright Office of the department of the Secretary of State.¹ To set the background for an analysis of the career of the Patent Examiner, the chapter opens with a description of the sample of persons interviewed by the Career Study, and then examines the bureaucratic structure of the Patent Office.

A. Interviewed Sample

The total universe meeting the Career Study's criteria in the department of the Secretary of State was 171 subjects; 114 or 66.6 per cent are Anglophone and 57 or 33.3 per cent are Francophone. As pointed out earlier (Chapter IV), the Francophones in State are heavily concentrated in the Translation Bureau. Only 10 of them are in the Patent Office, where they make up only 11.5 per cent of the 87 employees inside our age and salary limits.

Samples of 38 Anglophone and 33 Francophone respondents were interviewed. The number of Patent Examiners which fell into the samples was 34—27 Anglophones and 7 Francophones.

Several comparisons were made between those Patent Examiners interviewed and the average for all Patent Examiners in the target universe in order to establish the representativeness of the sample. The correspondence between sample and universe is quite close. In salary terms, for instance, the mean for the population of Patent Examiners is \$8,214 while the mean for the sampled group is \$8,341. A comparison of the two groups by grade level is shown in Table 15.1. It is apparent that the large Anglophone sample matches the Anglophone population quite closely in terms of having the various grade levels represented in an appropriate proportion.

Table 15.1

Sample and population of middle-level Patent Examiners, by grade (percentages)

Patent Officer Grade	Francophone		Anglophone	
	Sample	Population	Sample	Population
1	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2	0	0.0	22.2	29.0
3	4	70.0	63.0	55.3
4	3	30.0	3.7	3.9
5-6	0	0.0	11.1	11.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
N	7	10	27	76

B. The Patent Office

1. Structure

The executive of the Patent and Copyright Office is headed by a Commissioner of Patents who is responsible for the administration of the Patent Act, the Industrial Design and Union Label Act, and the Copyright Act. The executive includes an Assistant Patent Commissioner, a Special Assistant to the Commissioner, the Controller of Examinations, and the Assistant Controller of Examinations.

Within the Patent Office there are three main divisions: the mechanical, the electrical, and the chemical. Each of these is headed by a division chief—a Patent Examiner VI. The Office examines applications for patents and registers industrial designs and timber marks to provide protection to inventors, authors, designers, the government, and the public. The examination and disposal of a patent application entails consideration of novelty and inventive subject matter, a decision as to patentability, and a verification of compliance with procedural requirements.

The Patent Office employs 400 people, of which about 170 are professional people, mainly engineers. Only three of the 34 Patent Examiners in our study had university degrees in science. The rest were engineers. The distribution of the professional employees by grade, salary, and duties is shown in Table 15.2.

The department received approximately 28,000 patent applications in the fiscal year ending on March 31, 1965, and in the same year, 23,500 were issued. As a result of this great number of applications the senior people claim that the Office is more than three years behind in its work. Because Patent Examiners are specialists in different areas of engineering, applications are allotted according to the examiner's specialization and not according to language. There

Table 15.2

Salary levels, occupations, grades and duties of Patent Examiners

Grade	Salary range	Percentage	Duties
7	\$13,800-\$12,300	1.2	1- Special assistant to Commissioner 1- Controller of Examinations
6	\$12,300-\$10,900	1.8	Division heads
5	\$10,700-\$ 9,500	8.4	Section chief
4	\$ 9,600-\$ 8,520	13.8	Working level
3	\$ 8,640-\$ 7,560	43.1	Working level
2	\$ 7,320-\$ 6,180	26.9	Training and working level
1	\$ 4,680-\$ 6,060	4.8	Training and working level
Total		100.0	
<i>N</i>		167	

are no exclusive French sections in the Office. However, one Franco-phone Examiner has been assigned to each division to handle French applications, and these men are given credit for this extra work beyond their ordinary examination work. For the most part, however, the language of patents is English. Of the 23,476 patents granted in the fiscal year 1964-65, only 2,032 went to Canadians. The bulk of the remainder went to Great Britain and the U.S.A. In all, there were 186 patents granted in French. This constitutes less than one per cent of all patents granted.²

It is evident then that the documents handled or produced by the Patent Office are almost totally English. Given these work arrangements and the small volume of French-language patents which exists at present, senior officials in the department see little need for the Patent Office to make special efforts to recruit and hold bilingual personnel.

2. Career patterns in the Patent Office

The positions in the Patent Office range from Patent Officer 1 to Patent Officer 7. At recruitment the men generally enter at the 1 and 2 levels. From there, they progress to Patent Examiner 3 which is the usual working level. To qualify as a Patent Examiner 3, a man must have had four years experience in patent work. At least two of these four years must be in Patent Law, and one of these two must be spent in the Patent Office. To enter the third level, the person must pass an examination which covers the Rules and Regulations of Patent Law. After attaining the 3 level, the Examiner must remain there at least four years before moving up a grade. Patent Examiner 4 constitutes the highest working level.³

Supervisory responsibilities are assumed at the Patent Examiner 5 level; at this point a man becomes a section chief with five or six Examiners under him. The next promotion is to the 6 level where there are only three positions, one at the head of each division in the Office. The highest rank is Examiner 7. There are two men at this level; one is the Special Assistant to the Commissioner and the other the Controller of Examinations.

Above this grade are the Assistant Commissioner of Patents and the Commissioner of Patents. The former is a classified Public Service position; the latter is appointed by Order in Council. At present, both the incumbents are men who have moved up through the ranks. It seems to be an unwritten law that the position of Commissioner alternates between Francophone and Anglophone incumbents and this pattern has been observed since the 1920's.

C. Social Life Before Entering the Public Service

1. Social origins

The Patent Office contains a much higher proportion of "new Canadians" whose mother tongue is neither English nor French than other work units in our survey of the middle-level. About a fifth of the Patent Examiners were born abroad and more than two thirds of the Anglophone sample first learned a European language other than English or French before acquiring their present working language.

The Patent Examiners also come from humbler origins than the rest of the middle-level (Chapter V). A third of the Anglophones come from a small town or rural environment; 44 per cent are of working class or farm origins.

The Patent Examiners seem to be men who chose their occupation fairly early in life, setting their sights on a professional career. About 30 per cent originally had hopes of a medical or law career but, for various reasons, ended up in the physical sciences and/or engineering. They described themselves as "always interested in Maths and Science," or implied that their interest developed naturally and gradually ("I just grew into it"). They were unable to specify any particular influences which shaped their occupational choices, except perhaps the overall contribution of parents and environment.

2. Education and previous work history

The Patent Examiner, without exception, is a university graduate in engineering or the physical sciences. In addition, all Patent Officers are now recruited after a stint of employment outside the federal administration, usually in private industry. Only 20 per cent of the Examiners in our sample came to the Patent Office right from university, and these are held-overs from an earlier recruitment policy. This group is atypical in that the average length of service is well over 10 years. The remaining 27 respondents all had work experience outside the Public Service.

The typical Patent Examiner is 29 or 30 when he enters and he has five to six years of previous experience behind him, almost always as a professional engineer. He has most often held only one or two jobs,⁴ although a handful have had three or more, and the over-all impression is of relative career stability rather than extreme restlessness before the move into the Patent Office.

3. *Joining the Patent Office*

In giving their reasons for joining the Patent Office, the Anglophone Patent Examiners emphasized the security and other marginal benefits, stressing benefit over task factors to a greater extent than the rest of the middle-level personnel. About half of them indicated that they had wanted a secure position with few pressures, and felt that the Patent Office offered the best prospects in this regard. Another important factor was simply the availability of the job; it was revealed that when many of these engineers were seeking a new post, the Patent Office offered the only suitable openings. Such a contingency is more prevalent in the work history of the Patent Examiner than it is for other public servants.

Table 15.3

Primary reason given for joining the Public Service by Patent Officers and by all middle-level Anglophones (percentages)

Primary reason given for joining the Public Service	Patent Officers		Middle-level
	Francophones	Anglophones	Anglophones
Benefit factors	4	51.9	39.8
Ottawa area	0	7.4	7.7
Security	3	25.9	23.2
Only job available	1	18.5	8.9
Work factors	3	40.7	51.2
No reason - other	0	7.4	9.0
Total		100.0	100.0
N	7	27	168

Only four out of 10 joined because they found the work content (task factors) more attractive in the Patent Office than in private industry. An engineer who has been in the Patent Office for 10 years and at level 3 for the last eight had the following to say:

I was interested in something in which I could develop a full career.

However, the reasons given by another engineer who has been in the Office for two years at the 2 level represent more accurately the attitudes most commonly expressed by the Patent Examiners:

I felt that in the long run the C.S. would offer more opportunity and I took an initial cut to come here. At my age, it was better

than going back into private industry especially since there was a lot of pressure in my old job.

Thus for many, the Public Service offers a respite from the fast pace of private industry.

D. Public Service Career

1. Career mobility

The majority (53 per cent) of the respondents experienced downward mobility by joining the Patent Office. These are men who in their previous work history had moved from working level to supervisory or administrative positions but who, on joining the Office at the 1 or 2 level reverted back to a junior position. There were some respondents (26 per cent) who, in joining, experienced horizontal mobility—that is they left approximately corresponding jobs in private industry to join the Patent Office at the same level. There were no respondents who experienced upward career mobility by entering the government.

Having once joined the Office, the respondents have experienced little or no mobility of any kind. Although the length of time with the Patent Office ranges from six months to 18 years throughout the sample, with an average of 7.2 years for the Anglophone group and 9.2 years for the Francophones, only seven respondents have moved above the working level, Patent Examiner 3. Three of the seven are Francophones and they are at the 4 level. Two of them have partial or complete post-graduate degrees, the other a bachelor's degree. All have been in the Patent Office more than 10 years. The remaining four are Anglophone Examiners. Three are at the 5 level, with an average of 14 years in the Office; the other is a Patent Examiner 4 with 12 years in the Office. The remainder of the sample is, as stated, at the 3 or 2 level. Assuming that the sample is representative of the population, it can be seen that progression above the 3 level is very slow and difficult.

2. Career orientation and style

The Patent Examiner must be described as a professional—that is, he has graduated from a professional school located in a university and is working in his area of study. The Patent Examiner also tends to be an "institutionalist." He identifies with the Patent Office and sees it as providing a work setting where he can build a life-term career.

In his work, the Patent Examiner, like many engineers, is both technically and administratively oriented: technical to the extent that he works daily at applying technical expertise to specific problems; administrative to the extent that he feels interpersonal skills are necessary in his work, and more important, to the extent that he aspires to supervisory positions: 85 per cent of our respondents expressed a desire to move up past the working level to administrative positions.

The Patent Examiner's career approach would best be described as one of "movement," since there is an anticipation of and a desire for upward career mobility in the form of promotion and the acquisition of more responsibility. But the approach used to attain this mobility would have to be described as "passive" since, although he may be discontented with his environment, the typical Patent Examiner does not feel that he can do anything about it. The structure and the promotion policy of the Patent Office is such that he must spend many years at relatively routine tasks. Because the office structure is bottom heavy, promotions to senior levels are scarce, and there seems little the normally ambitious man can do but wait. Such enforced passivity breeds frustration:

There is no way up in the Patent Office, no bridge up to the rest of the department. The Patent Office is the saddest place in the government to build a career.

However, the typical Anglophone Patent Examiner seems to be idealistic rather than cynical. He believes or hopes that if he does a good job and doesn't cause any trouble he will move up the ladder. This idealism is, of course, unrealistic. He realizes that there is "no room at the top" and that seniority still counts as much or more than merit, but he seems unable to accept the implications of the situation. Almost every Patent Examiner aspires to a supervisory post in the next few years, refusing to face the fact that the number of these positions is limited. The majority plan to stay and make their careers in the Patent Office, but they will necessarily be careers lacking in upward mobility.

There were only six respondents who could be placed in the "cynical" category. Three were Anglophones and three were Francophones. The Anglophone "cynics" were those respondents who were dissatisfied about the general departmental set-up, who felt that merit was not rewarded sufficiently, and who believe that interpersonal factors influenced the promotion system.

A section chief, when asked what qualities a young man should have to get ahead, replied:

He's got to be compatible with his seniors. If they don't like you, you are going to be out even if you do a good job. It helps if you are personal friends. It certainly does no harm. In the light of this comment, it is not surprising that the three Francophone Examiners were "cynical" because they felt there was ethnic discrimination in the promotion process. Also, the totally English environment of the Office was not to their liking.

3. Perceptions of how to get ahead in the Patent Office

An attempt was made to find out what qualities these respondents perceived as being helpful in moving ahead in the Patent Office. In answer to the question on the importance of activities or connections outside work, the Anglophone respondents generally answered that they did not feel that such activities had any importance at all. The Francophone respondents felt that personal contacts were instrumental

in getting ahead and yet they were not very active in any such activities nor did they attempt to cultivate personal contacts. As to the advice they would give to a young man who wanted to reach the top in their field, the respondents answered in essence that they were not really sure what was needed to get ahead. Those that did give an answer thought that it was best "not to rock the boat," "to keep in line and do your work"—in other words, to be passive. One respondent felt that "in patent examinations an introvert is needed."

Aside from the passivity in personal behaviour thought to be desirable, about 67 per cent agreed on the importance of technical competence and good performance, and over 40 per cent also mentioned that education was an important aid—the more the better.

4. Career satisfaction

To determine the amount of satisfaction or dissatisfaction felt by the Patent Examiners about their prospects for career mobility we can look at the degree to which they express commitment to a career in the Public Service. The majority (71 per cent) feel themselves committed to the Service, and of the remainder only 14.7 per cent are definitely uncommitted or planning to leave, while the rest are undecided. From this it could be assumed that they are generally satisfied with the Patent Office. However, this impression is lessened when one takes into account the dissatisfaction expressed in the interviews:

There is a lot of unrest and dissatisfaction with the job and the work we are doing. It becomes boring and repetitious. If you do a good job, its very taxing. You have to read and read. The reports you write repeat themselves. The people reach the top of their salary in grade 3 and stay there for years and years. Promotion to Grade 4 is very scarce. When someone finally does get promoted, there is much hard feeling that it was the wrong person. A lot of people think of it as a job that is fine for a few years but not for a long time.

It is perhaps strange that with such attitudes and such adverse conditions, the Patent Examiner generally plans on staying with the Office. It would seem that the reasons for the widespread resignation to an admittedly unsatisfactory occupational environment must be sought in the character of the typical Patent Examiner. A few tentative explanations have been suggested, although it must be remembered that these hypotheses cannot be fully tested.

First, the Patent Examiner appears to be a man not driven by ambition. In fact he seems to have deliberately turned away from the "rat race" of private industry and accepted instead a dead-end position as a technician, doing a routine job which would have little appeal for engineering careerists. As one Examiner put it:

This type of work appeals only to a certain type of person. About all you can say is that it is an oddball job.

Often the Examiner has joined the Patent Office for security reasons. As previously mentioned, a majority joined for marginal benefits, that is, for reasons other than those connected solely with the type of work they wanted to do. In no way can the people within the Patent Office be described as "go-getters." Instead, they seem to be quiet and unaggressive. Many come from working-class or farm families and many are of minority-group origin. Often, by obtaining a professional degree, they have come a long way and are not anxious to climb higher. In rising above their class origins, often through self-education, they have reached the limits of their ambition and are content to remain there. Others, perhaps, stay for the same reason which led them to enter the Public Service in the first place; its reputation for offering greater opportunity to new Canadians or those of humble origins than does the business world. Supporting this hypothesis, one engineer who has been in the Patent Office for nine years, remaining at the 3 level for the last seven, said, "not being Canadian born, my advancement opportunities would be better in the Service than in private industry. . . ."

We decided also to look into the question of university prestige, that is, whether the Patent Examiner had been educated in what could be classified as a "prestige school." It was found that 63 per cent had received their degrees at small, lesser-known institutions in Canada or abroad. From this it might be inferred that the majority of the Patent Examiners are men who may lack the qualities or contacts derived from participating in a first-class engineering or science milieu.⁵ It is possibly for this reason that, as we have indicated above, they have opted out of the competitive pressures found in some areas of private industry.

The "cooling out" process, a common phenomena in the engineering profession, may also influence the attitudes of these Patent Examiners towards their jobs. It is possible that engineering has turned out to be not all that they wanted or expected. The job may have become merely a means of insuring a steady and adequate income. In such a case a man would have very little emotional investment in building it into a successful career, but would instead direct his interests and energies elsewhere. For example, it was found that 21 of the Examiners in our sample mentioned active membership in such outside activities as sports and associations (such as the Toastmasters or the Legion). Some had farms, cottages, or an active outdoors life. Very few made no mention of some form of outside interest. One man felt that an examiner "should have an interest outside the office; a community conscience." In this way, the job and any dissatisfaction associated with it become secondary to other interests and can therefore be accepted.

*E. Problems of the Patent Office**1. Recruitment*

The recruitment of Patent Examiners is a pressing and constant problem. In 1965, 28 new Patent Examiners were hired but in the same year 23 were lost to industry and private patent agents. The recruitment for all branches of the department of the Secretary of State is done by the Civil Service Commission. However, the Personnel Office of the department recommends procedures to the Commission, drafts advertisements, and sends its staff on recruiting trips.

The Patent Office has a number of difficulties in enlisting enough competent engineers. First, complications arise because of the variety of specialists required. Within the three main divisions, there are 300 Patent classes and approximately 22,000 subclasses requiring many special types of knowledge. In addition, the Office cannot compete with the salaries and benefits offered by industry, nor with those offered to the most talented of its personnel by private patent agent firms. The raiding done by this latter group is particularly unsettling:

Twenty-three resigned last year and I would estimate that more than half went to become patent agents.

There is the feeling that because they [the Patent Office] need so many people, they will hire almost anyone they can get. They just keep hiring and hiring and hope they can keep some of them in. They realize that it is a dead end job and they expect them to go. But they seem to feel that if you go out as an agent, they haven't really lost you to the profession. It will be a first rate training ground for my next job.

This last quote is from an Examiner who had definite plans to leave the Patent Office and join an agent.

A third deterrent, and perhaps the most crucial one, is the fact that the type of work done by Patent Examiners is often routine and uncreative. It smacks of the production line and job quotas. "An engineer who wants to create and build would not be happy here," was a comment offered by a Patent Examiner 3 with six years experience.

The recruitment of Francophone personnel poses special problems. The chief difficulty is one which is found everywhere in the civil service: Francophones are reluctant to come to Ottawa because of a disdain for the "English" atmosphere of the capital and a fear of losing their language and culture.⁶

Another part of the problem of recruitment can be explained by the new policy mentioned above, which the Office initiated about two years ago. This policy as it now stands is against the practice of hiring examiners right out of university. The reason for this is the feeling that without experience in industry an Examiner is more likely to have problems understanding the inventor's point of view. Also, it was found that men fresh out of university were more likely to leave. In addition perhaps, personnel officials realize that a taste

of job insecurity in the "outside world" might incline a new recruit to stay with the Patent Office.

2. Turnover

In spite of a rather clear-cut career pattern, there was a 17 per cent turnover in Patent Office personnel in 1964-5.⁷ The reasons for this rate are similar to those causing difficulties in recruitment. The following is a response given by a relatively successful Patent Office careerist—a Patent Examiner 5 with 12 years experience who holds a supervisory position—when asked to explain the high turnover rate in the Patent Office. His opinions reflect the thinking at all levels in the divisions:

The first reason is salary. The Civil Service is always behind industry and private patent agents. This becomes an irritation factor. Secondly, there is not enough advancement above the 3 level—there are only so many positions, their number is small. Once they are filled there is no advancement until someone dies or leaves or another reorganization comes along. Third, those that leave figure there isn't enough challenge or prestige as a Patent Examiner in the Civil Service. The outside looks on a civil servant as a glorified clerk. These men are professionals; they don't like this picture that people have of them. We lose the majority of our people to agents or attorneys. There they get more money and prestige. The pay is better on the outside and there is more opportunity to express themselves. There is a greater challenge and freedom of expression to work on your own outside. They aren't bound by the dictates of a government department.

3. Policy and promotion

As we stated earlier, Patent Office policy dictates that, regardless of a man's prior experience or educational qualifications, he must begin as a Patent Examiner 1 or 2. From here, advancement to the 3 level is rapid. There is no limit to the number of positions open at the 3 level and promotions to it are automatic after two or three years experience. But it is at the 3 level that the bottleneck develops. The Examiners can usually expect to be denied further advancement for a long period of time. Ability and drive does count, but more significant for promotion policy is the meagre number of openings available at the 4 level, not to mention levels 5 to 7. About 75 per cent of the positions available are at Grade 3 or lower. Since there are four more grades above this, it is evident that the availability of openings grows smaller the more one advances. Thus, the upward rise of even the brightest and most aggressive individuals is necessarily slow. When asked if he felt that his career progression was being barred, one frustrated individual replied:

Yes, it's a result of the structure of the office. Competition gets fiercer as you get to the top. You have to wait for a person to retire, resign, or die.

Recognition of this situation came out quite clearly in many other interviews. A Patent Examiner 3 with seven years in the Office, the last five at the 3 level, concurs in this dissatisfaction:

There are a limited number of positions at the higher levels as well as an ineffective rating and promotion system.

A further explanation for the lack of mobility is the Office policy of keeping a man at a particular level for a given number of years before he can be promoted. Another, more widely accepted reason for slow movement upwards is the role seniority plays in promotion. Over half of the respondents made reference to this factor in one form or another. The following response was given by a Patent Examiner 3 who has since left the Patent Office:

Seniority considerations play too big a part. A genius couldn't get a job ahead of a guy with seniority. The relative effect of seniority and merit depends on the Supervisor.

Another rather disillusioned Patent Examiner 3 had this to say:

Many times they promote the wrong man--the guy sitting on his ass with seniority. The capable young guys leave.

Another respondent with an M.A. in Physics who has been in the Office for five years and who is awaiting the verification of a promotion to the 4 level which has been challenged, gives a slightly different view:

. . .seniority does not have as much effect as it used to. Promotion is now based more on ability and understanding of your art. Seniority is still a bone of contention in many of the promotions. The men who have been here for some time are appealing promotions which passed them by.

This last quote gives evidence that a new promotion policy, introduced about two years earlier, may perhaps be alleviating some of the old grievances. Promotions are now officially based on merit and an appraisal board has been set up to determine the merits of any particular candidate. However, since this is a new system, it will for a time be viewed critically by those entrenched in the Office. For instance, one examiner in the process of appealing a promotion system decision felt that the new promotion system "seems to have growing pains," and many other Examiners merely find in the new system a different cause for the dissatisfaction that was inherent in the old one. In the sample of the Patent Office, 14 examiners voiced no criticism of the new promotion policy and seven expressed no opinion. However, 13 were negative in their reaction, feeling that the system was adversely affected by ethnicity, the structure of the department, the problems presented by an appraisal system, and the rules and regulations of the Civil Service Commission. The following comments are typical of the hostility felt by some toward the new system.

The men who make the promotions are no more qualified than I to judge the personal merits of candidates.

I could see many reasons why some people didn't get promoted, but often I couldn't see why others *did* get promoted. Promotions are made on the supervisor's report and the appraisal board has to accept what two supervisors say. It's a somewhat fairer system

than blatant favoritism but I think it is only one step above this. Certainly if a supervisor doesn't like a man, he can stop him from ever receiving a promotion.

On the positive side, a Patent Examiner 5 felt that the new system was much fairer:

Now merit is clearly emphasized over seniority.

Another aspect of the promotion system which received much comment was the policy of moving the most competent examiners into administration.

After a person has been in the Patent Office for a number of years he becomes an administrator. This is the height of idiocy—he loses his engineering skills. I will always regard myself as an engineer. Professional people do not need supervisors. This remark was made by a Patent Examiner 4, a level which was recently made the last working level to take care of exactly that complaint. However, this did not go far enough and the suggestion contained in the next quote is being looked into.

I feel in the Patent Office they should have two avenues of advancement. One to the administrative level and one to the technical level. At present, to keep their best men, they advance them up the scale; by doing so, they move them out of technical work into administrative work. This to me is not a good policy. I feel there should be a plan where a good man can go up the scale to an equal level to the administrator but remain in the technical field.

4. The quota system

Another factor which presents a great many problems to the Examiners is the quota system. This system, as described by a Patent Examiner 3, appears quite tenable—at least in theory:

The Commissioner of Patents at the beginning of the year decides how many patents they want to do for that coming year. He then divides these up among his three main divisions according to which art they belong to. The division chiefs then divide these up among their different sections. The section chiefs allot these to their Patent Examiners based on the ability of the men. The number given to each man is pessimistic or underrated as to the amount it is hoped he can do in a year. This takes care of any difficult applications they may have which take longer than expected. Or the chief may rearrange the amount a man was expected to do. The quota system is flexible. You can get your quota revised. The administration is open to suggestion if you feel that you can't handle all the applications expected of you. The quota given is dependent on the art and on the man's abilities. There is appropriate supervision and a close checking of reports and the Patent Examiner's work to see if he is meeting his quota.

However, it seems that this theory does not work as smoothly as might be expected, and the problems and pressures inherent in such a quota system are a source of great stress within the Office:

Anybody can meet the quota, but then the quality suffers tremendously. One of the big gripes in this office is because of this. They can't do a proper job because they are so pushed. The inventor pays to have a good job done and then doesn't get it.

They have to read about 15 cases a week and they can't do a good job, they have to be skimpy. In Canada the quota is 275 and no excuses taken. In England the quota is 100 and in the U.S. it is around 80. So just compare the speed to other examiners.

It is on the basis of how many patents you grant that you are promoted—not on how many you examine.

It is important to be able to cope with the mental strain of meeting the quota. You don't get recognition for doing good work, only if you keep up the volume. Their only concern is trying to cut down the backlog. If you meet the quota, OK; if you don't, you have to explain. It's hard on men. It forces some to leave and gives others breakdowns. The quality of the work is affected. It's absurd for a professional—you only get credit for the applications that make patents. Those that you worked hard on and that didn't make it don't count. Quantity is only supposed to be 1/15 of the decision in promotion. Actually, it's much more. One man, a Patent Examiner 3 with an extreme sense of futility, felt so deeply about the quota system that he set out to investigate the relation of the Patent Office to the Canadian economy:

What resulted was that I got the impression that it was a machine turning out documents that weren't really helping Canada at all.

He goes on to say:

I couldn't accept the situation here until I understood it fully. After understanding it, it was necessary to assess my position in it. That is why I don't feel I can stay, because the policy of the department is at loggerheads with my professional ethic. This quantity over quality aspect of the Patent Office is something that I can't accept because of the great effect that these Patents have on the economy. I feel that the policy should be one of quality being the all important thing. The other day a memo came around that was unsigned and not dated. It said that the policy of the Office was one of a liberal granting of patents. This I feel will lead to lower quality of work. I feel they don't see what they are doing. . . . The patents that come through this Office are mainly from foreign inventors and companies (about 95 per cent). By decreasing quality and thereby increasing quantity they are in fact increasing foreign investment in this country. They are increasing foreign monopolies in Canadian companies. If for no other reason, this is what is wrong with lowering quality in granting patents.

5. Morale within the Patent Office

The many complaints voiced about the promotion and quota systems naturally affect the morale of the Patent Office. It was not a

contented employee who said that the Patent Office was "the saddest place in the government to build a career." The turmoil and unrest which result from pressure, difficult working conditions, and general dissatisfaction with the job seems to pervade the Office. Few are entirely happy; many are deeply discontent. The men seem to be profoundly concerned with their ineffectuality as engineers and professional men in such a restricted milieu. The culmination of many frustrations often forces them out of the Patent Office and into private business where they feel that their status is improved and they can find more satisfying expression for their professional ability.

This discontent often manifests itself in the strange forms of behaviour that some respondents claim are a by-product of patent work. One man was asked about the pressure of working under a quota system:

It could be pressure. . . it's a very lonely type of work. You do the same stuff over and over, particularly if you have been here for a long time. Nobody bothers you; you don't have to see a soul for several days. It might possibly be the strain of trying to understand the reports. But it's probably latent in many people before they come into the office. And it's the type of work that brings it out. There are some incredible stories of what has happened to people in the Patent Office. Some take drugs. Very strange forms of mental illness come out. It is a very high percentage considering and it's all very disrupting to the office.

Since we have no way of comparing the Patent Office with private industry, we have no way of judging whether or not the level of morale is significantly lower and thus more disruptive. However, it is obvious that the typical Patent Examiner is a man disillusioned with many aspects of his job.

F. French Usage and Francophones in the Patent Office

In the Patent Office the common language of work is English. Because patents are examined, verified, and granted in the language in which they are received, and since 99 per cent are received in English, there is little or no French used in the Office for work. This in all likelihood puts the Francophone Examiners at a disadvantage. It is interesting to note that all the Francophone respondents in the sample were dissatisfied and three of seven justified their dissatisfaction largely on language grounds.

The Francophone respondents also made some very strong remarks regarding the promotional and structural arrangements of the Patent Office. The first quote is from a respondent with a bachelor's degree in physics. He was a Patent Examiner 4 and had been at that level for six of his 12 years in the Office:

Les Canadiens français font le travail des autres en français.
Les Canadiens français ont un travail supplémentaire en dehors de leur propre spécialité. Ils ont du surplus, il n'y a pas de

reconnaissance pour cela et ils ne sont pas payés. . . .

The next quote is from a Patent Examiner 3 who had been in the Office five years and at the 3 level for six months:

On n'a pas fait d'effort pour retenir les Canadiens français. Beaucoup ont quitté. Quant aux possibilités d'avancement, c'est assez pessimiste: il y a seulement des Canadiens anglais, sur le "board," qui prennent les décisions.

And finally, a Patent Examiner 4 with a degree in Applied Science (Chemistry) who has been in the Office for 10 years and has just been promoted to the 4 level, adds his pessimistic view of the Franco-phones' chance for advancement:

Quand un Canadien anglais doit choisir entre un Canadien anglais qui pense comme lui, qui a été formé comme lui dans les mêmes écoles, les mêmes universités, et un Canadien français qui lui est totalement différent, il choisit l'Anglais.

Whether or not the ideas expressed in these quotes are true is not the real issue. The point is that the Francophone Examiners believe they are, and leave because of them. Since the population of Francophone Examiners is small it could be said that their ideas are not representative. On the other hand, perhaps the population is small *because* their ideas are representative.

The predominant impression given by the Anglophone Examiners on the subject of French Canada was one of apathy. Table 15.4 illustrates this point: 48 per cent of the Anglophone Patent Examiners were apathetic about the recent discussions of bilingualism in the federal administration, compared to 29 per cent in the total Anglophone middle-level. However, the level of hostility among Anglophone Patent Examiners was on a par with that elsewhere in the federal administration.

Table 15.4

General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism among middle-level Anglophone Patent Examiners and all Anglophone middle-level officers (percentages)

Reaction to the emphasis	Anglophone Patent Examiners	Middle-level Anglophones
Complete sympathy	7.4	14.9
Qualified sympathy	14.8	26.8
Mixed feelings	7.4	8.3
Hostility	22.2	21.4
Apathy	48.2	28.6
Total	100.0	100.0
<i>N</i>	27	168

The fact that these men work in an almost entirely English milieu explains their attitude in part, and the fact that they have professional degrees, which provide them with a large measure of protection against job displacement, allows them to feel that the ferment over French-English relations will leave them quite untouched. In fact, 63 per cent were totally unconcerned about the effect that the recent stress on learning French would have on their future career plans.

As has been pointed out, the language of patents is English, and time and again this fact was underlined by our respondents who also stressed the fact that French was almost useless both in the granting of patents and in the work situation. The Anglophone Patent Examiners also tend to move in cliques which would naturally exclude Francophones, and vice versa. Thus contact between the two groups in the Patent Office is very limited, and the lack of contact naturally reinforces the misunderstanding inherent in the relationship between two different cultural groups.

It is perhaps significant that the French-English situation is rarely related to anything outside the Patent Office. National problems were scarcely mentioned at all. When an opinion was expressed, it was expressed in terms of the Patent Office, and the main complaint was that it was not fair to promote Francophones just because they were Francophones.

In summary then, we have a work setting that is overwhelmingly English in staff composition, in general work atmosphere, and in clientele. The Francophones who enter the Office must work in English because of the scarcity of French documents to be handled; the Anglophones are generally apathetic to the recent emphasis on bilingualism in the Public Service. An impasse has been reached between the two groups.

Dans la fonction publique, où se côtoient différents groupes ethniques, l'élément linguistique représente un important facteur de participation; son incidence sur la volonté d'intégration et d'adaptation des membres à l'organisation fédérale est considérable. Il détermine en outre, en grande partie, l'étendue et la variété des contributions à l'organisation fédérale, les valeurs culturelles qu'exprime une langue étant souvent difficilement transmissibles et transposables dans une autre. L'élément linguistique influe aussi directement sur le déroulement des carrières; en effet, le franchissement des échelons de la hiérarchie va souvent de pair avec la connaissance de l'anglais, et une connaissance insuffisante peut mettre en veilleuse les qualités professionnelles véritables d'une personne et l'empêcher de se sentir à l'aise et acceptée dans son milieu de travail.

Si l'emploi de deux ou plusieurs langues dans la fonction publique fédérale se trouve facilité par les divers services de traduction, il est aussi fonction des procédures et de la politique établies en ce qui concerne la langue à employer au travail et dans les communications avec le public. Il est également fonction des aptitudes linguistiques du personnel ou, pour ce qui a trait à notre étude, des qualifications linguistiques des francophones et des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, en anglais et en français respectivement. Autrement dit, l'emploi des langues est à la fois fonction du bilinguisme de l'institution et de celui des individus.

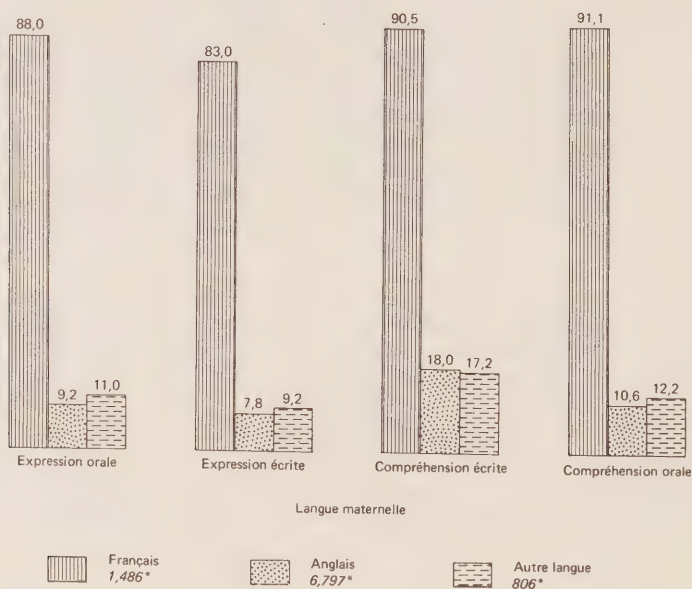
A. L'état général des qualifications linguistiques

Les anglophones et les francophones de la fonction publique sont loin d'avoir une connaissance égale de la langue seconde. Tant les mémoires présentés à la Commission par diverses associations de fonctionnaires fédéraux que les recherches de la Commission mettent en évidence cet écart entre leur degré de bilinguisme. Dans cette étude sur les carrières à l'échelon intermédiaire ainsi que dans une vaste

enquête menée auprès de toute la fonction publique ministérielle, nous avons pu mesurer indirectement, à l'aide des mêmes questions, les aptitudes en anglais des francophones et en français des anglophones, chaque fonctionnaire évaluant lui-même ses capacités : compréhension orale, compréhension écrite, expression orale, expression écrite, à partir des possibilités suivantes : « habileté nulle », « habileté limitée — j'éprouve beaucoup de difficultés », « habileté convenable — j'éprouve quelques difficultés », « habileté considérable — je n'éprouve pas ou presque pas de difficultés¹ », et, partant, comparer le degré de bilinguisme des deux groupes². Toutefois, chacun d'eux pris isolément, — et plus particulièrement pour les francophones —, nous avons mesuré autant et même plus l'assurance à communiquer dans la langue seconde que les aptitudes linguistiques objectives. Les graphiques nos 16.1 et 16.2 montrent les divers degrés de bilinguisme pour l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle et l'échelon intermédiaire du fonctionnarisme outaouais. À l'échelon intermédiaire,

Graphique 16.1

Aptitudes linguistiques¹ des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux, selon la langue maternelle - 1965



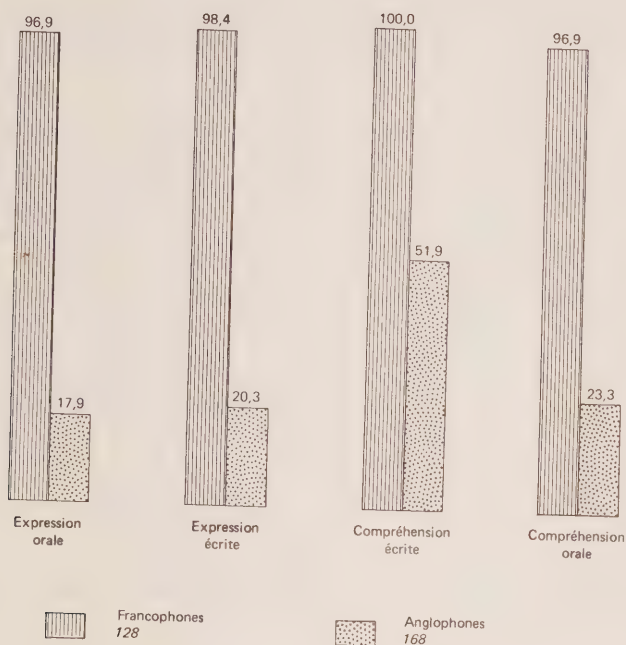
Source : Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey ».

1. Pour les fonctionnaires ayant le français pour langue maternelle et possédant une connaissance « convenable ou considérable » de l'anglais; pour les fonctionnaires ayant l'anglais ou une autre langue pour langue maternelle, pourcentage possédant une connaissance « convenable ou considérable » du français.

* Bases non pondérées; les pourcentages sont calculés à partir de bases pondérées (voir l'appendice VI).

Graphique 16.2

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé au moins convenable leur connaissance de la langue seconde



L'habileté des fonctionnaires francophones à s'exprimer dans la langue seconde dépasse de beaucoup celle des anglophones dont le niveau du bilinguisme, sauf peut-être pour ce qui est de la lecture du français, est généralement assez bas. Dans la fonction publique ministérielle, 50 à 63 % des fonctionnaires qui ont l'anglais pour langue maternelle se déclarent absolument inhabiles dans l'une ou l'autre forme de communication en français, alors que ceux dont la langue maternelle est le français ne font une évaluation similaire de leur connaissance de l'anglais que dans une proportion de 2 à 7 %.

À l'échelon intermédiaire, l'écart entre anglophones et francophones est aussi grand que celui qui existe entre les fonctionnaires dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais et ceux dont la langue maternelle est le français dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle. À cet échelon intermédiaire, toutefois, chaque groupe démontre de meilleures aptitudes dans la langue seconde : pour 97 % des

francophones et 23 % des anglophones, le degré de bilinguisme passif ou « réceptif » apparaît au moins convenable. Cette forme de bilinguisme est celle que pratiquent ceux qui, parfaitement à l'aise dans leur propre langue, peuvent suivre une conversation et lire des documents dans l'autre sans trop de difficulté; cette connaissance de la langue seconde, suffisante pour assurer un travail en milieu bilingue, est la plus développée, tant chez les francophones qui excellent vraiment dans la compréhension écrite et orale de l'anglais, que chez les anglophones moins limités dans ces aptitudes en français que dans son expression orale ou écrite.

Les deux groupes diffèrent peu quant à « l'ordre » de difficulté de leurs aptitudes linguistiques respectives. Chez les francophones, l'habileté en anglais décroît généralement dans l'ordre suivant : compréhension écrite, compréhension orale, expression écrite, expression orale (tableau n° 16.1). Il semble qu'ils soient moins habiles à parler l'anglais qu'à l'écrire. Quant aux anglophones, ils semblent éprouver presque autant de difficultés à parler qu'à écrire en français. L'écart entre la compréhension écrite et l'expression orale de la langue seconde est plus grand chez les anglophones que chez les francophones; de même, la dimension passive ou « réceptive » — compréhension écrite et compréhension orale — est plus différenciée, et la dimension active — expression écrite et expression orale — beaucoup moins.

En résumé, premièrement, le modèle de l'état général du bilinguisme dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle et à l'échelon intermédiaire suit d'assez près le modèle anglophone, ce qui d'ailleurs n'a rien d'étonnant, les fonctionnaires de langue française, qui sont les seuls à compter de fortes proportions de bilingues,

Tableau 16.1

Compétence linguistique des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon l'aptitude

Francophones			Anglophones			
Rang ¹	Médiane	<i>N</i>	Aptitude	Rang ¹	Médiane	<i>N</i>
1	0,56	128	Compréhension écrite	1	1,96	168
2	0,59	128	Compréhension orale	2	2,47	168
3	0,63	128	Expression écrite	4	2,63	168
4	0,73	128	Expression orale	3	2,61	168

1. Pour chaque forme de communication, nous avons donné à chaque degré d'habileté linguistique un poids différent : 1, 2, 3 ou 4, allant du degré le plus élevé — « habileté considérable » — au degré le plus faible — « habileté nulle ». Les médianes sont calculées à partir des fréquences des différentes pondérations. L'habileté augmente si la médiane tend vers 0,5 et décroît si la médiane tend vers 4,5.

accusant dans l'ensemble du fonctionnarisme ou à l'échelon intermédiaire une nette sous-représentation; le bilinguisme individuel n'est encore qu'un phénomène marginal. Deuxièmement, on peut penser que les exigences nouvelles et « réelles » en matière de bilinguisme ne manqueront pas, étant donné le faible niveau individuel des anglophones en ce domaine, d'entraîner pour eux certaines frustrations lorsqu'il s'agira de nomination ou de promotion, et comprendre en même temps que prévoir les résistances qu'ils sont susceptibles de manifester sur ce point. Troisièmement, le niveau du bilinguisme individuel des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire est supérieur à celui des fonctionnaires de langue française de la fonction publique ministérielle, ce qui peut être l'indice d'une plus grande exigence de l'anglais aux échelons élevés du fonctionnarisme fédéral, mais aussi provenir du fait que les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ont-avaient été plus exposés à la langue anglaise avant même leur entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale. L'habileté « considérable » des francophones en anglais, ou, si l'on veut, l'importance de leur « emprunt » à l'anglais, pourrait alors les placer dans une situation susceptible d'accélérer le processus par lequel « ils perdraient éventuellement leur langue ». Quatrièmement, travailler dans les deux langues officielles présente pour les deux groupes, bien qu'à des degrés différents, les mêmes résonances affectives : l'obligation de comprendre et de lire la langue seconde dans une situation de travail serait moins difficile à satisfaire que celle de devoir l'écrire et la parler. Les qualifications actuelles des deux groupes militent d'ailleurs en faveur de l'instauration chez les anglophones, et du maintien chez les francophones, du bilinguisme passif ou « réceptif ». L'invocation d'autres raisons, tels le contentement dans le travail obtenu par l'expression orale et écrite de la langue maternelle et l'efficacité accrue qui peut en découler, justifierait sans doute davantage le bilinguisme passif.

B. Quelques variations spécifiques de la compétence linguistique

L'habileté linguistique est plus grande aux échelons élevés du fonctionnarisme fédéral. À ces niveaux cependant — et plus particulièrement à l'échelon intermédiaire que nous étudions — il importe de savoir « qui », des anglophones et des francophones, est plus ou moins bilingue. À cet effet, nous retenons des variables rattachées à certaines caractéristiques morphologiques et sociales, au statut, au type de carrière actuellement menée dans l'administration fédérale et au contentement dans le travail.

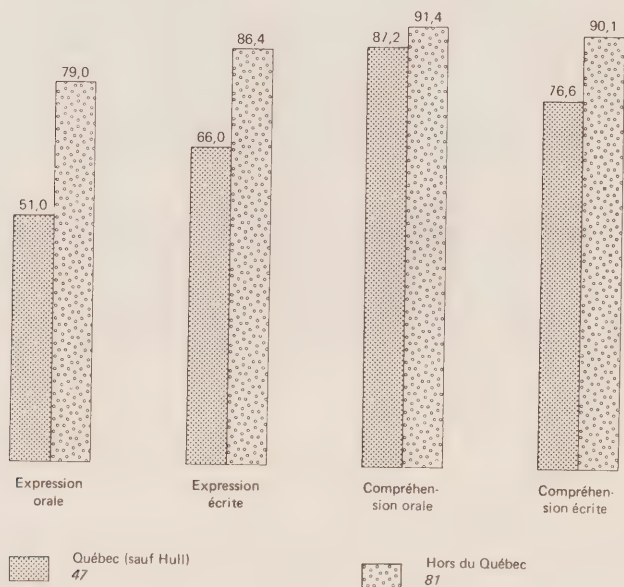
1. La région d'origine

La compétence linguistique des francophones et des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire varie selon la région d'origine. Du côté francophone, la différenciation s'établit entre les Québécois et les non-Québécois; du côté anglophone, entre les personnes originaires du Canada et celles qui sont originaires d'autres pays.

Les francophones originaires de la province de Québec, non compris Hull, excellent moins que les « autres francophones³ » dans l'expression orale et écrite de l'anglais. La moitié des Québécois disent n'éprouver aucune difficulté à le parler, comparativement à 79 % des francophones des autres régions. Le graphique n° 16.3 montre aussi que 66 % des fonctionnaires québécois excellent dans son expression écrite, contre 86 % des fonctionnaires non québécois. Il faut cependant noter l'absence de différence vraiment significative quant aux aptitudes à la compréhension orale et surtout écrite de l'anglais.

Graphique 16.3

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé considérable leur aptitude en anglais, selon la région d'origine



Il est sûr que l'exposition à l'anglais est en général moins intense à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du Québec, puisque l'habileté à l'écrire et surtout à le parler est moins grande. D'ailleurs, les formes ou les différents contextes sociaux d'apprentissage de cette langue que les Québécois et les non-Québécois ont connus avant d'entrer à la fonction publique renvoient à deux genres d'exposition bien différents l'un de l'autre. Comme l'indique le tableau n° 16.2, au Québec la majorité des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ont appris l'anglais à l'école française, alors qu'un francophone sur trois, en dehors du Québec, s'est d'abord familiarisé avec cette langue

Contexte social d'apprentissage de l'anglais avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la région d'origine, chez les fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)

Contexte social d'apprentissage de l'anglais avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale									
	Dans la famille	Dans la rue	À l'école française	À l'école anglaise	Au travail	Dans les forces armées	Autres contextes	Total	N
Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	10,6	4,3	48,8	12,8	12,8	6,4	4,3	100	47
Montréal	11,8	0,0	41,2	23,5	23,5	0,0	0,0	100	17
Québec (sauf Montréal et Hull)	10,3	6,9	55,3	6,9	6,9	10,3	3,4	100	30
Hors du Québec :	12,3	33,4	32,1	13,6	2,5	1,2	4,9	100	81
Ottawa et Hull	16,4	36,4	29,1	12,7	1,8	0,0	3,6	100	55
Ontario (sauf Ottawa)	0	4	5	10	0	0	0	10	10
Autres provinces et autres pays	1	3	5	3	1	1	2	16	16
Échantillon inter- médiaire francophone	11,7	22,7	38,2	13,3	6,3	3,1	4,7	100	128

« dans la rue ». L'exposition à l'anglais qui prévaut dans la première situation d'apprentissage, l'école française, est assez superficielle et indique une certaine homogénéité culturelle, alors que celle qui prévaut dans la seconde situation, l'initiation « dans la rue », est intense, constante, et va à l'encontre d'une homogénéité ou d'une identité culturelle française bien exprimée.

Toutefois, le mode d'apprentissage de l'anglais avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique ne peut pas, à lui seul, expliquer la différence qui existe entre les aptitudes linguistiques des Québécois et celles des non-Québécois, étant donné qu'on ne peut pas faire abstraction des progrès réalisés en anglais depuis l'entrée au gouvernement fédéral. Ce qu'il importe néanmoins de retenir ici, c'est la singularité, à l'échelon intermédiaire, des fonctionnaires francophones, selon qu'ils sont québécois ou non québécois, quant aux aptitudes linguistiques et au mode d'apprentissage de la langue seconde. On notera plus loin une différenciation semblable à propos des difficultés réelles éprouvées à travailler en anglais. Et même si, comme nous le verrons au chapitre suivant, les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, indépendamment de la région d'origine, ont été exposés à la langue anglaise à des degrés relativement élevés avant le début de leur carrière fédérale, le degré d'exposition des Québécois, loin d'être inexistant, est toutefois moins élevé que celui des non-Québécois.

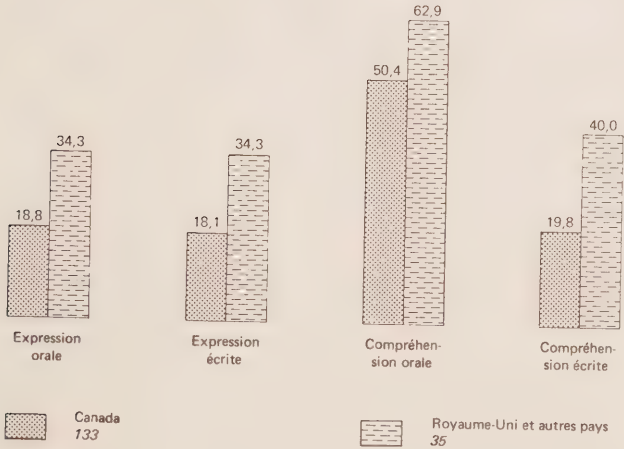
La variation des qualifications linguistiques des francophones selon l'origine géographique amène une autre considération quant au bilinguisme passif ou « réceptif ». La qualité de la compréhension écrite et orale de l'anglais n'est affectée d'aucune façon par le degré d'exposition à la langue anglaise postulé moindre des francophones originaires du Québec; au contraire, ces aptitudes semblent également acquises chez tous les francophones, indépendamment de la région d'origine. À l'échelon intermédiaire du fonctionnarisme fédéral, l'exigence du bilinguisme passif ne serait pas un obstacle majeur au recrutement québécois, ou, du moins, cette exigence serait vite satisfaite. Par contre, l'exigence de l'autre forme de bilinguisme, ce bilinguisme total ou complet qui nécessite également une maîtrise de l'expression orale et écrite, serait un obstacle, les Québécois venus faire carrière à Ottawa et ceux demeurés dans le fonctionnarisme fédéral ayant moins bien développé cette aptitude que les autres francophones. Poussons le raisonnement plus loin. Exiger le bilinguisme complet des recrues québécoises de la fonction publique fédérale, c'est faire fi de l'identité culturelle québécoise et maintenir difficile leur recrutement ou, en tout cas, bien mal les attirer à Ottawa. Nombre de fonctionnaires québécois restés au service de l'administration fédérale « auront dû » s'adapter à une situation ethno-linguistique nouvelle ou s'y seront adaptés avant même d'entrer à la fonction fédérale.

Chez les anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, le pays d'origine met en évidence d'assez nettes différences quant aux aptitudes en français, différences qui revêtent un certain intérêt. On s'atten-

draît en effet à ce que les anglophones d'origine canadienne, de par leur accès à la culture canadienne-française, possèdent à tout le moins les mêmes aptitudes en français que les anglophones venant de l'extérieur du pays, mais ce n'est pas le cas. Le sang neuf, en ce qui a trait au bilinguisme des fonctionnaires fédéraux anglophones, serait jusqu'à présent venu de l'extérieur du Canada avec relativement plus d'intensité. Le graphique n° 16.4 nous montre comment, dans chaque forme de communication, les anglophones originaires du Canada sont surpassés par ceux du Royaume-Uni et des autres pays étrangers. L'apport de ces derniers à la fonction publique est sans contredit d'une haute qualité sur plusieurs points (une première sélection des immigrants se fait au moment de leur arrivée au pays, et une autre, assez rigoureuse, au moment de leur entrée à la fonction publique), dont celui de la compétence en français. De plus, les fonctionnaires originaires d'Europe continentale ont souvent des traditions de bilinguisme, parfois même de multilinguisme, mieux établies que la plupart des anglophones originaires du Canada; pour beaucoup, une certaine connaissance du français apparaît normale.

D'autre part, les qualifications linguistiques semblent indépendantes de l'origine ethnique : les fonctionnaires anglophones d'origine anglaise et ceux d'origine non-anglaise parlent, dans une même proportion (22 %), le français d'une manière « au moins convenable ».

Graphique 16.4
Pourcentage des fonctionnaires anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé au moins convenable leur aptitude en français, selon la région d'origine



L'habileté linguistique embryonnaire des anglophones nés au Canada offre toutefois des variations intéressantes selon leur région d'origine. Pour l'une ou l'autre forme de communication, les fonctionnaires originaires de la région d'Ottawa et Hull, de l'Ontario (sauf Ottawa), du Québec (sauf Hull) et des provinces Atlantiques sont relativement plus nombreux que leurs compatriotes de l'Ouest canadien à rapporter, simultanément ou à tour de rôle, une aptitude « au moins convenable » en français. C'est ce qu'illustre le tableau n° 16.3 : les anglophones de l'Est canadien, surtout ceux d'Ottawa et Hull, et de l'Ontario (sauf Ottawa), possèdent de meilleures aptitudes en compréhension écrite, alors que ceux de la région d'Ottawa et Hull, et de l'Ontario (sauf Ottawa), offrent une supériorité en compréhension orale⁴. Quant à l'expression orale, les anglophones du Québec (sauf Hull) et des provinces Atlantiques se situent à part : 33 % disent parler le français d'une manière « au moins convenable ». Enfin, le groupe ontarien, abstraction faite de celui d'Ottawa, se disocie des autres en éprouvant moins de difficultés dans l'expression écrite.

Tableau 16.3

Pourcentage des anglophones d'origine canadienne de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude en français, selon la région d'origine

Région d'origine	N	Ont une habileté « au moins convenable »			
		Expression		Compréhension	
		orale	écrite	écrite	orale
Ottawa et Hull	30	20,0	16,6	53,3	36,7
Québec (sauf Hull et provinces Atlantiques)	24	33,3	8,3	41,7	20,8
Ontario (sauf Ottawa)	37	18,9	27,0	67,6	21,6
Ouest canadien	42	9,5	16,7	38,1	14,3
Toutes les régions	133	18,8	18,1	50,4	19,8

Pour les trois groupes d'anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire originaires de la région d'Ottawa et Hull, de l'Ontario (sauf Ottawa), du Québec (sauf Hull) et des provinces Atlantiques, une représentation de plus en plus sélective s'opérera à mesure qu'augmentera la difficulté objective des formes de communication; cette tendance est mise en lumière par le tableau n° 16.4, qui donne une liste des régions canadiennes pour lesquelles nous avons noté une ou des proportions sensiblement plus élevées de fonctionnaires anglophones se reconnaissant une aptitude linguistique « au moins convenable ». D'une

manière générale, les aptitudes anglophones en français décroissent dans l'ordre suivant : compréhension écrite, compréhension orale, expression orale, expression écrite.

Tableau 16.4

Région d'origine (au Canada) des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire dont l'habileté en français est relativement plus élevée

Compréhension écrite	Compréhension orale	Expression orale	Expression écrite
Ontario (sauf Ottawa) Ottawa et Hull Québec (sauf Hull)	Ottawa et Hull Québec (sauf Hull)	Québec (sauf Hull et provinces Atlantiques)	Ontario (sauf Ottawa)

2. Niveau d'instruction et spécialisation universitaire

Les aptitudes linguistiques faisant partie des connaissances acquises, on devrait trouver une relation positive entre les niveaux les plus élevés d'instruction et de bilinguisme, et cela tant chez les anglophones que chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire.

Pour le groupe anglophone, cette hypothèse se vérifie; leur habileté à écrire et à parler le français augmente avec le niveau d'instruction : ceux qui possèdent un diplôme du deuxième ou du troisième cycle universitaire sont plus nombreux que leurs collègues dépourvus de diplôme universitaire ou ne possédant qu'un diplôme du premier cycle à se reconnaître plus habiles à une expression orale et écrite au moins convenable de la langue seconde (tableau n° 16.5).

Tableau 16.5

Pourcentage des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur habileté en français, selon le niveau d'instruction

Niveau d'instruction	N	Expression écrite	Expression orale	Compréhension orale
Sans diplôme universitaire	44	13,6	20,5	27,3
Diplôme du 1 ^{er} cycle universitaire (undergraduate)	78	17,9	15,4	23,1
Diplôme du 2 ^e ou 3 ^e cycle universitaire (postgraduate)	46	34,8	34,8	30,5
Échelon intermédiaire anglophone	168	20,3	17,9	23,3

Du côté francophone, cependant, les diplômés des deuxième ou troisième cycles sont proportionnellement moins nombreux que leurs collègues moins instruits à s'attribuer une compétence relative dans les domaines de l'expression orale et écrite et de la compréhension orale (tableau n° 16.6). Ces différences sont d'autant plus réelles que les francophones du Québec, moins bons bilingues que les autres, possèdent un niveau d'études nettement supérieur. Elles sont peut-être aussi l'indice d'une moins grande assurance à communiquer en anglais ou d'une conscience plus aiguë des difficultés linguistiques, chez les mieux éduqués. Grâce à leurs hautes qualifications académiques, ces francophones occupent des postes de commande et de prestige à l'échelon intermédiaire et travaillent dans des milieux où l'utilisation intense et la maîtrise de l'anglais sont de rigueur.

Tableau 16.6

Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « considérable » leur habileté en anglais, selon le niveau d'instruction

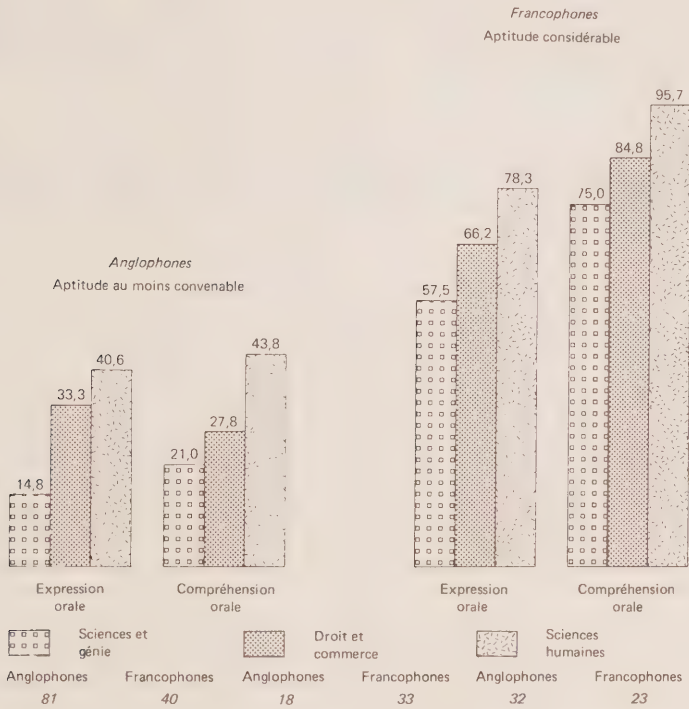
Niveau d'instruction	N	Expression écrite	Expression orale	Compréhension orale
Sans diplôme universitaire	46	82,6	73,9	89,1
Diplôme du 1 ^{er} cycle universitaire (<i>undergraduate</i>)	47	87,2	76,6	95,7
Diplôme du 2 ^e ou 3 ^e cycle universitaire (<i>postgraduate</i>)	35	62,9	51,4	65,7
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	78,9	68,8	85,2

Passant à l'examen des aptitudes linguistiques selon la spécialisation universitaire, on observe les mêmes variations, tant pour les francophones que pour les anglophones (graphique n° 16.5). C'est parmi les spécialistes en sciences et en génie que l'on trouve les fonctionnaires les moins aptes à maîtriser la langue seconde; viennent ensuite les spécialistes en droit, en commerce ou en administration, et, enfin, les spécialistes en sciences humaines qui sont proportionnellement les plus nombreux à être bilingues. Plus on s'approche des spécialisations dites « libérales » ou des sciences humaines, plus la connaissance de la langue seconde s'améliore (anglophones) ou se perfectionne (francophones). Ce modèle serait cependant plus vraisemblable chez les anglophones que chez les francophones. En effet, si la spécialisation en sciences humaines ou en « arts » peut être pour les anglophones l'occasion de possibilités de contact plus larges avec la langue française — ce que démontreraient nos résultats — la formation scientifique en milieu nord-américain devrait — contrairement auxdits résultats — être associée pour les francophones au développement des aptitudes en anglais. Mais ici

encore, vu la nécessité où ils se trouvent d'utiliser à fond l'anglais, on peut supposer chez les scientifiques francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire une sensibilisation plus forte aux difficultés linguistiques; par ailleurs, nombre d'entre eux sont d'origine québécoise.

Graphique 16.5

Pourcentage des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude en français et pourcentage des francophones du même échelon ayant jugé « considérable » leur aptitude en anglais, selon la spécialisation universitaire



3. Âge et ancienneté

Les aptitudes des francophones, si l'on retient l'expression orale et écrite, ne varient pas suivant l'ancienneté. L'habileté linguistique s'améliore toutefois avec l'âge, surtout en ce qui concerne l'expression orale : 74 % des francophones âgés de plus de 35 ans parlent l'anglais sans aucune difficulté contre 62 % chez ceux qui ont 35 ans ou moins. En ce qui a trait à la compréhension orale, l'âge ne présente aucun effet.

Du côté anglophone, on observe des modèles sensiblement différents. Les fonctionnaires au service du gouvernement fédéral depuis moins de six ans marquent une tendance à être les moins unilingues : en effet, 33 et 32 % d'entre eux ont une habileté au moins convenable quant à leur expression et leur compréhension du français contre 16 et 23 % chez les plus anciens. Par ailleurs, ceux qui ont entre 25 à 30 ans contrastent avec leurs collègues des autres groupes d'âges par un unilinguisme plus prononcé : 12 % seulement se reconnaissent quelque aptitude à s'exprimer en français ou à comprendre le français parlé contre 24 et 20 % chez ceux dont l'âge se situe entre 31 et 45 ans. Le rapport entre l'âge et l'ancienneté peut sembler un peu aberrant, eu égard aux variations des qualifications linguistiques selon ces variables. Néanmoins, surtout pour les anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, il faut se rappeler que l'ancienneté est relativement indépendante de l'âge, puisqu'ils ne sont bien souvent venus que tardivement à la fonction publique fédérale.

Ces résultats amènent l'observation générale suivante : l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde dépend de l'âge et s'effectue avec le temps, au sein ou à l'extérieur de l'organisation fédérale. Du moins semble-t-il en être ainsi à l'échelon intermédiaire du fonctionnarisme fédéral outaouais.

4. Traitement et groupes de spécialisations

Les aptitudes linguistiques varient suivant le groupe de spécialisations et le statut des fonctionnaires.

Les francophones qui gagnent annuellement \$ 9 000 ou plus affirment parler parfaitement l'anglais dans 82 % des cas, contre 64 % chez ceux percevant un salaire inférieur. La qualité de l'expression orale de l'anglais varie également selon le groupe de spécialisations (tableau n° 16.7), les scientifiques francophones étant proportionnellement les moins nombreux à s'attribuer la maîtrise de l'expression orale de l'anglais : 43 % contre 63 % chez les « autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes », 88 % chez les hauts fonctionnaires, et de 75 à 78 % dans les autres groupes de spécialisations. Le niveau de bilinguisme des francophones ne semble donc être inférieur que dans le domaine de la recherche scientifique où les Québécois sont proportionnellement plus nombreux que dans les autres groupes de spécialisations; ces scientifiques seraient par ailleurs davantage conscients de leurs difficultés en anglais. La maîtrise de la langue seconde que manifestent les hauts fonctionnaires fait partie des exigences essentielles de l'emploi où les décisions, les contacts personnels, les manipulations d'idées et d'hommes se situent à des niveaux relativement élevés de l'administration, donc dans un milieu de travail essentiellement anglais; ils sont en outre, pour la majorité, originaires de la région d'Ottawa et Hull qui fournit nombre d'excellents bilingues.

Dans les milieux qui favorisent l'esprit créateur et offrent de grandes possibilités d'initiative, tout se fait surtout en anglais,

Tableau 16.7

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « considérable » leur aptitude à parler l'anglais, selon le groupe de spécialisations B

Groupes de spécialisations B	N	Ont une aptitude « considérable » à parler l'anglais
Scientifiques	14	42,9
Ingénieurs	12	75,0
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	51	62,7
Techniciens	18	77,8
Hauts fonctionnaires	17	88,2
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	16	75,0

aussi peut-on s'attendre à ce que les scientifiques francophones rencontrent plus que les hauts fonctionnaires certaines difficultés à travailler dans cette langue, les problèmes linguistiques s'atténuant sensiblement lorsque l'on passe des tâches hautement spécialisées aux tâches hautement administratives.

Le niveau de traitement discrimine les qualifications linguistiques des informateurs anglophones. Dans la classe des \$ 6 200 à \$ 9 000, 2 sur 10 ont dit parler ou écrire le français d'une manière « au moins convenable », alors que dans celle des \$ 10 000 et plus, 3 sur 10 s'attribuent cette aptitude. Le groupe de spécialisations différencie également d'une manière incontestable le niveau de bilinguisme (tableau n° 16.8). Plus de 30 % des anglophones des groupes « hauts fonctionnaires » et « autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes »,

Tableau 16.8

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant jugé « au moins convenable » leur aptitude à parler le français, selon le groupe de spécialisations B

Groupes de spécialisations B	N	Ont une aptitude « au moins convenable » à parler le français
Scientifiques	36	17,1
Ingénieurs	39	15,0
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	27	32,1
Techniciens	21	14,3
Hauts fonctionnaires	25	32,0
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	20	26,3

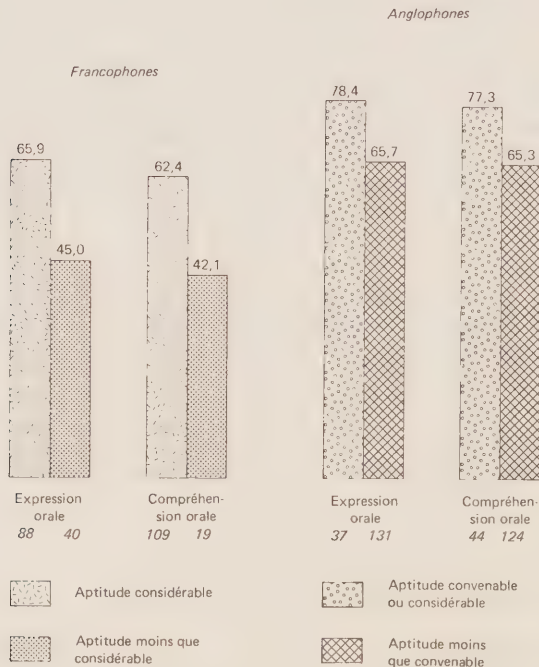
ainsi que 26 % des cadres moyens et inférieurs, ont dit pouvoir converser en français de façon « au moins convenable », les scientifiques, ingénieurs et techniciens étant proportionnellement deux fois moins nombreux (respectivement 17, 15 et 14 %). Les aptitudes linguistiques semblent donc un peu mieux développées chez les spécialistes non scientifiques ou rattachés à l'administration (hauts fonctionnaires, cadres moyens et inférieurs, autres spécialistes et assimilés), et l'unilinguisme, plus prononcé chez ceux qui relèvent de la technique et de la science (scientifiques, ingénieurs, techniciens).

5. Attachement à la fonction publique et degré de bilinguisme

Nous avons décrit au chapitre X les variations du degré d'attachement à l'organisation fédérale selon certaines caractéristiques morphologiques et professionnelles. Dans la présente section, nous décrirons les aptitudes linguistiques des anglophones et francophones selon l'attachement à la fonction publique (graphique n° 16.6).

Graphique 16.6

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire attachés à la fonction publique avec ou sans réserve, selon les aptitudes linguistiques



Pour chaque groupe linguistique, mais surtout pour les francophones, une meilleure connaissance de la langue seconde va de pair avec un plus grand désir de demeurer dans la fonction publique. Cette habileté pourrait même expliquer en grande partie ce désir. Les francophones qui excellent en anglais sont beaucoup plus enclins que les autres à rester dans l'administration fédérale, car la nécessité de travailler en anglais ne va ni affaiblir leur rendement, ni réduire leurs chances de promotion; les anglophones possédant quelque compétence en français seraient proportionnellement un peu plus nombreux que leurs collègues unilingues à prévoir une brillante carrière dans une fonction publique appelée à devenir davantage bilingue.

C. L'emploi des langues au travail

L'utilisation des langues dans la fonction publique fédérale est commandée par les circonstances ou, si l'on veut, la nécessité de communiquer de manière à assurer le bon fonctionnement et l'efficacité de l'organisation. Elle dépend aussi, en grande partie, des pratiques et de la politique établies quant à la langue à employer au travail et avec la clientèle des divers ministères.

La langue de travail représente, il va sans dire, un aspect important de l'emploi des langues et du bilinguisme institutionnel, car elle constitue un élément distinctif de l'organisation fédérale dans son ensemble et à chaque catégorie hiérarchique. À l'échelon intermédiaire, elle est reliée à certaines caractéristiques professionnelles du personnel francophone.

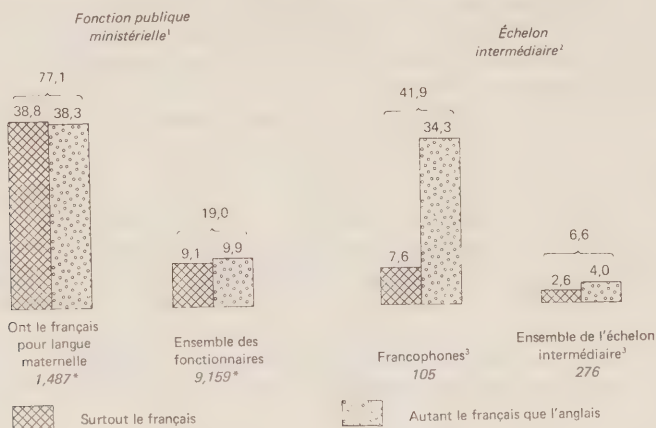
1. Le modèle général de l'emploi du français (et de l'anglais) au travail

Le graphique n° 16.7 illustre l'utilisation substantielle du français⁵ dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle et à l'échelon intermédiaire. Dans le premier cas, environ trois quarts des fonctionnaires ayant le français pour langue maternelle en font un usage substantiel contre 42 % dans le second cas, pour les cinq ministères étudiés⁶, 34 % ayant utilisé « autant le français que l'anglais » et 8 % « surtout le français ». Toutefois, l'observation des modèles globaux d'utilisation substantielle du français par tous les fonctionnaires, dans la fonction publique ministérielle comme à l'échelon intermédiaire, laisse apparaître clairement que le français est une langue de travail marginale et accessoire, 19 % des fonctionnaires en faisant une utilisation substantielle dans la fonction publique ministérielle, et seulement 7 % à l'échelon intermédiaire⁷.

Les tableaux n°s 16.9 et 16.10 nous donnent une idée plus précise de la situation de la langue de travail des francophones et des anglophones à l'échelon intermédiaire. Notons que la concentration des francophones dans la catégorie « langue parlée occasionnellement, le français, et langue écrite toujours, l'anglais » est relativement forte et que l'emploi de la langue anglaise écrite semble en général plus répandu que celui de la langue parlée.

Graphique 16.7

Usage substantiel du français dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ministérielle et parmi les fonctionnaires ayant le français pour langue maternelle; dans l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire et à l'échelon intermédiaire francophone (%)



1. Pour la fonction publique ministérielle, nous regroupons dans la catégorie « surtout le français » ceux qui, au travail, emploient le français « toujours » et « la plupart du temps », et dans la catégorie « autant le français que l'anglais », ceux qui emploient le français « la moitié du temps » et « assez souvent mais moins de la moitié du temps ». Les données sont tirées de Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey ».

2. Sont définis, à l'échelon intermédiaire, comme faisant un « usage substantiel du français » au travail au cours de leur carrière, ceux qui emploient « surtout le français » et ceux qui utilisent « autant l'anglais que le français » (tableau 16.6).

3. Sans les traducteurs francophones.

* Bases non pondérées; les pourcentages sont calculés à partir de bases pondérées (voir l'appendice VI).

Si l'on rapproche le modèle général de l'emploi des langues au travail de celui des aptitudes linguistiques des francophones, une observation s'impose. Par une sorte de cercle vicieux, le degré de bilinguisme relativement élevé des fonctionnaires francophones contribue au maintien d'un modèle d'utilisation des langues au travail où le français est marginal et accessoire. Cette situation présente d'ailleurs certains traits du type de bilinguisme qu'on rencontre dans les entreprises du Québec et qui remplit les mêmes fonctions : nombre de francophones bilingues bénéficieront d'un accès privilégié aux postes de « liaison » avec la clientèle francophone⁸, contribuant, de ce fait, sinon à l'efficacité idéale, du moins au fonctionnement minimal et essentiel des services de l'organisation fédérale.

Tableau 16.9

Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de leur carrière fédérale (%)

Langue de travail	Francophones (y compris les traducteurs)	Francophones (non compris les traducteurs)
<i>Surtout le français</i>		
Langue de travail, toujours le français	5,5	0,0
Langue parlée, la plupart du temps le français; langue écrite, la plupart du temps ou toujours le français	13,3	3,8
Langue parlée, plutôt le français que l'anglais; langue écrite, surtout le français	4,7	3,8
	23,5	7,6
<i>Autant le français que l'anglais</i>		
Langue parlée, la plupart du temps le français; langue écrite, surtout l'anglais	10,2	12,4
Langue parlée, plutôt l'anglais que le français; langue écrite, surtout l'anglais	18,0	21,9
	28,2	34,3
<i>Surtout l'anglais</i>		
Langue parlée, occasionnellement le français; langue écrite, occasionnellement le français	6,2	7,6
Langue parlée, occasionnellement le français; langue écrite, toujours l'anglais	35,1	42,9
Langue parlée, toujours l'anglais; langue écrite, toujours l'anglais	4,7	5,7
	46,0	56,2
Sans réponse	2,3	1,9
Total	100,0	100,0
N	128	105

Tableau 16.10

Langue de travail des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de leur carrière fédérale (%)

Langue de travail	Anglophones
<i>Surtout l'anglais</i>	
Langue de travail, toujours l'anglais	72,0
Langue parlée, la plupart du temps l'anglais; langue écrite, la plupart du temps ou toujours l'anglais	25,0
Langue parlée, plutôt l'anglais que le français; langue écrite, surtout l'anglais	1,2
	98,2
<i>Autant l'anglais que le français</i>	
Langue parlée, la plupart du temps l'anglais; langue écrite, surtout le français	0,0
Langue parlée, plutôt le français que l'anglais; langue écrite, surtout le français	0,0
	0,0
<i>Surtout le français</i>	
Langue parlée, occasionnellement l'anglais; langue écrite, occasionnellement l'anglais	0,0
Langue parlée, occasionnellement l'anglais; langue écrite, toujours le français	0,6
Langue parlée, toujours le français; langue écrite toujours le français	1,2
	1,8
Total	100,0
N	168

2. Des modèles plus spécifiques : selon le statut et le groupe de spécialisations, et selon le ministère

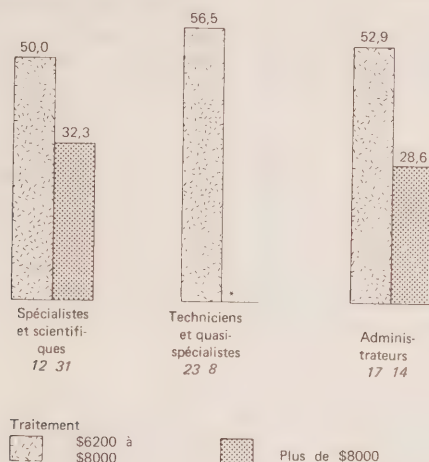
À l'échelon intermédiaire, l'utilisation du français au travail varie d'une part avec le traitement, discriminant certains groupes de spécialisations, d'autre part avec le milieu de travail, et le ministère où se déroule la carrière du fonctionnaire francophone.

Traitement et groupes de spécialisations

Pour le francophone qui fait carrière dans la fonction publique, une amélioration de son statut ou une augmentation de son traitement équivalent à une diminution des possibilités pour lui d'utiliser le français, et ce, indépendamment du groupe de spécialisations (graphique n° 16.8). Donnons-en pour preuve le cas des administrateurs : 53 % de ceux qui gagnaient moins de \$ 8 000 avaient fait un usage substan-

Graphique 16.8

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire faisant un usage substantiel du français au travail au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le traitement et le groupe de spécialisations A



* Sans valeur statistique.

tiel du français contre seulement 29 % de ceux dont le traitement était supérieur. Le francophone qui utilise tant soit peu le français est le plus souvent celui qui détient le moins de pouvoir et d'influence. À mesure que l'on monte dans la hiérarchie, le français est de moins en moins la langue dans laquelle s'élaborent les politiques et se prennent les décisions. L'illustration de ce phénomène apparaît encore au tableau n° 16.11 : les francophones scientifiques, ingénieurs et hauts fonctionnaires sont proportionnellement beaucoup moins nombreux à faire un usage substantiel du français (respectivement 21, 25 et 18 %) que les francophones « autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes », cadres moyens et inférieurs, et techniciens (respectivement 61, 69 et 39 %).

Ministères

Nous avons illustré au graphique n° 16.9 certaines variations entre les différents ministères auxquels étaient affectés les francophones au moment des entrevues.

Le Secrétariat d'État n'offre pas un modèle uniforme ; 10 % des francophones échantillonnés sont en effet concentrés au Bureau des traductions qui, à toute fin pratique, constitue une unité de langue française, les autres se trouvant isolés au Bureau d'examen des brevets où ils font un usage très limité du français ; moins de 1 % des

Tableau 16.11

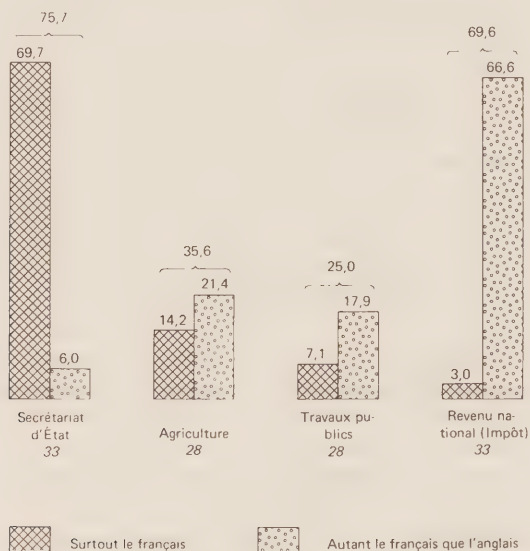
Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant fait une utilisation substantielle du français au travail au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations B

Groupes de spécialisations B	N	Pourcentage des fonctionnaires ayant fait une utilisation substantielle du français au travail
Scientifiques	14	21,4
Ingénieurs	12	25,0
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	28*	60,7
Traducteurs	23	95,7
Techniciens	18	38,9
Hauts fonctionnaires	17	17,6
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	16	68,8

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Graphique 16.9

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire faisant un usage substantiel du français au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le ministère¹



1. Sauf le ministère des Finances, vu le nombre restreint des cas.

demandes de brevets étant rédigées en français, les ingénieurs, soit la majorité du personnel, travaillent presque exclusivement en anglais.

Au ministère du Revenu national, fortement orienté vers le public, on note une concentration relative de fonctionnaires francophones, en majorité quasi-spécialistes et administrateurs, qui servent une clientèle francophone au bureau régional de l'impôt. Près de 70 % d'entre eux font un usage substantiel du français, ayant cependant beaucoup plus souvent l'occasion de le parler que de l'écrire, car il est de règle, ici comme dans la plupart des autres ministères, d'effectuer le travail écrit en anglais.

L'orientation des ministères des Travaux publics et de l'Agriculture est plutôt interne : l'un et l'autre emploient des spécialistes affectés à la conduite de divers travaux : recherches pures et appliquées, études de développement régional et de planification, etc. Le modèle d'emploi des langues est le même dans chacun d'eux : assez faible utilisation du français due à l'isolement des spécialistes francophones et à la nécessité de mener le travail technique en anglais.

Certains indices relevant des fonctions et des structures ministérielles vont donc éclairer des modèles d'utilisation plus ou moins intense du français. Ainsi, la dispersion des francophones et l'orientation interne peuvent être considérées comme des facteurs négatifs, leur concentration et le fait de servir une clientèle de langue française comme des facteurs positifs. L'emploi du français à l'échelon intermédiaire ne revêt, somme toute, qu'une importance marginale, mais cela ne manquera pas d'avoir des effets sur le déroulement de la carrière du francophone, surtout par le biais des difficultés éprouvées à mener le travail en anglais.

D. Les difficultés à travailler en anglais

Nous avons voulu connaître la nature des difficultés éprouvées par les francophones à travailler en anglais, et leur avons posé les questions suivantes : « Au début, l'usage de l'anglais vous a-t-il causé certaines difficultés dans l'exercice de votre travail ? Si oui, en quelles circonstances¹⁰ ? » Les informateurs qui répondaient par l'affirmative à la première question ne l'entendaient jamais au pied de la lettre et profitaient de l'occasion pour nous faire part de leurs difficultés présentes ou passées, les explicitant le plus souvent. Aussi avons-nous recueilli des informations plus complètes que celles normalement exigées par la question (tableau n° 16.12).

Dans une proportion de 39 %, les francophones avouant que l'usage de l'anglais leur a causé ou leur cause encore des difficultés, 17 % les ayant résolues mais 22 % se trouvant encore aux prises avec elles. Il est à noter que ce dernier pourcentage ne diffère pas de façon significative du pourcentage de ceux qui estiment parler l'anglais

Tableau 16.12

Difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale
chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)

	Francophones (y compris les traducteurs)	Francophones (non compris les traducteurs)	
<i>Difficultés persistantes</i>			
« Oui. J'ai toujours eu beaucoup de difficultés tant oralement que par écrit... Ça nuit encore à mon travail ».	2,3	2,9	
« Oui. J'ai toujours beaucoup de difficultés, mais par écrit... Ça nuit à mon travail ».	3,1	3,8	
« Oui. Au début j'ai eu des difficultés... Maintenant j'en ai encore un peu... Ça me prend plus de temps qu'un anglophone à rédiger en anglais ».	12,6	15,2	
	18,0	21,9	
<i>Difficultés résolues</i>			
« Oui. Au début j'ai eu des difficultés, mais maintenant je n'ai plus de problèmes ».	10,9	11,4	
« Oui. Au début j'ai eu un peu de difficultés mais sans importance... Ça s'est vite réglé ».	6,3	5,7	
	17,2	17,1	
<i>N'ont jamais eu de difficultés</i>			
« Non ». (Et le sujet ne dit mot.)	69,9	56,2	
« Non. C'est même un avantage... Ça m'aide de connaître les deux langues ».	0,8	1,0	
« Non. C'est même le contraire... J'ai plus de facilité à m'exprimer en anglais qu'en français ».	3,1	3,8	
	64,8	61,0	
Total	100,0	100,0	
N	128	105	

d'une manière moins que considérable (31 %), mais se trouve sensiblement supérieur au pourcentage de ceux qui disent l'écrire avec la même habileté (6 %) ¹¹. À noter également, même si les difficultés de travail en anglais sont loin d'être l'apanage de la grande majorité des francophones, que ceux qui n'utilisent pas intensément l'anglais au travail peuvent être tentés de surestimer leurs aptitudes linguistiques ¹².

Par ailleurs, l'appréciation des difficultés étant toute subjective, les francophones qui ont utilisé intensément l'anglais au cours de leur carrière fédérale en ont certainement acquis à la longue une certaine maîtrise, mais restent aussi plus conscients des difficultés passées ou présentes. Dans bien des cas, une exposition intense et prolongée à un milieu complètement anglais n'aura pu contribuer à enlever complètement les faiblesses linguistiques originales : de fait, à l'échelon intermédiaire, 25 % des fonctionnaires francophones qui ont surtout travaillé en anglais se disent être encore aujourd'hui gênés dans leurs fonctions par l'anglais, contre 18 % chez ceux qui utilisent davantage le français ¹³.

La tendance des francophones à mentionner des difficultés de travail en anglais varie aussi selon le lieu d'origine et le groupe de spécialisations; 56 % parmi ceux du Québec (Hull excepté) en ont éprouvé ou en éprouvent encore contre 30 % chez les non-Québécois. Concernant le groupe général de spécialisations, on note, au tableau no 16.13, que les spécialistes et les scientifiques sont les plus nombreux à mentionner ces difficultés : le tiers contre 16 % chez les administrateurs et 13 % chez les techniciens et quasi-spécialistes. Dans ces deux derniers groupes, 68 % des premiers et 64 % des seconds disent n'en avoir jamais éprouvé, 23 % de ceux-ci affirmant les avoir surmontées. Au tableau no 16.14, où les francophones sont regroupés selon des spécialisations plus précises, les scientifiques diffèrent vraiment des autres catégories professionnelles : 7 sur 14 connaissent encore des difficultés et 5 sur 14 seulement n'en ont

Tableau 16.13
Difficultés à travailler en anglais, chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%)

Groupe de spécialisations A	Difficultés persistantes	Difficultés résolues	N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	Total	N
Spécialistes et scientifiques	32,6	14,0	53,5	100	43
Techniciens et quasi-spécialistes	12,9	22,6	64,5	100	31
Administrateurs	16,1	16,1	67,8	100	31

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Tableau 16.14

Difficultés à travailler en anglais, chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon le groupe de spécialisations B (%)

Groupe de spécialisations B	Difficultés persistantes	Difficultés résolues	N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	Total	N
Scientifiques	50,0	14,3	35,7	100	14
Ingénieurs	8,3	25,0	66,7	100	12
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	28,6	14,3	57,1	100	28
Techniciens	5,6	22,2	72,2	100	18
Hauts fonctionnaires	29,4	11,8	58,8	100	17
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	6,3	18,8	75,0	100	16

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

jamais éprouvé, leur milieu de travail les rendant peut-être plus conscients de leurs faiblesses linguistiques. Il semble qu'il en soit ainsi, à un degré moindre cependant, chez les « hauts fonctionnaires » et « autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes », chacun des deux groupes rapportant encore des difficultés dans une proportion de 29 %. Les ingénieurs font exception à cette régularité empirique voulant que la persistance des difficultés linguistiques soit surtout admise par les titulaires des postes supérieurs, et se rapprochant plutôt des techniciens et des administrateurs de niveau moyen.

Pour beaucoup de fonctionnaires imparfaitement bilingues, le fait de travailler presque exclusivement en anglais comporte aussi des conséquences d'ordre personnel et social qui influent sur le déroulement de la carrière. Dans un milieu de travail dominé par l'anglais, s'il se trouve en minorité, le francophone imparfaitement bilingue se voit et se sent diminué en tant que communicateur, incapable qu'il est de s'exprimer avec toute la facilité et les nuances voulues¹⁴. C'est ce qu'illustrent assez bien certains extraits d'entrevues¹⁵, qui montrent comment le rendement et l'efficacité au travail peuvent être amoindris :

Je suis plus à l'aise en français [...] Quantitativement, mon rendement est plus limité. Peut-être que la qualité aussi en souffre car mon vocabulaire anglais n'est pas aussi vaste qu'en français; mais il ne faut pas dire que le travail en souffre beaucoup trop.

Dans les communications verbales ou écrites, le fait de ne pas être cent pour cent à l'aise dans une langue influence grandement sur le rendement. Par exemple, je mets deux heures à faire un rapport écrit, là où un unilingue mettrait une heure.

Les difficultés qu'entraîne l'obligation de travailler en anglais se traduisent également par une certaine peine à établir des relations de travail satisfaisantes. Un scientifique décrit ainsi ses contacts avec son supérieur :

On ne pouvait presque pas le comprendre lorsqu'il s'exprimait en anglais [...]. Il fallait absolument avoir des contacts pour se faire connaître. Donc les contacts et les échanges étaient très limités [...] on parlait de la température; on ne pouvait donc pas me juger à ma juste valeur.

Certain fonctionnaire dira encore : « Toujours du point de vue communications, mon pouvoir de conviction est bien limité ». Dans bien des cas, le francophone imparfaitement bilingue risque d'être sous-estimé par ses supérieurs qui lui préfèrent alors des anglophones ou de parfaits bilingues. Au dire de l'Association des fonctionnaires fédéraux d'expression française¹⁶, ce genre de patronage est d'ailleurs pratique courante dans la fonction publique et a des assises culturelles normales.

Par ailleurs, et assez paradoxalement, le fait qu'un francophone « parle trop bien l'anglais » peut également nuire au rendement, même dans un milieu de travail anglais :

Si je ne parlais qu'une seule langue (l'anglais), sans doute mon rendement serait-il meilleur. J'ai encore un élément qui me donne de la difficulté dans certaines tournures de phrases anglaises [...] Actuellement [*sic*] j'hésite souvent quand je parle, les mots se mêlangent.

À côté du manque d'instruction, des blocages structuraux¹⁷ et des obstacles qui jouent pour l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire, le facteur linguistique va donc, pour certains francophones, contribuer au manque d'avancement. Le blocage linguistique est plus réel que la discrimination ethnique brutale, qui d'ailleurs peut difficilement (aujourd'hui) se faire ouvertement. Le fait, ou plus souvent la nécessité, pour les francophones d'utiliser un autre véhicule de pensée que le leur, en diminuant leur efficacité au travail et, dans une situation d'éthique bureaucratique traditionnelle, en freinant nécessairement leur avancement, les rend prisonniers d'une structure linguistique étrangère ou à laquelle ils ne sont pas encore parfaitement adaptés. Dans ces conditions, il n'apparaît pas surprenant que la fonction publique n'ait pas réussi à les retenir dans ses rangs en plus grand nombre, et on peut prévoir qu'elle se trouvera, à long ou à court terme, privée d'un apport francophone valable. Nos données corroborent d'ailleurs entièrement ces conclusions.

E. Facteurs linguistiques, satisfaction dans le travail et attachement à la fonction publique

L'utilisation intense de l'anglais et les difficultés de travail dans cette langue ont des effets négatifs sur les attitudes envers le système de promotion et ne sont pas étrangères au type d'obstacles au

progrès que perçoivent les francophones; elles amoindrissent l'attachement à la fonction publique et affectent l'évolution et les transformations ultérieures du sentiment d'attachement qu'éprouvait le fonctionnaire au moment de son entrée dans la fonction publique. Sans nécessairement rattacher l'insatisfaction et le détachement à des facteurs uniquement linguistiques, il faut néanmoins reconnaître que ces derniers permettent à coup sûr « d'identifier » les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire qui sont insatisfaits. Il semble en effet que se soit établi un processus de sélection dans lequel les francophones qui sont moins habiles à communiquer en anglais ou particulièrement exposés à un milieu de travail anglophone au cours de leur carrière fédérale éprouvent souvent une insatisfaction qui les pousse à envisager de quitter la fonction publique fédérale.

1. Les attitudes à l'égard du système de promotion

L'expression des attitudes négatives envers le système de promotion est surtout le fait de francophones qui ont principalement travaillé en anglais ou n'ont pas encore résolu les difficultés qu'ils rencontrent à travailler en anglais (tableaux nos 16.15 et 16.16); 44 % de ceux qui ont surtout utilisé l'anglais au travail sont insatisfaits du système de promotion ou le trouvent injuste, contre seulement 21 % de ceux qui ont fait un emploi substantiel du français. En même temps, la persistance des difficultés de travail en anglais est plus reliée à l'insatisfaction (44 %) que ne l'est leur résolution ou leur inexistence (32 %). Notons cependant qu'il n'existe pas nécessairement à priori un rapport de cause à effet entre les attitudes à l'égard du système de promotion et ces deux variables « linguistiques ». On peut néanmoins préciser en ce sens les résultats déjà obtenus, si l'on connaît l'effet des facteurs linguistiques sur des variables plus spécifiques, comme la nature du *principal* obstacle aux progrès et le fait de *mentionner* certain obstacle d'ordre ethnique ou linguistique.

Tableau 16.15

Attitudes des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire* à l'égard du système de promotion, selon la langue de travail (%)

Langue de travail	Attitudes positives	Attitudes négatives	Attitudes mixtes ou inexprimées	Total	N
Surtout le français ou autant le français que l'anglais	47,7	20,5	31,8	100	44
Surtout l'anglais	37,3	44,1	18,6	100	59
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	40,6	34,4	25,0	100	128

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Tableau 16.16

Attitudes des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire* à l'égard du système de promotion, selon les difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)

Difficultés de travail en anglais	Attitudes positives	Attitudes négatives	Attitudes mixtes ou inexprimées	Total	N
Difficultés persistantes	30,4	43,5	26,1	100	23
Difficultés résolues	66,7	11,1	22,2	100	18
N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	29,1	35,9	25,0	100	64

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

2. Les principaux obstacles aux progrès des francophones

À l'échelon intermédiaire, et ailleurs dans la fonction publique, les fonctionnaires perçoivent généralement leur carrière comme étant « ouverte » ou « fermée ». Une carrière est dite « ouverte » si l'on ne perçoit pas d'obstacles importants à l'avancement ou à la réussite, et elle est dite « fermée » si divers facteurs, tels que promotions, blocages structureaux, manque d'instruction ou d'expérience, faiblesses linguistiques, discrimination ethnique, sont perçus comme pouvant les retarder ou leur faire échec. À l'échelon intermédiaire, le tiers environ des francophones ont des carrières « ouvertes », ou du moins ne perçoivent aucun obstacle majeur à leur réussite, contre 46 % des anglophones (tableau n° 16.17).

La langue de travail et, plus spécialement, l'expérience des difficultés de travail en anglais nous permettent d'identifier, du côté francophone, des carrières « ouvertes » et des carrières « fermées », lesquelles tendent également à différencier les pourcentages de francophones qui perçoivent des obstacles ethno-linguistiques importants de ceux qui n'en perçoivent pas (tableaux n°s 16.17 et 16.18).

La langue de travail intervient peu dans le fait de ne pas percevoir d'obstacles importants, quels qu'ils soient : ceux qui ont fait un usage substantiel du français sont presque aussi nombreux à percevoir moins d'obstacles ethno-linguistiques majeurs que ceux qui ont travaillé surtout en anglais (respectivement 16 et 22 %). Il n'en est pas de même des difficultés de travail en anglais : 4 % seulement de ceux pour lesquels elles persistent ne perçoivent pas d'obstacles majeurs à leurs progrès, contre 56 et 36 % chez ceux qui les ont résolues ou n'en ont jamais connu. En quoi les francophones les moins habiles à communiquer en anglais perçoivent-ils des empêchements majeurs de réussite professionnelle ? À peine plus nombreux que leurs collègues parfaitement bilingues (26 % contre 17 %) à percevoir d'importants obstacles ethno-linguistiques, ils sont plus du double (52 %

Tableau 16.17

Principal obstacle dans la carrière des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail, et des anglophones du même échelon (%)

Principal obstacle dans la carrière						
Langue de travail	Pas d'obstacle majeur	L'instruction	Obstacles ethno-linguistiques	Autres obstacles majeurs	Total	N
Surtout le français ou autant le français que l'anglais*	34,1	15,9	15,9	34,1	100,0	44
Surtout l'anglais	32,2	18,6	22,0	27,1	99,9	59
Échelon intermédiaire francophone*	32,4	19,0	19,0	29,5	99,9	105
Échelon intermédiaire	35,9	16,4	15,6	32,0	99,9	128
Échelon intermédiaire anglophone	45,8	20,2	4,8	29,2	100,0	168

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Tableau 16.18

Principal obstacle dans la carrière des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon les difficultés de travail en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)

Principal obstacle dans la carrière						
Difficultés de travail en anglais	Pas d'obstacle majeur	L'instruction	Obstacles ethno-linguistiques	Autres obstacles majeurs	Total	N
Difficultés persistantes	4,3	17,4	26,1	52,2	100	23
Difficultés résolues	55,5	16,7	11,1	16,7	100	18
N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	35,9	20,3	18,8	25,0	100	64

* Sans les traducteurs.

contre 25 %) à en percevoir d'autres, relevant surtout des structures. D'aucuns, encore aux prises avec des problèmes de communication, sont persuadés qu'il n'y a pas de place pour eux aux postes élevés, ou encore que l'organisation fédérale limite les effectifs pour ne laisser « pointer » que les parfaits bilingues, faisant ainsi contribuer le facteur linguistique à la perception des blocages dits structuraux. C'est en fait l'ignorance relative ou la maîtrise de l'anglais, instrument de travail essentiel et unique de la majorité du groupe francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire, qui, avec d'autres facteurs majeurs, limite ou élargit ses espérances professionnelles au sein de la fonction publique fédérale.

3. Mention d'obstacles d'ordre ethnique ou d'ordre linguistique

Au cours des entrevues, les informateurs ont pu mentionner des facteurs ethniques ou linguistiques, sans qu'il s'agisse pour autant d'obstacles ethniques ou linguistiques « majeurs » ; connaissant la fréquence avec laquelle ont été mentionnés les facteurs uniquement linguistiques, uniquement ethniques, et à la fois ethniques et linguistiques, il devient possible de jauger la part des insuffisances linguistiques, de la discrimination ethnique, et des deux combinées, dans une perception des obstacles aux progrès, la langue de travail et l'expérience des difficultés de travail en anglais discriminant la mention qui est faite des obstacles d'ordre ethnique ou linguistique.

Respectivement 21 % et 25 % des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon que l'on inclut ou non les traducteurs, font au total mention d'obstacles ethniques et / ou linguistiques. La persistance des difficultés linguistiques, indubitablement, et le fait de travailler surtout en anglais, éventuellement, sont associés à une allégation plus fréquente des obstacles uniquement linguistiques (tableaux nos 16.19 et 16.20). Des francophones encore aux prises avec des difficultés linguistiques, 30 % mentionnent des obstacles uniquement linguistiques contre seulement 5 % chez ceux qui n'ont jamais connu de difficultés à travailler en anglais ou les ont résolues (tableau no 16.19). S'ils ont fait un usage substantiel du français au cours de leur carrière, ils mentionnent, au total, des obstacles linguistiques dans une proportion de 16 % ; par contre, s'ils ont surtout travaillé en anglais, les proportions passent à 24 et 19 % (tableau no 16.20).

Par ailleurs, la langue de travail et surtout les difficultés de travail en anglais ne semblent pas tellement discriminer la perception des obstacles uniquement ethniques ou à la fois ethniques et linguistiques. En effet, tant chez les francophones encore aux prises avec des difficultés de travail en anglais que chez ceux qui les ont résolues ou n'en ont jamais éprouvé, des proportions assez rapprochées (respectivement 13, 11 et 17 %) ont mentionné au total des obstacles ethniques. Ceci éclaire le phénomène de la discrimination : 15 % des francophones (les traducteurs mis à part) font mention d'obstacles uniquement ethniques, ou à la fois ethniques et linguistiques.

Tableau 16.19

Type d'obstacle ethno-linguistique mentionné par les francophones de 1^{er} échelon intermédiaire, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais (% horizontaux)

Difficultés de travail en anglais	N	Obstacles ethno-linguistiques mentionnés				Total des obstacles ethniques*	Total des obstacles linguistiques*	Total des obstacles ethniques**
		Obstacles uniquement linguistiques (1)	Obstacles uniquement ethniques (2)	Obstacles à la fois ethniques et linguistiques (3)	Total des obstacles linguistiques*			
Difficultés persistantes	23	30,4	4,3	8,7	39,3			13,0
Difficultés résolues†	18	5,6	0,0	11,1	16,7			11,1
N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	64	4,7	7,8	9,4	14,1			17,2
Échelon intermé- diaire francophonet	105	10,5	5,7	9,5	20,0			15,2
Échelon intermé- diaire francophone	128	8,6	4,7	7,8	16,4			12,5

* Somme des colonnes 1 et 3.

** Somme des colonnes 2 et 3.

† Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Tableau 16.20
Type d'obstacle ethno-linguistique mentionné par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire†, selon la langue de travail (% horizontaux)

Langue de travail	N	Obstacles ethno-linguistiques mentionnés				
		Obstacles uniquement linguistiques (1)	Obstacles uniquement ethniques (2)	Obstacles à la fois ethniques et linguistiques (3)	Total des obstacles linguistiques*	Total des obstacles ethniques**
Surtout le français ou autant l'anglais que le français		6,8	2,3	9,1	15,9	11,4
Surtout l'anglais		13,6	8,5	10,2	23,8	18,7

* Somme des colonnes 1 et 3.

** Somme des colonnes 2 et 3.

† Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Pour un petit nombre, l'existence de ces barrières semble réelle dans l'ensemble, car leur incidence ne varie pas avec les difficultés de travail en anglais; ce ne serait donc pas comme alibi à des insuffisances linguistiques qu'elles seraient mentionnées.

4. L'attachement à la fonction publique

Ici encore la langue de travail et les difficultés de travail en anglais vont différencier le degré d'attachement à l'administration fédérale.

Le désir de ne pas rester dans la fonction publique est davantage lié à l'utilisation intense de l'anglais qu'à l'utilisation substantielle du français : 32 % des francophones ayant surtout travaillé en anglais ont l'intention plus ou moins arrêtée de quitter la fonction publique contre 18 % chez ceux qui ont fait une utilisation substantielle du français au cours de leur carrière (tableau n° 16.21).

Tableau 16.21

Degré d'attachement à la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon la langue de travail (%)

Langue de travail	Désir de poursuivre une carrière dans la fonction publique		Indécis	Total	N
	Le désirent fortement ou avec réserves	Ne le désirent pas ou pro- jettent de partir			
Surtout le français ou autant le fran- çais que l'anglais	65,9	18,2	15,9	100	44
Surtout l'anglais	57,6	32,2	10,2	100	59

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

D'autre part, ceux qui éprouvent encore des difficultés à travailler en anglais sont proportionnellement moins nombreux que ceux les ayant résolues ou n'en ayant jamais connu à lui rester attachés (43 contre 67 %) et plus nombreux qu'eux à ne pas désirer y poursuivre leur carrière (44 contre 21 %) (tableau n° 16.22). C'est là l'indice d'un processus de sélection par lequel les francophones ont tendance à ne pas s'adapter à des modèles linguistiques trop anglais. Ceci apparaît encore plus clairement à la lumière des relations entre la langue de travail, ou les difficultés de travail en anglais, et l'évolution de l'attachement à la fonction publique au cours de la carrière fédérale.

Tableau 16.22

Degré d'attachement à la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)

Difficultés de travail en anglais	Désir de poursuivre une carrière dans la fonction publique		Indécis	Total	N
	Le désirent fortement ou avec réserves	Ne le désirent pas ou jettent de partir			
Difficultés persistantes	43,5	43,5	13,0	100	23
Difficultés résolues	44,5	22,2	33,3	100	18
N'ont jamais eu de difficultés	73,4	20,4	6,2	100	64

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

5. Transformations de l'attachement initial à la fonction publique

La langue de travail et les difficultés à travailler en anglais influent sur les formes d'évolution du degré d'attachement, c'est-à-dire sur l'écart ou la similitude entre les attitudes des fonctionnaires au moment de leur entrée dans la fonction publique et celles qu'ils adoptaient lors de l'entrevue. Les tableaux nos 16.23 et 16.24 nous permettent de tirer quelques conclusions, ou tout au moins de déceler certaines tendances :

Le maintien du détachement au moment de l'entrée dans la fonction publique est plus souvent le fait de ceux qui ont surtout travaillé en anglais (tableau n° 16.23) ou dont les difficultés de travail en anglais sont persistantes (tableau n° 16.24);

L'utilisation intense de l'anglais au travail plus que l'utilisation substantielle du français d'une part, et la persistance des difficultés de travail en anglais plus que leur résolution ou leur absence d'autre part, sont associées à une baisse quelconque de l'attachement initial ou à une conversion des attitudes originales en détachement (tableaux nos 16.23 et 16.24);

Le maintien des attitudes indécises au début ou l'évolution du détachement initial vers des attitudes indécises seraient plutôt le fait des francophones ayant fait une utilisation substantielle du français au travail ou dont les difficultés de travail en anglais ont été résolues;

Si la fréquence du modèle de l'attachement initial à la fonction publique ou de la conversion des diverses attitudes du début en attachement est peu différenciée par la langue de travail, elle l'est fortement par les difficultés de travail en anglais, et ceux qui ont travaillé surtout en français auraient plus que les

Tableau 16.23

Transformations du degré d'attachement initial à la fonction publique chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail, et chez les anglophones du même échelon (%)

	Langue de travail		Langue de		Échelon inter-		Échelon inter-	
Transformations du degré d'attachement au moment de l'entrée dans la fonction publique	surtout le français que l'anglais	français	travail	surtout l'anglais	médiale francophone*	médiale francophone	médiale anglophone	
Maintien du détachement initial	14,0		20,3	17,1	17,2		7,3	
Conversion des attitudes initiales en des attitudes de détachement	2,3		16,9	10,5	9,4		10,7	
Maintien de l'indécision initiale ou conversion des attitudes initiales en indécision	16,3		5,1	9,5	8,6		12,8	
Maintien de l'attachement initial ou conversion des attitudes initiales en attachement	65,1		55,9	60,0	58,5		63,6	
Attitudes indéterminées	2,3		1,8	2,9	6,3		5,6	
Total	100,0		100,0	100,0	100,0		100,0	
N	43		59	105	128		168	

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

Tableau 16.24

Transformations du degré d'attachement initial à la fonction publique chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire*, selon les difficultés à travailler en anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)

Transformations du degré d'attachement au moment de l'entrée dans la fonction publique	Difficultés persistantes	Difficultés résolues	N'ont jamais eu de difficultés
Maintien du détachement initial	26,1	11,1	15,6
Conversion des attitudes initiales en des attitudes de détachement	21,7	11,1	6,3
Maintien de l'indécision initiale ou conversion des attitudes initiales en indécision	8,7	27,8	4,7
Maintien de l'attachement ou conversion des attitudes initiales en attachement	43,5	44,4	70,3
Attitudes indéterminées	0,0	5,6	3,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	23	18	64

* Sans les traducteurs francophones.

autres (tableau n° 16.23) adopté ce modèle, lequel décrit les francophones ayant échappé à ces difficultés au cours de leur carrière fédérale dans une proportion significativement plus élevée que celle de leurs collègues dont les difficultés persistent ou ont été résolues (70 % contre 44 %) (tableau n° 16.24).

F. Résumé et conclusion

Nous avons décrit dans ce chapitre les aptitudes linguistiques des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire ainsi que les modèles général et spécifiques de l'emploi des langues, en particulier de l'utilisation de l'anglais, pour décrire ensuite et analyser l'influence des facteurs linguistiques sur le déroulement de la carrière de ces fonctionnaires, et plus spécialement des fonctionnaires francophones.

En résumé, le degré de bilinguisme est, chez ces derniers, de loin le plus élevé, l'origine, l'âge, l'instruction, le traitement et le groupe de spécialisations discriminant les aptitudes linguistiques dans des directions souvent différentes ou opposées. L'emploi du français au travail apparaît de plus en plus marginal à mesure qu'on

atteint les échelons supérieurs. C'est dans les milieux et les groupes de spécialisations où le travail créateur prédomine que les francophones, faisant une plus large utilisation de l'anglais, éprouvent le plus de difficulté à travailler dans cette langue; cet état de choses a des effets négatifs sur le contentement dans le travail, car il contribue à la limitation et à l'assombrissement de leurs espérances professionnelles et les conduit dans bien des cas à se détacher graduellement de la fonction publique fédérale.

Le degré de bilinguisme et l'emploi des langues au travail ne sont pas reliés uniquement à des phénomènes rattachés au monde du travail. Ils ont aussi, à l'échelon intermédiaire francophone, des effets d'ordre personnel et social¹⁸. En effet, aussi longtemps qu'il demeure imparfaitement bilingue, le francophone ne pourra bénéficier pleinement des expériences qu'il est susceptible d'acquérir dans une langue seconde. Par ailleurs, le développement culturel de la communauté minoritaire à laquelle il appartient risque d'être retardé, si ne se retrouve pas une certaine continuité linguistique entre le monde communautaire (francophone) et l'expérience quotidienne de travail. Au chapitre suivant, qui décrira plus en détail les aspects culturels de la séparation du travail et du milieu communautaire et familial, nous aborderons les divers modes d'adaptation culturelle des francophones.

Nous avons vu, au chapitre précédent, comment les aptitudes linguistiques et les divers modèles d'emploi des langues influent sur le déroulement de la carrière d'un francophone. Pour faire carrière et réussir dans la fonction publique, celui-ci doit posséder une connaissance profonde de l'anglais, surtout aux échelons intermédiaire et supérieur, car c'est à ces niveaux, où l'on exige beaucoup de dynamisme et d'esprit d'initiative, que cette nécessité, alors associée à tout un éventail d'expériences de travail plus ou moins négatives, est le plus difficile à satisfaire. Pourtant, le thème linguistique n'englobe pas à lui seul tous les aspects « culturels » concernant les fonctionnaires, tant francophones qu'anglophones. Du moins, n'avons-nous pas jusqu'ici placé ce thème dans une perspective essentiellement culturelle.

A. Position du problème et méthodologie

La majorité des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire outaouais ne se sentent pas bloqués et frustrés professionnellement par la nécessité de travailler en anglais — ce n'est là le lot que d'une minorité — et la plupart ne semblent pas être aussi mal préparés qu'on pourrait le croire à faire carrière dans un milieu de travail anglais, d'autant qu'ils ont toujours la possibilité de s'adapter à ce milieu supposé au départ étranger. Dans une situation caractérisée par la division du travail selon l'ethnie ou le groupe linguistique, la minorité ethnique ou linguistique adopte souvent les modèles et les pratiques linguistiques de la majorité. C'est ainsi que les francophones, minorité linguistique et culturelle au sein du fonctionnarisme fédéral et du milieu de vie outaouais, sont normalement portés, bien souvent inconsciemment et sans poser là de choix explicites, à s'acculturer et à s'assimiler au groupe anglophone majoritaire avec lequel ils sont quotidiennement en contact, au travail et hors du travail.

Qu'est-ce que l'acculturation, en effet, sinon ce processus de changement culturel où, à la suite de contacts plus ou moins soutenus entre deux ou plusieurs groupes culturels distincts, l'un des groupes adopte des éléments culturels de l'autre ou des autres groupes. Le concept d'acculturation s'emploie aussi pour désigner le résultat de ce changement¹. L'assimilation, qui revêt sensiblement le même sens que l'acculturation, est le processus par lequel un groupe, généralement minoritaire ou composé d'immigrants, se trouve, par la fréquence des contacts, culturellement absorbé par un autre ou d'autres groupes; l'assimilation désigne aussi le résultat de cette absorption².

Utilisant indifféremment, pour notre part, les concepts d'assimilation et d'acculturation, et nous référant tant aux processus qu'ils décrivent qu'aux résultats de ces processus, nous allons illustrer la nature de certains contacts antérieurs ou actuels³ avec les milieux ethno-linguistiques de travail et de vie, afin de jauger les orientations culturelles des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire travaillant à Ottawa.

Données disponibles

Le schéma d'entrevue et le questionnaire de cette étude⁴ n'ont pas été conçus, à l'origine, pour mesurer de façon précise l'acculturation à l'échelon intermédiaire, aussi n'avons-nous pas étudié l'acculturation linguistique proprement dite, ni déterminé la qualité du français parlé par les francophones et l'importance de l'emploi du français ou de l'anglais à la maison. Nous disposons cependant des variables ou indicateurs suivants : 1. la langue des études; 2. la langue de travail et l'environnement ethnique au travail avant d'entrer dans la fonction publique fédérale; 3. l'origine ethnique du conjoint; 4. l'origine ethnique des amis; 5. le type d'école fréquentée par les enfants. Nous pourrions à l'occasion illustrer de cas tirés des entrevues les résultats quantitatifs de la mesure de ces indicateurs.

Bien que l'acculturation soit un phénomène complexe et difficile à évaluer, nous croyons être partiellement en mesure, avec les données à notre disposition, de vérifier cette hypothèse de travail : l'acculturation des francophones de la fonction publique, et particulièrement de l'échelon intermédiaire, s'opère en terme d'une adaptation sélective au milieu ethno-linguistique anglais. Autrement dit, sans nécessairement présenter l'acculturation comme un dilemme actuellement ressenti par les fonctionnaires francophones⁵, nous allons montrer comment nombre d'entre eux, à l'échelon intermédiaire, ont été en quelque sorte « préparés » toute leur vie durant à ces milieux ethno-linguistiques auxquels ils sont aujourd'hui quotidiennement confrontés soit au travail soit au sein de la communauté outaouaise, et étudier le comportement et les cheminements de ceux qui n'ont pas été aussi bien préparés à s'accommoder d'une situation où l'anglais domine. Dans une première démarche, nous examinerons chacun des indicateurs cités plus haut, de manière à obtenir une description, un peu statique assurément, de l'acculturation à l'échelon intermédiaire.

Parlant des fonctionnaires fédéraux canadiens-français ou d'expression française, nous devons alors bien vite abandonner l'image du groupe homogène vivant aux sources encore inaltérées d'une culture elle aussi inaltérée. Quant aux relations mutuelles de ces indicateurs, l'idéal serait de les concevoir comme une série dont les éléments, s'appuyant les uns sur les autres et se vérifiant l'un par l'autre, éclaireraient l'objectif poursuivi, c'est-à-dire la connaissance du processus d'acculturation à l'échelon intermédiaire, afin de voir s'il y a continuité ou séparation, en terme du degré d'influence des modèles anglais, entre la vie communautaire ou hors du travail et le monde du travail proprement dit. En conclusion, nous comparerons brièvement la fonction publique québécoise à l'ensemble de la fonction publique fédérale quant aux modèles d'emploi des langues au travail et à certains modèles linguistiques en dehors du travail, pour constater alors que la minorité anglophone du fonctionnarisme québécois et la minorité francophone du fonctionnarisme fédéral adoptent des comportements semblables, et que la majorité francophone du fonctionnarisme québécois et la majorité anglophone du fonctionnarisme fédéral présentent des traits communs. À la lumière de ces comparaisons, l'assimilation et l'acculturation peuvent se percevoir comme des phénomènes inévitables engendrés en grande partie par une division du travail selon la langue ou le groupe culturel, division qui, en mettant les membres de la minorité ethno-linguistique en contact intense et continu avec ceux de la majorité, leur fait, à la longue, perdre certains de leurs traits culturels et adopter ceux du groupe dominant, favorisant par là leur progression dans l'échelle sociale.

B. Description et variations spécifiques des indicateurs d'acculturation

La notion de carrière, au sens où nous l'avons jusqu'ici employée, se rapporte à la suite ordonnée des divers rôles rattachés au travail de l'individu : c'est la profession avec ses étapes. Dans une vue plus large, cependant, elle peut s'étendre à l'ensemble des aspects identifiables, plus ou moins chronologiques et socialement significatifs, du cours de la vie : la naissance, la famille, la période des études, le travail, la vie sociale et communautaire, la retraite, la mort.

On peut examiner sous l'angle ethnique ou linguistique certaines étapes importantes de la vie des fonctionnaires fédéraux de l'échelon intermédiaire. L'hypothèse retenue est que les francophones sont, plus que leurs congénères anglophones, exposés au cours de leur vie à l'autre culture ou à l'autre langue officielle. Nous allons donc nous pencher sur la langue des études, le milieu ethno-linguistique de travail avant d'entrer à la fonction publique⁶, la composition ethnique du réseau social et du lieu d'habitation, l'origine ethnique du conjoint, la langue d'enseignement à l'école fréquentée par les enfants, et décrire les variations de ces indicateurs d'acculturation

selon trois variables principales : la région d'origine, le niveau d'instruction et le groupe de spécialisations.

1. Langue des études

La période des études est importante du point de vue des contacts ethno-linguistiques, car elle précède immédiatement le travail comme tel. Le degré d'exposition linguistique durant cette période — autrement dit la langue des études — peut devenir un élément marquant de la carrière qui est à rattacher aux autres facteurs ethno-linguistiques⁷. Pour l'instant, nous décrivons la langue des études sans établir de relations avec les autres indicateurs d'assimilation.

Un examen général de la situation à l'échelon intermédiaire fait apparaître que 4 francophones sur 10 ont été, au cours de leurs études, exposés à l'anglais (tableau n° 17.1). En effet, 32 % au total ont été éduqués à peu près également en anglais et en français et 10 % surtout en anglais. Les anglophones contrastent nettement par leur exposition minime au français.

Tableau 17.1

Langue des études des francophones et des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)

Langue des études	Échelon intermédiaire francophone	Langue des études	Échelon intermédiaire anglophone
Le français	57,8	L'anglais	95,6
Le français et l'anglais	32,0	L'anglais et le français	0,4
Un peu plus le français que l'anglais	19,5	Le français	0,0
Un peu plus l'anglais que le français	12,5	Autre langue	4,0
L'anglais	10,2		
Total	100,0	Total	100,0
N	128		168

Pour mieux décrire la langue des études, voyons la situation à divers niveaux d'instruction. Tant à l'échelon intermédiaire que dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique fédérale, l'exposition à l'anglais s'intensifie avec l'élévation de la scolarisation (tableau n° 17.2). Ainsi, dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique, les francophones ont fait leurs études surtout en anglais dans les proportions suivantes : niveau primaire, 5 %; niveau secondaire, 16 %; niveau universitaire,

14 %. À l'échelon intermédiaire, les changements sont plus marqués : niveau primaire, 4 %; niveau secondaire, 10 %; premier cycle du niveau universitaire, 25 %; deuxième et troisième cycles, 42 %. Dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique francophone, les niveaux primaire et universitaire accusent une différence de 15 points (favorisant le niveau primaire) entre les degrés respectifs d'exposition intense au français, et une différence de 8 points (favorisant le niveau universitaire) entre les degrés respectifs d'exposition à l'anglais. À l'échelon intermédiaire, le sens des différences correspondantes est identique, mais les écarts sont plus grands : respectivement 37 et 38 points. À chaque stade de leurs études, les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ont donc été plus exposés à l'anglais que ceux de l'ensemble de la fonction publique, l'intensification de ces expériences linguistiques au niveau universitaire facilitant ultérieurement la pratique, surtout anglaise, de la spécialisation acquise.

Tableau 17.2
Langue des études des fonctionnaires fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle et des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction (%)

Langue des études					
Niveau d'instruction	Anglais	Anglais et français	Français	Total	N
<i>Fonctionnaires fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle</i>					
Élémentaire	5,4	11,5	83,1	100	1406
Secondaire	15,5	18,2	66,3	100	1273
Universitaire	13,6	17,8	68,6	100	756
<i>Fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire</i>					
Élémentaire	3,9	18,8	77,3	100	128
Secondaire	10,4	31,7	57,9	100	126
Universitaire					
1er cycle	24,5	31,4	44,1	100	102
2e et 3e cycles	42,1	18,4	39,5	100	38

Source : Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey ». Les pourcentages sont calculés à partir de bases pondérées; les chiffres apparaissant sous la rubrique « Total » sont les bases non pondérées.

À l'échelon intermédiaire francophone, l'exposition à l'une ou l'autre langue durant la période des études est différenciée par la région et le groupe de spécialisations.

Région d'origine

Seulement 21 % des francophones originaires du Québec (sauf Hull) ont connu une exposition moyenne ou intense à l'anglais contre 54 % chez les non-Québécois⁸ (tableau n° 17.3). Cette différenciation

selon la région d'origine s'observe à chaque niveau, sauf aux deuxième et troisième cycles universitaires où les francophones d'origine québécoise semblent avoir été plus que leurs compatriotes de la région ouataouaise et des autres provinces intensément exposés à l'anglais. Au primaire, la presque totalité des francophones québécois ont fait leurs études en français, contre à peine les deux tiers chez les non québécois; au secondaire, l'écart s'accroît, les proportions étant respectivement de 94 et 38 %; au premier cycle du niveau universitaire, l'origine québécoise est liée également à une plus grande exposition au français, alors qu'aux deuxième et troisième cycles s'observe une tendance différente, ou tout au moins une absence de différence, les

Tableau 17.3

Langue des études des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction et la région d'origine (%)

		Langue des études				
Niveau d'instruction	Région d'origine	Anglais		Français	Total	N
		Anglais	et français			
Élémentaire	Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	0,0	2,1	97,9	100	47
	Hors du Québec	6,2	29,6	64,2	100	81
Secondaire	Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	2,2	4,3	93,5	100	46
	Hors du Québec	15,0	47,5	37,5	100	80
Universitaire 1er cycle	Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	13,0	15,3	71,7	100	46
	Hors du Québec	34,0	44,6	21,4	100	56
Universitaire 2 ^e et 3 ^e cycles	Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	43,6	26,0	30,4	100	23
	Hors du Québec	40,0	6,7	53,3	100	15
Ensemble des études	Province de Québec (sauf Hull)	0,0	21,3	78,7	100	47
	Hors du Québec	16,0	38,3	45,7	100	81

degrés d'exposition intense à l'anglais étant assez identiques et les francophones non québécois semblant avoir été plus intensément exposés au français que leurs collègues du Québec (53 contre 30 %). Ce cas particulier ne doit cependant pas masquer la tendance principale, à savoir la relation positive entre l'origine québécoise et l'exposition au français pendant la période d'instruction.

Groupe de spécialisations

La relation entre la langue des études et le groupe de spécialisations présente des variations qui recourent l'effet déjà connu de la région d'origine.

Pour chaque groupe général de spécialisations, l'exposition à l'anglais augmente avec l'élévation du niveau d'instruction, à une exception près cependant : les quelques techniciens et quasi-professionnels qui ont poursuivi des études universitaires avancées les ont

Tableau 17.4
Langue des études des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le niveau d'instruction et le groupe de spécialisations A (%)

Niveau d'instruction	Groupe de spécialisations A	Langue des études				N
		Anglais	Anglais et français	Français	Total	
Elémentaire	Spécialistes et scientifiques	2,3	11,6	86,1	100	43
	Administrateurs	6,5	25,8	67,7	100	31
	Quasi-spécialistes	3,7	22,2	74,1	100	54
Secondaire	Spécialistes et scientifiques	9,3	25,6	65,1	100	43
	Administrateurs	16,7	40,0	43,3	100	30
	Quasi-spécialistes	7,5	32,1	60,4	100	53
Universitaire 1er cycle	Spécialistes et scientifiques	23,3	23,3	53,4	100	43
	Administrateurs	35,0	50,0	15,0	100	20
	Quasi-spécialistes	20,5	30,8	48,7	100	39
Universitaire 2e et 3e cycles	Spécialistes et scientifiques	55,0	15,0	30,0	100	20
	Administrateurs	42,9	42,9	14,2	100	7
	Quasi-spécialistes	18,2	9,1	72,7	100	11
Ensemble des études	Spécialistes et scientifiques	16,3	27,9	55,8	100	43
	Administrateurs	12,9	41,9	45,2	100	31
	Quasi-spécialistes	3,7	29,6	66,7	100	54

généralement menées en français. Le tableau n° 17.4 explicite et détaille la règle générale des variations pour chacun des groupes de spécialisations. À chaque niveau d'instruction, sauf au niveau des études universitaires avancées, les spécialistes et les scientifiques ont été les plus exposés au français, alors que, de façon générale, les administrateurs font bloc à part, cantonnés qu'ils sont aux degrés d'exposition à l'anglais les plus élevés. Quant aux techniciens et quasi-spécialistes, ils se situent entre ces deux groupes.

Au primaire, les plus exposés au français sont les spécialistes et les scientifiques (86 %), devant les techniciens et les quasi-spécialistes (74 %) et les administrateurs (68 %). La région d'origine explique partiellement ces différences : 68 % des spécialistes et des scientifiques sont originaires du Québec contre 28 % chez les techniciens et les quasi-spécialistes et 23 % chez les administrateurs.

Au niveau secondaire, l'ordre reste le même, avec respectivement 65, 60 et 43 %. Il est bon de rappeler ici certains faits concernant le type d'école secondaire fréquentée par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (tableau n° 17.5) : les spécialistes et les scientifiques sont plus nombreux que les autres à avoir fréquenté le collège classique; les administrateurs ont peu fréquenté le collège classique mais davantage l'école secondaire anglaise; les techniciens et les quasi-spécialistes, également moins présents au collège classique, ont pour leur part reçu le plus souvent leur instruction secondaire dans d'autres institutions françaises.

Tableau 17.5

Type d'école secondaire fréquentée par les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%)

Groupe de spécialisations A	École secondaire fréquentée				Total	N
	Collège classique	École secondaire française autre	École secondaire anglaise	Sans réponse		
Spécialistes et scientifiques	44,2	41,9	11,6	2,3	100	43
Techniciens et quasi-spécialistes	25,9	61,1	9,3	3,7	100	54
Administrateurs	29,0	45,2	22,6	3,2	100	31
Échelon intermé- diaire francophone	25,0	50,7	13,2	3,1	100	128

Au niveau universitaire du premier cycle, les administrateurs se distinguent par une très forte exposition à l'anglais : 15 % seulement ont été instruits en français. Ceux, relativement rares, qui poursuivirent des études universitaires avancées, le firent surtout en anglais, comme d'ailleurs à ce niveau les spécialistes et les scientifiques. Les quasi-spécialistes qui menèrent ces mêmes études surtout en français sont pour la plupart des traducteurs.

2. La période de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale

Sans nécessairement déterminer tous les liens qui peuvent exister entre la période de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale et la carrière administrative proprement dite, il est logique de supposer que les expériences professionnelles acquises avant d'entrer dans l'administration fédérale peuvent servir ou être utilisées par la suite. Les expériences ethno-linguistiques antérieures constituent une caractéristique importante des antécédents professionnels des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire.

Les francophones n'ont pas tous débuté à la fonction publique; 6 sur 10 n'eurent pas le gouvernement fédéral comme premier employeur contre près de 8 sur 10 chez les anglophones; aussi la discussion de l'exposition à l'anglais ou au français ne portera-t-elle dans leur cas que sur cette proportion.

Hors de l'administration fédérale, ces francophones travaillèrent presque autant, sinon plus, dans des milieux anglais que dans des milieux français (tableau n° 17.6), 46 % surtout en français, les

Tableau 17.6

Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire et des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle (%)

Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale*	Échelon intermédiaire	Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale*	Ministères fédéraux ¹
Surtout le français	46,4	Le français	38,9
Surtout l'anglais	53,6	Le français et l'anglais	44,8
Total	100,0	L'anglais	16,1
N	84	Autre langue	0,2
		Total	100,0
		N	1 487

1. Source : Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey ». Les pourcentages sont calculés à partir d'une base pondérée; les chiffres apparaissant à la rubrique « Total » représentant les bases non pondérées.

* On ne compte pas les fonctionnaires n'ayant jamais travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.

autres surtout en anglais. Comparativement à l'ensemble des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux ayant le français pour langue maternelle, les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire sont relativement plus nombreux à avoir été exposés à des milieux de travail anglais. Ici encore est illustré le phénomène voulant que l'échelon intermédiaire francophone outaouais soit en marge de l'ensemble du fonctionnarisme fédéral de langue français.

Poussons plus loin la description et voyons les relations entre la mobilité géographique, la région d'origine ou le groupe de spécialisations, d'une part, et le degré d'exposition ethno-linguistique au cours de cette période passée en dehors de la fonction publique, d'autre part.

Région d'origine

Contrairement à la langue des études, la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique n'est pas différenciée par la région d'origine (tableau n° 17.7). Le fait que la moitié des francophones québécois, comparativement à un peu plus du quart des francophones non québécois, n'aient jamais connu d'autre employeur que le gouvernement fédéral contribue sans doute à annuler la relation entre la région d'origine et la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique.

Tableau 17.7

Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la région d'origine (%)*

Région d'origine	Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale			Total	N
	Surtout le français	Surtout l'anglais	N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur		
Province de Québec (Hull non compris)	23,4 44,0	29,8 56,0	46,8	100 100	47 25
Hors du Québec	34,6 47,5	38,3 52,5	27,1	100 100	81 59
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	30,5 46,4	35,2 53,6	34,3	100 100	128 84

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que ceux ayant travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.

Mobilité

Le tableau n° 17.8 décrit la relation entre la mobilité géographique avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique et les comportements linguistiques d'alors. Il semble qu'une absence de mobilité au cours de cette période soit associée à une plus grande exposition à l'anglais⁹, ce qui s'expliquerait par le fait que les fonctionnaires n'ayant accusé aucune mobilité avant d'entrer dans la fonction publique viennent pour la plupart de la région outaouaise. Par ailleurs, il semble que plus la mobilité géographique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire est élevée, plus elle se trouve associée à un accroissement des possibilités de contacts interlinguistiques au travail. On constate en effet que 59 % des fonctionnaires qui accusent une forte mobilité travaillaient dans des entreprises ou des milieux de langue et de culture plutôt anglaises, contre 49 % seulement chez ceux qui, avant d'entrer à la fonction publique, n'avaient connu qu'un seul déplacement.

Tableau 17.8
Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le nombre de déplacements (%)*

Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale					
Nombre de déplacements d'une ville à l'autre	Surtout le français	Surtout l'anglais	N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur	Total	N
Aucun	5,6	14,8	79,6	100	54
	27,5	72,5		100	11
Un	55,0	42,5	2,5	100	40
	56,4	43,6		100	39
Deux	42,1	57,9	0,0	100	19
Trois	40,0	60,0		100	15
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	30,5	35,2	34,3	100	128
	46,4	53,6		100	84

* Pour les classes de déplacements géographiques « Aucun » et « Un », nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que ceux ayant travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.

Groupe de spécialisations

Le groupe de spécialisations discrimine lui aussi les pratiques linguistiques lors du travail antérieur. Si l'on admet que les groupes généraux de spécialisations auxquels appartiennent présentement les francophones correspondent aux professions ou aux orientations professionnelles de la période passée hors de la fonction publique, le tableau n° 17.9 permet d'observer des différenciations entre les groupes selon l'intensité de l'exposition à l'anglais à cette époque et de constater que les techniciens et quasi-spécialistes ont été les plus exposés¹⁰.

Tableau 17.9

Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le groupe de spécialisations A (%)*

Groupe de spéciali- sations A	Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale			Total	N
	Surtout le français	Surtout l'anglais	N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur		
Spécialistes et scientifiques	21,0	32,6	46,4	100	43
	39,2	60,8		100	23
Administrateurs	19,3	32,3	48,4	100	31
	37,6	62,4		100	16
Techniciens et quasi- spécialistes	44,4	38,9	16,7	100	54
	53,4	46,6		100	45
Échelon intermé- diaire francophone	30,5	35,2	34,3	100	128
	46,4	53,6		100	84

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que ceux ayant travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.

3. Réseau social et vie communautaire

Pour bon nombre de francophones, la période des études et la période de travail hors de la fonction publique se distinguent donc par une exposition assez prononcée à la langue et à la culture anglaises, ce qui les différencie de la plupart des Canadiens français travaillant pour des entreprises francophones ou le gouvernement québécois, ou même pour des organismes fédéraux situés au Québec. En outre, le fait que seulement 42 % des francophones (à l'exclusion des traduc-

teurs) fassent une utilisation substantielle du français au travail apparaît également singulier. La phase des études et l'ensemble de la période de travail semblent avoir baigné dans une atmosphère passablement anglaise.

Mais qu'en est-il des autres situations sociales, hors du milieu professionnel ? Quelles orientations linguistiques ou culturelles caractérisent le réseau social ou la vie communautaire des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire ? Plusieurs facteurs — origine ethnique du conjoint, origine ethnique des amis, langue d'enseignement à l'école fréquentée par les enfants — permettent de mesurer indirectement l'orientation et la fermeté des options et des comportements tant linguistiques que culturels dans les situations sociales hors du travail.

a. Choix du conjoint

Certains facteurs interviennent généralement dans le choix du conjoint appartenant à une autre origine ethnique ou un autre groupe culturel. L'opportunité de contacts interethniques avant le mariage, et ils sont à la portée de tous les fonctionnaires francophones, est évidemment indispensable. Indépendamment de ces contacts, on retient comme déterminants de l'exogamie ethnique des facteurs inhérents à la personnalité, soit l'absence de préjugés défavorables et d'attitudes hostiles envers l'autre groupe, dont nous ne pouvons, dans le cadre de cette recherche, connaître l'influence réelle sur l'incidence des mariages interethniques, ainsi que divers facteurs d'ordre culturel et social. Sur le plan culturel, l'exogamie ethnique n'est possible ou n'existe que si les conjoints se sont soustraits à la norme statistiquement plus forte de l'endogamie ethnique, et l'écart de cette norme est d'autant plus probable que les porteurs du contrôle social, les parents et les groupes d'amis, sont déjà acculturés. Sur le plan social, les chances de mariages interethniques sont plus grandes lorsque les occasions de contacts interethniques sont nombreuses et les relations avec des membres d'autres groupes ethniques revêtent un caractère intime et *face to face*.

L'exogamie est l'indice d'une acculturation certaine, ce qui, pour l'un des deux conjoints assurément, suppose non seulement la continuation du processus d'assimilation mais aussi la participation avant le mariage à un réseau social biethnique ou multiethnique.

À l'échelon intermédiaire, l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique est relativement élevée, le quart des fonctionnaires francophones (mariés) ayant en effet contracté des mariages interethniques¹¹ (tableau n° 17.10); abstraction faite des traducteurs, endogames dans une proportion de 90 %, elle s'élève même à 27 %. Du côté anglophone, 29 % des fonctionnaires (mariés) ont contracté des mariages interethniques¹² (tableau n° 17.11); pour les anglophones non canadiens ou non britanniques et encore célibataires à leur arrivée au Canada, la possibilité d'épouser une personne de même origine ethnique a vraisemblablement été assez limitée.

Tableau 17.10

Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la région d'origine (%)*

Région d'origine	Origine ethnique du conjoint				Total	N
	Française	En partie anglaise ou autre que française**	Anglaise ou autre que française	Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé		
Ottawa et Hull	70,9 78,0	3,6 4,0	16,4 18,0	9,1	100 100	55 50
Province de Québec (Hull non compris)	66,0 79,5	2,1 2,6	14,9 17,9	17,0	100 100	47 39
Autres provinces ou autres pays	53,9 63,9	11,5 13,7	19,2 22,7	15,4	100 100	26 22
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	65,6 75,7	4,7 5,4	16,4 18,9	13,3	100 100	128 111

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les fonctionnaires; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

** Si l'un des deux parents du conjoint est d'origine anglaise ou autre que française.

Tableau 17.11

Origine ethnique du conjoint des anglophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (%)*

	Origine ethnique du conjoint				Total	N
	Même origine ethnique	Origine ethnique différente Française	Autre que française	Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé		
Échelon intermédiaire anglophone	63,7	7,7	17,9	10,7	100	168
Mariés seulement	71,3	8,7	20,0		100	150

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les fonctionnaires; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

Région d'origine, groupes de spécialisations

L'exogamie ethnique varie quelque peu selon la région d'origine et le groupe de spécialisations. Au tableau n° 17.10, on constate que les francophones du Québec et de la région outaouaise sont plus nombreux à être endogames que ceux des autres régions, ce qui n'a rien d'étonnant, car les possibilités de contacts interlinguistiques ou interethniques sont sans contredit plus grandes hors du Québec et la région outaouaise, qui compte une forte proportion de francophones. Cet écart quant à l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique n'est toutefois pas aussi grand qu'on pourrait le croire, nombre de francophones québécois célibataires, venus faire carrière à Ottawa dans la fonction publique, s'intégrant facilement à des groupes sociaux biculturels ou anglophones, ce qui favorise l'exogamie ethnique. Les données du tableau n° 17.10 appuient l'hypothèse générale de la marginalité relative des francophones québécois de l'échelon intermédiaire. Le taux d'endogamie de l'ensemble de la population française masculine du Québec (96 %) ¹³ est en effet supérieur à celui de l'échantillon francophone québécois de l'échelon intermédiaire (80 %).

Voyons maintenant la relation entre les groupes de spécialisations et l'incidence de l'exogamie (tableau n° 17.12). Les plus exogames sont les administrateurs (31 %), devant les spécialistes et scientifiques (25 %), et les techniciens et quasi-spécialistes (17 %). Ces regroupements de spécialisations étant très généraux, l'interprétation des résultats apparaît assez difficile; cependant, lorsqu'on utilise une typologie des spécialisations plus détaillée, les hauts fonctionnaires et les scientifiques, avec respectivement 47 et 31 %, se dissocient des autres groupes dont les taux varient entre 15 et 25 %

Tableau 17.12

Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant contracté des mariages interethniques, selon les groupes de spécialisations A et B (%)

Groupe de spécialisations A	N	Ont contracté un mariage interethnique	Groupe de spécialisations B	N	Ont contracté un mariage interethnique
Spécialistes et scientifiques	34	25,0*	Scientifiques	13	30,8*
Administrateurs	29	31,0	Ingénieurs	10	20,0
Techniciens et quasi-spécialistes	48	16,7	Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	41	14,6
			Techniciens	16	20,0
			Hauts fonctionnaires	15	46,7
			Cadres moyens et inférieurs	15	25,0

* Les pourcentages ont été calculés à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

(tableau n° 17.12). Ce sont donc surtout les francophones engagés dans les carrières dites de création et de prestige, ces carrières qui exigent beaucoup d'esprit d'initiative, qui seraient le plus assimilés.

b. Le choix des amis

L'origine ethnique des amis intimes ou « des meilleurs amis¹⁴ » est, croyons-nous, un autre indicateur des orientations culturelles des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire ou, tout au moins, permet de décrire sommairement la composition de leur réseau social primaire. La moitié disent choisir leurs trois meilleurs amis chez les Canadiens français et 27 % n'en compter qu'un ou même aucun parmi eux (tableau n° 17.13).

Tableau 17.13

Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire comptant au moins deux Canadiens français parmi leurs trois meilleurs amis, selon le groupe de spécialisations B (%)

Groupe de spécialisations B	N	Au moins deux des trois meilleurs amis sont Canadiens français
Scientifiques	14	50,0
Ingénieurs	12	58,3
Traducteurs	23	73,9
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes*	28	85,7
Techniciens	18	72,2
Hauts fonctionnaires	17	52,9
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	16	75,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	69,5

* À l'exclusion des traducteurs.

En ce qui concerne le choix des amis français, la situation est toute autre du côté des anglophones, 5 % seulement disant ne compter qu'un Canadien français parmi leurs trois meilleurs amis.

Chez les francophones, la région d'origine ne discrimine pas la direction des choix exprimés — le fait d'être québécois n'empêche pas la formation d'un réseau d'amis mixte ou anglais — mais l'origine sociale, le groupe de spécialisations et le niveau de traitement différencient les orientations culturelles (tableaux nos 17.13 et 17.14) : les fonctionnaires appartenant aux professions libérales et aux cadres s'assimilent facilement alors que les hauts fonctionnaires, les scientifiques et les ingénieurs manifestent une orientation plus nette vers un réseau de relations primaires anglais ou autre que français (tableau n° 17.13), laquelle s'accentue avec l'élévation du niveau de traitement : en effet, 39 % des francophones dont le salaire

annuel dépasse \$ 9 000 n'ont qu'un ami ou aucun ami français, ce qui n'est le cas que de 23 % de ceux dont le salaire reste inférieur à cette somme (tableau n° 17.14).

Tableau 17.14

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon le traitement (%)

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis							
Traitement	Tous français	Deux amis français	Un ami français	Aucun ami français	Sans réponse	Total	N
De \$ 6 200 à \$ 8 999	55,8	17,8	13,7	9,5	3,2	100	95
\$ 9 000 et plus	33,3	24,3	30,3	9,1	3,0	100	33
Échelon inter-médiaire francophone	50,0	19,5	18,0	9,4	3,1	100	128

c. L'école fréquentée par les enfants

Le choix que font les fonctionnaires francophones d'une école anglaise, française ou bilingue, pour leurs enfants, indique, croyons-nous, leur orientation culturelle. On peut trouver là soit une volonté profonde de maintenir intacte la culture française, souvent en dépit de bien des difficultés, soit encore le désir d'exprimer une orientation nouvelle ou désormais définitive vers le monde anglais.

Les pères de famille francophones choisissent l'école française dans 90 % des cas, 3 % seulement optant pour l'école bilingue ou l'équivalent¹⁵ et 7 % pour l'école anglaise. En raison de la dissemblance des systèmes d'éducation en Ontario et au Québec, les motifs qui suscitent les francophones résidant à Ottawa et ceux résidant dans la partie québécoise de la région outaouaise à envoyer leurs enfants aux écoles françaises ou bilingues ne sont pas nécessairement les mêmes : ce serait plutôt, ou « aussi », pour des motifs religieux que les premiers choisiraient les écoles séparées. Quoi qu'il en soit, nos résultats démontrent bien ici qu'il existe des secteurs, tels l'éducation des enfants et la religion, où les résultats de l'acculturation ne se manifestent pas encore pleinement. Tout semble indiquer que l'acculturation, ou l'assimilation, reste relative, tant à certain stade de son développement que dans ses résultats concrets.

d. Langue du quartier

La composition ethno-linguistique du quartier¹⁶ n'est pas, à nos yeux, un indicateur d'assimilation valable; cependant les résultats obtenus à ce sujet peuvent compléter l'image que nous avons jusque-là présentée des comportements linguistiques et culturels plus significatifs des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire en dehors du travail.

Chez les francophones, 58 % ont dit demeurer dans des quartiers surtout français, les autres habitant des quartiers mixtes ou anglais dans des proportions identiques.

Si la composition linguistique du quartier n'est pas différenciée par la région d'origine des fonctionnaires, elle l'est par l'origine sociale, la spécialisation et le traitement; selon les résultats présentés au tableau n° 17.15, l'établissement dans un quartier mixte ou anglais est davantage caractéristique des francophones issus de milieux appartenant aux professions libérales et aux cadres, des fonctionnaires rattachés aux groupes des ingénieurs et des hauts fonctionnaires, enfin, des hauts salariés.

Tableau 17.15

Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire résidant dans des quartiers mixtes ou anglais, selon le traitement, le groupe de spécialisations, la région d'origine et l'origine sociale (%)

	N	%		N	%
<i>Traitement</i>			<i>Groupe de spécialisations B</i>		
De \$ 6 200 à \$ 7 999	62	38,7	Scientifiques	14	35,7
De \$ 8 000 à \$ 9 999	55	38,2	Ingénieurs	12	66,7
\$ 10 000 et plus	11	63,6	Autres spécialistes et		
<i>Origine sociale</i>			quasi-spécialistes	51	35,2
Professions libérales			Techniciens	18	33,4
et cadres	26	73,1	Hauts fonctionnaires	17	52,9
Classe moyenne	39	30,7	Cadres moyens et		
Milieu ouvrier	51	39,2	inférieurs	16	37,5
Milieu agricole	12	8,3	<i>Région d'origine</i>		
			Québec (à l'exclusion		
			de Hull)	47	40,4
			Hors du Québec	81	40,7
<i>Échelon intermédiaire</i>					
francophone	128	40,6			

C. Relations entre les indicateurs d'acculturation

L'exposition à la culture anglaise à laquelle se sont trouvés soumis tout au long de leur vie les fonctionnaires français de l'échelon intermédiaire outaouais, que ce soit à l'école, au travail — à la fonction publique ou avant d'y entrer — dans leurs relations sociales ou familiales, est apparue assez prononcée. Selon l'indicateur considéré, on peut dire qu'ils ont été exposés à un milieu scolaire, professionnel ou social, soit mixte soit proprement anglais, dans une proportion de 24 à 54 %.

Cette vue statique de l'assimilation n'explique cependant pas le processus d'assimilation ou d'acculturation, son dynamisme et son développement. Il ne suffit pas de situer les francophones autour d'indicateurs pris isolément, encore faut-il connaître quelles relations existent entre ces derniers. En quoi l'exposition des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire à l'anglais avant d'entrer à la fonction publique, sur les bancs mêmes de l'école ou les gradins de l'université, est-elle liée à certain modèle anglais rattaché à la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale, ou au réseau social et communautaire ? Est-ce avant d'entrer à la fonction publique fédérale que certains ne sont déjà plus représentatifs du groupe francophone mais, en quelque sorte, des marginaux culturels ? L'acculturation des francophones est-elle due à la fonction publique fédérale comme telle, ou résulte-t-elle d'autres facteurs antérieurs ou concomitants, notamment la langue dans laquelle ils ont poursuivi leurs études et le fait de vivre ou d'avoir vécu dans un milieu social et familial de langue et de culture mixtes ? Ou encore y a-t-il continuité ou séparation, en terme de l'exposition relative aux milieux linguistiques et culturels anglais ou français, entre la vie communautaire ou hors du travail et le monde du travail proprement dit ? On ne peut répondre à ces questions qu'en traitant les indicateurs d'assimilation tour à tour comme variable indépendante et comme variable dépendante, en les concevant comme une série dont les éléments, s'appuyant les uns sur les autres, peuvent éclairer notre objectif, c'est-à-dire la connaissance du processus d'acculturation à l'échelon intermédiaire.

Nous pourrions ainsi déterminer comment le facteur linguistique ou culturel relie entre elles les différentes étapes du cours de la vie et de la carrière entendue dans son sens large.

1. L'influence de la langue des études

La période des études constitue, surtout pour ces fonctionnaires fortement scolarisés de l'échelon intermédiaire, une étape importante de la carrière. Nous voulons savoir en quoi l'exposition à l'anglais ou au français au cours de cette période est liée à la langue de travail et à la composition ethno-linguistique du réseau social et communautaire.

a. Langue des études et langue de travail

Le début de la vie professionnelle d'un individu suivant immédiatement la période scolaire et coïncidant parfois avec elle, il est permis de supposer une continuité entre l'étude d'une spécialité, son apprentissage et sa pratique. Sur les plans linguistique et culturel, on souhaitera souvent la similarité de la langue des études et de la langue de travail, car le contenu conceptuel d'une discipline apprise dans une langue donnée s'articule plus facilement lorsque la spécialité s'exerce dans cette langue. L'effet de la langue des études sur la langue de travail avant d'entrer à la fonction publique ou en dehors d'elle et sur la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale est illustré aux tableaux nos 17.16 et 17.17.

Tableau 17.16

Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire hors de la fonction publique, selon la langue des études (%)*

Langue des études	Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale			Total	N
	Surtout le français	Surtout l'anglais	N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur		
Surtout le français	33,3	29,3	37,4	100	99
	53,2	46,8		100	62
Surtout l'anglais	20,7	55,2	24,1	100	29
	27,3	72,7		100	22
Échelon inter-médiaire francophone	30,5	35,2	34,3	100	128
	46,4	53,6		100	84

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que ceux ayant travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.

Tableau 17.17

Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de la carrière fédérale, selon la langue des études (%)

Langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale						N
Langue des études	Surtout le français	Autant le français que l'anglais	Surtout l'anglais	Sans réponse	Total	
Surtout le français	26,3	30,3	41,4	2,0	100	99
Surtout l'anglais	13,8	20,7	62,1	3,4	100	29
Échelon inter-médiaire francophone	23,5	28,2	46,0	2,3	100	128

Il y a une relation positive entre la langue des études et la langue de travail en dehors de la fonction publique : on note en effet, au tableau n° 17.16, qu'à des études menées surtout en anglais correspond une incidence très élevée de l'utilisation intense de l'anglais au cours de la période de travail antérieure à l'entrée au gouvernement fédéral (73 %) et, inversement, que cette incidence est moins élevée (47 %) lorsque les études ont été menées surtout en français.

Certains comportements typiques illustrent d'ailleurs ce conditionnement, par la langue des études, des expériences linguistiques pendant la période de travail hors de la fonction publique. Nombre de traducteurs, le cours classique terminé, ont poursuivi leurs études soit à l'Université de Montréal, soit à l'université Laval, et c'est en français qu'ont commencé à exercer ceux qui embrassèrent une profession libérale, et vers l'une des villes francophones de la province que se sont dirigés ceux qui optèrent pour l'enseignement ou le journalisme. C'est en français que certains ingénieurs civils formés en milieu universitaire francophone ont connu leurs premières expériences professionnelles, et au sein d'une communauté francophone, ou pour les gouvernements provincial ou municipaux du Québec, qu'ont travaillé plusieurs vétérinaires instruits en français à l'École de médecine vétérinaire du Québec avant d'entrer à la fonction publique fédérale. Par ailleurs, c'est pour le compte d'entreprises ou de bureaux de comptables franco-ontariens qu'ont travaillé des comptables de la région outaouaise formés en milieu bilingue, et presque toujours en milieu anglais que les francophones instruits en dehors du Québec, donc surtout en anglais, ont localement trouvé leur premier emploi.

Même si, pour plusieurs, le travail à la fonction publique fédérale a commencé bien après la fin de la période scolaire, il est permis de supposer une relation entre la langue des études et la langue de travail dans le fonctionnarisme fédéral. Cette hypothèse se trouve d'ailleurs confirmée au tableau n° 17.17, où l'on note une relation positive en ce sens : 62 % des fonctionnaires instruits surtout en anglais ont fait un usage intensif de cette langue au cours de leur carrière fédérale, contre 41 % des fonctionnaires instruits surtout en français. Si l'on ne tient pas compte des traducteurs, qui sont les seuls à travailler presque uniquement en français, la relation entre la langue des études et la langue de travail apparaît cependant beaucoup moins forte chez les francophones. L'exposition à l'anglais étant, au total, pour ces derniers (les traducteurs mis à part) plus faible au cours des études qu'au cours de la carrière fédérale proprement dite, il devient presque inévitable que plusieurs parmi ceux qui ont étudié en français travaillent par la suite en anglais.

b. Langue des études et relations sociales hors du travail

Voyons maintenant si l'environnement linguistique pendant la période des études a pu déterminer certains comportements culturels ultérieurs rattachés aux relations sociales hors du travail. Plus spécifiquement, il s'agit de vérifier l'hypothèse d'une relation entre la langue des études, d'une part, et le mariage biethnique ou la composition ethnique du réseau social primaire, d'autre part.

La période des études précédant généralement le moment du mariage, on peut supposer que l'incidence des mariages biethniques est liée à l'exposition à l'anglais pendant les études. Cette hypothèse trouve confirmation au tableau n° 17.18 : il existe en effet une relation positive entre la langue des études et le groupe ethnique du conjoint : 41 % des fonctionnaires francophones instruits surtout en anglais ont contracté mariage avec des personnes d'origine anglaise ou autre que française, contre 19 % chez ceux qui ont étudié surtout en français.

Tableau 17.18

Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue des études (%)*

Langue des études	Origine ethnique du conjoint				Total	N
	Française	En partie anglaise ou autre que française**	Anglaise ou autre que française	Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé		
Surtout le français	68,7	5,0	11,1	15,2	100	99
	81,0	5,9	13,1		100	84
Surtout l'anglais	55,2	3,4	34,5	6,9	100	29
	59,3	3,7	37,0		100	27
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	65,6	4,7	16,4	13,3	100	128
	75,7	5,4	18,9		100	111

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les fonctionnaires; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

** Si l'un des deux parents du conjoint est d'origine anglaise ou autre que française.

La relation entre la langue des études et l'origine ethnique des meilleurs amis est également positive. On remarque au tableau n° 17.19 que les francophones qui ont fait leurs études en anglais sont deux fois plus nombreux que les francophones qui les ont faites en français à compter parmi leurs trois meilleurs amis deux ou même trois personnes d'origine ethnique anglaise ou autre que française. Bien que cette relation soit statistiquement significative, il serait sans doute abusif d'inférer qu'il existe un lien étroit de causalité entre la langue des études et le choix des amis actuels. Néanmoins, on trouve là le signe apparent d'une « continuité » sur le plan de l'exposition à l'autre groupe linguistique ou culturel.

En résumé, la langue des études marque une continuité et avec le milieu ethno-linguistique de travail hors du fonctionnarisme fédéral et à l'intérieur de celui-ci, et avec l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique

et la composition ethno-linguistique du réseau social. Sans nécessairement conclure au déterminisme du milieu linguistique de l'école et de l'université sur les comportements linguistiques et culturels ultérieurs, force nous est cependant de reconnaître que beaucoup de francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, dits actuellement acculturés ou assimilés, auraient été « en voie de le devenir » durant leurs études.

Tableau 17.19

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue des études (%)

Langue des études	Origine ethnique des meilleurs amis				N
	Deux ou trois amis français	Un ou aucun ami français	Sans réponse	Total	
Surtout le français	73,7	23,3	3,0	100	99
Surtout l'anglais	55,2	44,8	0,0	100	29
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	69,5	27,4	3,1	100	128

2. L'influence du milieu de travail

Afin de mieux décrire le processus d'acculturation des francophones au niveau intermédiaire, nous verrons maintenant si l'influence de la culture anglaise qui s'exerce en milieu de travail a pu déterminer des orientations culturelles hors du travail ou leur est liée.

Auparavant, cependant, il importe de savoir s'il existe ou non une continuité entre les caractéristiques linguistiques du déroulement de la carrière hors de la fonction publique fédérale et à l'intérieur de celle-ci. Les résultats présentés au tableau n° 17.20 sont assez nets à ce sujet : 38 % seulement des francophones ayant travaillé surtout en anglais avant d'entrer au service du gouvernement fédéral ont fait, au cours de leur carrière fédérale, un usage substantiel du français, contre 72 % chez ceux ayant des antécédents professionnels caractérisés surtout par le français. Qu'une proportion aussi élevée de ces derniers aient continué à travailler en français une fois entrés au gouvernement fédéral témoigne sûrement du fait que certains groupes de fonctionnaires, plus particulièrement les traducteurs, ont continuellement travaillé en français depuis la fin de leurs études. Pour les autres groupes, la continuité linguistique n'est pas aussi grande; toutefois, si l'on exclut des calculs le groupe des traducteurs, le sens des résultats demeure identique¹⁷.

Tableau 17.20

Langue de travail des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire au cours de la carrière fédérale, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%)

Langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale						
Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale	Surtout le français	Autant le français que l'anglais	Surtout l'anglais	Sans réponse	Total	N
Surtout le français	46,2	25,6	28,2	0,0	100	39
Surtout l'anglais	15,6	22,2	57,8	4,4	100	45
N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur	11,3	36,4	50,0	2,3	100	44

Nous verrons maintenant si les caractéristiques linguistiques dominantes du milieu de travail sont liées, d'une part, à l'incidence de l'exogamie ou de l'endogamie ethnique, d'autre part, à la composition ethnique du réseau social.

a. Choix du conjoint

Concernant l'effet que peut avoir le milieu de travail sur l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique, nous avons distingué la part du milieu de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale et celle de la fonction publique fédérale proprement dite.

Lorsqu'on met en relation la langue de travail à l'extérieur de la fonction publique fédérale et l'origine ethnique du conjoint, on ne note pas de différenciation appréciable quant à l'incidence de l'exogamie ou de l'endogamie ethnique (tableau n° 17.21). Relativement peu de fonctionnaires étaient mariés avant d'entrer dans la fonction publique, aussi semble-t-il assez difficile de supposer un lien étroit entre les caractéristiques ethno-linguistiques des antécédents professionnels et l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique. D'ailleurs, si le type de mariage a pu être influencé par le milieu de travail, c'est uniquement au sein de la fonction publique fédérale, puisque l'incidence de l'exogamie ou de l'endogamie ethnique reste sensiblement la même, que l'on ait déjà travaillé en dehors de la fonction publique fédérale ou que l'on y soit entré dès la fin des études (tableau n° 17.21).

Il existe une relation positive entre la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale et l'origine ethnique du conjoint : 85 % des francophones faisant un usage substantiel du français au travail se

Tableau 17.21

Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%)*

Origine ethnique du conjoint						
Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale	Française	En partie anglaise ou autre que française**	Anglaise ou autre que française	Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé	Total	N
Surtout le français	56,4 73,3	7,7 10,0	12,8 16,7	23,1	100	39 30
Surtout l'anglais	71,1 76,2	0,0 0,0	22,2 23,8	6,7	100	45 42
N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur	68,2 76,9	6,8 7,7	13,6 15,4	11,4	100	44 39

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

** Si l'un des parents du conjoint est d'origine anglaise ou autre que française.

sont mariés à l'intérieur de leur groupe ethnique, contre 67 % chez ceux qui utilisent surtout l'anglais (tableau n° 17.22). La tendance à choisir le conjoint hors de son groupe ethnique est donc plus marquée chez ceux dont la carrière au sein de l'administration fédérale s'est déroulée surtout en anglais.

b. Choix des amis

L'origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis, un autre indicateur des orientations culturelles et du degré actuel d'acculturation ou d'assimilation, est liée aux caractéristiques ethno-linguistiques des milieux de travail tant en dehors qu'à l'intérieur de la fonction publique fédérale (tableaux n°s 17.23 et 17.24).

Ainsi, alors que 21 % des fonctionnaires ayant travaillé surtout en français avant d'entrer dans l'administration fédérale disent ne compter qu'un ou aucun Canadien français au nombre de leurs trois meilleurs amis, on note, au tableau n° 17.23, que près du double (38 %), chez ceux dont les antécédents professionnels sont anglais, présentent une image identique de la composition ethnique de leur réseau social primaire. Bien qu'on ait là une relation significative, il est toutefois difficile de conclure à un lien de causalité entre les

Tableau 17.22

Origine ethnique du conjoint des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)*

Origine ethnique du conjoint						
Langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale	Française	En partie anglaise ou autre que française**	Anglaise ou autre que française	Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé	Total	N
Surtout le français	66,7	6,7	3,3	23,3	100	30
	87,0	8,7	4,3		100	23
Autant le français que l'anglais	72,2	2,8	11,1	13,9	100	36
	83,9	3,2	12,9		100	31
Surtout l'anglais	61,0	5,1	25,4	8,5	100	59
	66,7	5,5	27,8		100	54

* Nous avons deux séries de pourcentages : les premiers sont calculés à partir de bases comptant tous les francophones de l'échantillon; les seconds, à partir de bases ne comptant que les fonctionnaires mariés.

** Si l'un des parents du conjoint est d'origine anglaise ou autre que française.

Tableau 17.23

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale (%)

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis					
Langue de travail hors de la fonction publique fédérale	Deux ou trois amis français	Un ou aucun ami français	Sans réponse	Total	N
Surtout le français	76,9	20,5	2,6	100	39
Surtout l'anglais	60,0	37,8	2,2	100	45
N'ont jamais travaillé à l'extérieur	72,7	25,0	2,3	100	44

deux variables, étant donné l'intervalle assez long qu'on retrouve, dans bien des cas, entre la période des antécédents professionnels et le moment où les caractères du réseau social deviennent fixés. On peut cependant conclure à une continuité.

En rapprochant la langue de travail à la fonction publique fédérale de l'origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis, on peut vérifier si l'assimilation, dont le choix des amis constitue un indicateur, est due à la fonction publique comme telle. Au tableau n° 17.24, la relation attendue ne se trouve que partiellement confirmée : l'homogénéité ethnique française du réseau social apparaît plus élevée pour le groupe qui a fait une utilisation substantielle du français au travail que pour celui qui a travaillé surtout en anglais. Par contre, selon qu'un groupe de fonctionnaires aura utilisé « surtout le français » ou « autant le français que l'anglais », les comportements seront différents; dans ces conditions, la relation statistique entre l'utilisation substantielle du français et l'homogénéité ethnique plus étendue du réseau d'amis apparaît assez superficielle.

Tableau 17.24

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale (%)

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis					
Langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale	Deux ou trois amis français	Un ou aucun ami français	Sans réponse	Total	N
Usage substantiel du français	15,8	21,2	3,0	100	66
Surtout le français	66,7	30,0	3,3	100	30
Autant le français que l'anglais	83,4	13,8	2,8	100	36
Surtout l'anglais	62,8	35,5	1,7	100	59

En somme, le milieu de travail de la fonction publique fédérale, sans mener nécessairement et de la manière la plus marquée à l'assimilation — du moins en termes de l'indicateur retenu — n'en constitue pas moins un important facteur concomitant d'acculturation. C'est ainsi que les quelques francophones qui envoient ou manifestent l'intention d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école anglaise ont presque toujours travaillé en milieu anglais au cours de leur carrière.

3. Les indicateurs de l'assimilation hors du travail

Quel que soit l'impact réel de la période des études ou du milieu de travail en général sur l'acculturation, on note dans la vie familiale, sociale et communautaire des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire des orientations culturelles plus ou moins prononcées vers le monde anglophone. Encore faut-il savoir si ces orientations sont reliées les unes aux autres.

a. Choix du conjoint et choix des amis

À l'examen de la relation entre l'origine ethnique des amis et l'incidence de l'exogamie ethnique (tableau n° 17.25), il semble bien que le degré d'acculturation ou d'assimilation mesuré par un indicateur donné soit étroitement lié à ce qui est mesuré par un autre indicateur. Ainsi, 81 % des fonctionnaires qui ont épousé une Canadienne française comptent deux ou trois Canadiens français au nombre de leurs meilleurs amis, alors que 67 % des francophones dont le conjoint n'est pas français n'en comptent qu'un ou même aucun.

Tableau 17.25

Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, selon l'origine ethnique du conjoint (%)

Origine ethnique du conjoint	Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis				N
	Deux ou trois amis français	Un ou aucun ami français	Sans réponse	Total	
Française	80,9	17,9	1,2	100	84
En partie anglaise ou autre que française*	2	4	0		6
Anglaise ou autre que française	33,3	66,7	0,0	100	21
Célibataire, séparé ou divorcé	64,7	23,5	11,8	100	17

* Si l'un des parents du conjoint est d'origine anglaise ou autre que française.

Les relations possibles entre ces deux indicateurs de l'assimilation hors du travail nous permettent d'identifier trois groupes de francophones : un faiblement assimilé, un autre moyennement assimilé, enfin un troisième fortement assimilé (tableau n° 17.26). L'importance relative de ces groupes varie : ainsi, le premier rassemble 62 % des fonctionnaires francophones mariés de l'échantillon, le deuxième, 23 % et le troisième, 16 %, formant une échelle décrois-

sante d'exposition au français hors du travail. Cette échelle est de plus en relation directe avec la langue des études et la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale : la proportion des fonctionnaires francophones mariés dont la langue des études était surtout le français tombe presque du double au simple en passant du premier au troisième groupe, et celle des francophones qui ont fait un usage substantiel du français durant leur carrière fédérale du triple au simple en passant d'un groupe faiblement assimilé à un groupe fortement assimilé.

Tableau 17.26

Pourcentage des francophones (mariés) de l'échelon intermédiaire ayant été instruits surtout en français et ayant fait un usage substantiel du français au cours de leur carrière fédérale, selon le degré d'assimilation hors du travail (choix des amis et choix du conjoint) (%)

	Faible assimilation ¹	Assimilation moyenne ²	Forte assimilation ³
	68 (61,8 %)	25 (22,7 %)	17 (15,5 %)
Langue des études — surtout le français ⁴	82,4	76,0	47,1
Usage substantiel du français au cours de la carrière fédérale ⁵	57,4	48,0	23,4

1. Ont contracté un mariage endogame *et* comptent deux ou trois Canadiens français parmi leurs trois meilleurs amis.

2. Ont contracté un mariage interethnique *et*, sur leurs trois meilleurs amis, comptent deux ou trois Canadiens français; ont contracté un mariage endogame *et*, sur leurs trois meilleurs amis, ne comptent qu'un ou aucun Canadien français.

3. Ont contracté un mariage interethnique *et*, sur leurs trois meilleurs amis, ne comptent qu'un ou aucun Canadien français.

4. Correspond aux catégories suivantes du tableau n° 17.1 : « Le français » et « Un peu plus le français que l'anglais ».

5. Correspond aux catégories suivantes du tableau n° 16.9 : « Surtout le français » et « Autant le français que l'anglais ».

b. Note sur l'assimilation linguistique

Comme nous le notions au début du chapitre, nous n'avons pas étudié l'acculturation linguistique en tant que telle à l'échelon intermédiaire, n'ayant mesuré de façon précise ni l'anglicisation du français parlé ou écrit ni l'importance relative de l'emploi du français et de l'anglais au foyer. Nous pouvons toutefois connaître de façon indirecte l'ampleur de l'assimilation linguistique par ce qu'on sait déjà de l'assimilation au travail et surtout en dehors du travail, liée — c'est notre hypothèse — à l'assimilation linguistique.

Les anglicismes

« L'anglicisation, au sens linguistique, peut se définir très simplement comme résultant de l'emprunt d'éléments anglais... Elle est la conséquence d'un contact prolongé et étendu avec l'anglais. Elle relève du phénomène plus général qui est l'emprunt linguistique et qui est à peu près inévitable dès que deux langues sont en contact... C'est un phénomène commun à tous les pays francophones et non pas limité seulement au Québec¹⁸. » Dans la région outaouaise¹⁹, où les deux langues sont en contact étroit et où les activités qui se déroulent en anglais sont beaucoup plus variées que celles qui se déroulent en français, l'anglicisation du français est sans doute plus avancée que dans les autres régions francophones du Québec. Bien qu'on ne puisse déterminer le degré exact d'anglicisation linguistique des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire outaouais, il nous a semblé, à l'observation sommaire des entrevues que nous avons rapportées mot à mot, que toutes les catégories d'anglicismes peuvent se retrouver dans la langue parlée²⁰, et les extraits cités dans les chapitres précédents et au chapitre XX sont quelquefois révélateurs.

On retrouve, il va sans dire, des anglicismes de vocabulaire sur le plan de la forme et du sens lorsqu'il s'agit, par exemple, du vocabulaire propre à la spécialisation et utilisé pour décrire les tâches ou le fonctionnement de l'organisation. L'absence de traductions officielles, ou l'ignorance dans laquelle on est de leur existence, peuvent expliquer ce type d'anglicisation affectant la forme de certains mots (anglicismes morphologiques) et la composition du vocabulaire par l'adoption de mots anglais qui passent au français avec un de leurs sens (anglicismes lexicaux²¹). Viennent ensuite les anglicismes sémantiques, par lesquels on donne un sens anglais à des mots français²², et les calques, qui sont l'anglicisation de certains agencements de mots dans les expressions ou dans les phrases; ce sont là deux formes d'anglicismes qui affectent le cœur même de la langue, le sens et la structure de ses énoncés. Les anglicismes de vocabulaire, qui peuvent être corrigés assez aisément à condition que des traductions soient disponibles, connues et utilisées au travail, ne sont en réalité que des emprunts à l'anglais; la langue du francophone qui les emploie est plutôt une langue incomplète qu'une langue ayant perdu certains de ses éléments au profit de l'anglais. Il en va tout autrement des anglicismes sémantiques et des calques, en particulier des calques de syntaxes. « Une langue peut absorber un nombre élevé de mots étrangers sans pour cela perdre son identité. C'est lorsque l'emprunt porte sur les tours et les constructions que cette identité est compromise²³ ». On rejoint ainsi une certaine définition de l'assimilation qui intègre les notions d'*emprunt* (des éléments de l'autre culture) et de *perte* (des éléments de sa propre culture). Pour qui a vécu longtemps dans un milieu de travail totalement anglais ou occasionnellement français, la résistance à ces formes d'anglicismes est sans aucun doute très difficile, car, s'il n'est pas rare qu'un fonctionnaire francophone travaillant en anglais

en vienne à perdre son vocabulaire français déjà acquis, il n'est pas moins rare que le génie de la langue anglaise, alors langue usuelle, n'en arrive pas à déteindre sur celui de la langue française.

La langue du foyer

À l'échelon intermédiaire proprement dit, nous n'avons aucune donnée sur la langue du foyer et ce n'est qu'à l'aide de l'étude de la fonction publique ministérielle dans son ensemble qu'il est possible de jauger tant soit peu le comportement des francophones. On note, au tableau n° 17.27, que le quart des fonctionnaires de langue française de la fonction publique ministérielle emploient de façon substantielle l'anglais chez eux, proportion assez voisine de la réalité pour ce qui concerne l'échelon intermédiaire francophone, si l'on se rappelle que dans 24 % des cas le conjoint des francophones mariés de notre échantillon n'est pas de langue française.

Tableau 17.27

Fréquence d'emploi du français et de l'anglais au foyer chez les fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux, selon la langue maternelle — Canada, 1965

Fréquence d'emploi	Langue maternelle			
	Anglais		Français	
	Emploi de l'anglais	Emploi du français	Emploi de l'anglais	Emploi du français
Toujours	94,1	0,3	4,5	52,1
La plupart du temps	4,3	0,4	7,1	28,1
La moitié du temps	0,5	0,5	6,6	7,4
Assez souvent mais moins de la moitié du temps	0,2	0,4	7,3	3,1
Parfois	0,2	7,2	32,9	5,7
Jamais	0,7	91,2	41,6	3,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
<i>N</i>	6,852*	6,852*	1,487*	1,487*

Source : Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey ».

* Bases non pondérées; les pourcentages sont calculés à partir de bases pondérées (voir l'appendice VI).

Pour nous, donc, l'assimilation linguistique va de pair avec les orientations culturelles, dans la vie sociale et communautaire, vers le monde anglophone, et elle est, sans aucun doute, conditionnée par le milieu de travail de la fonction publique fédérale. Il serait en effet assez singulier de ne pas retrouver d'assimilation linguistique quand toutes les autres formes d'assimilation sont déjà présentes.

Tableau 17.28 Relations entre les indicateurs d'acculturation: résultats de l'analyse par la méthode du χ^2

Indicateurs traités comme variables dépendantes ou facteurs expliqués				
Indicateurs traités comme variables indépendantes ou facteurs explicatifs	Langue de travail - hors fonction publique fédérale	Langue de travail - fonction publique fédérale	Origine ethnique du conjoint	Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis
Langue des études	χ^2 : p = .05*	χ^2 : p = .05	χ^2 : p = .05	χ^2 : p = .05
Langue de travail - hors fonction publique fédérale		χ^2 : p = .01	χ^2 : p = .30	χ^2 : p = .10
Langue de travail - fonction publique fédérale			χ^2 : p = .05	χ^2 : p = .10
Origine ethnique du conjoint		χ^2 : p = .05		χ^2 : p = .001
Origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis		χ^2 : p = .10	χ^2 : p = .001	

* Indique qu'il y a 5 chances sur 100 que la relation entre la langue des études et la langue de travail en dehors de la fonction publique fédérale soit due au hasard (ou qu'il y a 95 chances sur 100 que cette relation ne soit pas due au hasard); le sens de la relation n'est pas prêté à l'avance. Si le sens de la relation avait été prêté à l'avance - à des études en français correspond un travail en français - il y aurait 2,5 chances sur 100 ou 25 chances sur 1000 que la relation soit due au hasard.

D. Résumé des relations des indicateurs entre eux

Nous présentons au tableau n° 17.28 un résumé des relations entre les indicateurs d'acculturation, traités à la fois comme variables explicatives (ou indépendantes) et comme variables expliquées (ou dépendantes) : les variables sont considérées comme explicatives dans la colonne de gauche, et comme expliquées dans la rangée supérieure. Les résultats de l'analyse par la méthode du χ^2 indiquent dans tous les cas, à une exception près, une relation significative à 90 % ou plus entre l'un et l'autre des indicateurs²⁴.

Cinq éléments principaux ressortent, du point de vue des caractéristiques linguistiques et culturelles, de notre analyse : 1. la période de travail est en continuité avec celle des études; 2. les expériences professionnelles antérieures à l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale ne semblent pas être liées étroitement à la vie sociale ou familiale; 3. ces expériences se trouvent étroitement liées au travail dans la fonction publique fédérale; 4. il existe une certaine continuité entre la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale et les orientations culturelles hors du travail; 5. il existe une très forte cohésion entre les divers aspects de la vie en dehors du travail.

E. Conclusion

Dans ce chapitre, nous avons décrit, à l'aide de certains indicateurs, le degré d'acculturation ou d'assimilation des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire : près du quart (23 %) ont poursuivi leurs études en anglais; un peu plus de la moitié (54 %) ont connu, hors de la fonction publique fédérale, des milieux de travail plutôt anglais; près de la moitié (46 %) ont travaillé surtout en anglais au cours de leur carrière fédérale; environ le quart semblent privilégier un milieu social anglophone. Bien que la majorité des francophones ne soient pas acculturés, on peut néanmoins dire que, dans l'ensemble, les fonctionnaires francophones fédéraux de l'échelon intermédiaire sont différents, du point de vue des caractéristiques linguistiques, des francophones de la fonction publique québécoise²⁵. En cela, ils semblent être singuliers.

Nous avons aussi décrit les relations entre les divers indicateurs d'acculturation. De façon générale, la langue ou l'exposition culturelle sous-tend le passage d'une étape de la carrière à une autre, mais cette continuité qu'assurerait l'élément linguistique n'est cependant pas uniforme. S'il est exact qu'une sélection des francophones, fondée sur des caractéristiques linguistiques différentes, semble se faire avant même l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale, il est également vrai que les rapports entre le travail et la vie socio-communautaire ne sont pas, du point de vue linguistique et culturel, les mêmes pour tous. Nous identifions quatre formes de développement du processus d'assimilation à chacune desquelles correspondrait un groupe de francophones.

Un premier groupe est formé de francophones en voie rapide d'assimilation, ayant des orientations étendues, profondes, probablement irréversibles, vers le monde anglophone. Depuis les bancs de l'école et les gradins de l'université, la plupart se sont trouvés intensément exposés à l'anglais; leurs premières expériences professionnelles ont été le plus souvent caractérisées par l'anglais, comme également leur carrière fédérale proprement dite. L'anglicisation de leur langue est sans doute très avancée et devoir travailler en français présenterait pour eux un véritable handicap, puisque l'anglais est la langue dans laquelle ils se sentent le plus à l'aise, quelles que soient les situations. La majorité ont épousé des anglophones ou adopté l'anglais au foyer. Leur carrière fédérale n'est pas défavorablement affectée par l'*ethos* anglais et ils se sont pleinement adaptés à des milieux de travail et de vie qui étaient loin de leur être complètement étrangers au départ.

Un deuxième groupe, lui aussi en voie d'assimilation, est composé de francophones dont les orientations vers le monde anglophone ne seraient toutefois pas définitives. Ils présenteraient, d'une façon moins prononcée, les caractéristiques du premier groupe, mais la conscience d'être en train de s'acculturer serait peut-être plus développée. Durant leurs études, ils étaient plus représentatifs du groupe francophone qu'ils ne le sont aujourd'hui alors qu'ils éprouvent moins de difficultés à travailler en anglais qu'en français. Leurs antécédents professionnels et leur carrière fédérale auraient permis, favorisé même, le développement d'une acculturation qui, cependant, ne couvrirait pas nécessairement tous les secteurs de la vie familiale et communautaire.

Ces deux groupes représentent une minorité des francophones à l'échelon intermédiaire — environ 30 %.

Un troisième groupe, peut-être le tiers de l'échelon intermédiaire, fait l'expérience quotidienne d'un milieu de travail anglais et d'un milieu de vie sociale et familiale français. Ces francophones, plus que les autres, ressentent les contradictions de la dissociation qui existe sur le plan personnel entre ces deux milieux culturels. Le dilemme de l'assimilation, s'il intervient vraiment, se pose pour eux dans toute sa force : ou s'assimiler ou lutter sans cesse pour préserver sa culture.

Un quatrième groupe — environ 40 % — fait carrière en français dans l'organisation fédérale et vit en français hors du travail. Ces francophones anticipent un brillant avenir dans des unités francophones où prédomine le travail créateur, au sein d'une fonction publique appelée à devenir bilingue.

Les francophones, qui ne sont pas tous assimilés au même degré, ont cependant en commun de former une minorité linguistique ou culturelle à l'intérieur d'une organisation anglophone. Placée dans une situation de division du travail selon le groupe linguistique, cette minorité n'est pas indifférente aux pressions exercées sur elle ou perçues par elle en vue d'adopter les modèles de la majorité et ses

membres, nous l'avons vu, vont alors s'adapter de différentes façons à l'environnement culturel. En cela, les francophones n'apparaissent pas singuliers.

En fait, la situation des fonctionnaires francophones fédéraux, minoritaires au sein d'une administration anglophone, ressemble étrangement à celle des anglophones de la fonction publique québécoise, minoritaires au sein d'une administration francophone. Dans l'une ou l'autre, chaque groupe linguistique est alternativement majorité ou minorité linguistique, aussi devrait-on retrouver des comportements linguistiques et culturels assez similaires, tant chez les minorités francophone fédérale et anglophone québécoise d'une part, que chez les majorités francophone québécoise et anglophone fédérale d'autre part. Percus sous ce nouvel angle, l'exposition plus ou moins intense au français ou à l'anglais et le processus d'acculturation apparaissent comme des phénomènes usuels et, dirions-nous, inévitables, conditionnés par les caractéristiques linguistiques et culturelles, différentes des milieux professionnels ou communautaires selon qu'il s'agit de la fonction publique québécoise ou de la fonction publique fédérale.

Voyons la langue de travail. Dans chaque organisation, on note un écart de 74 points entre les pourcentages des groupes majoritaire et minoritaire qui font un usage substantiel de la langue seconde au travail (tableau n° 17.29) : dans l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux, 3 % de la majorité (de langue anglaise) et 77 % de la minorité (de langue française); à la fonction publique québécoise, où la fréquence est un peu plus élevée, 10 % de la majorité (de langue française) et 84 % de la minorité (de langue anglaise). Par ailleurs, en ce qui a trait à l'usage de la langue maternelle au travail, l'écart entre fonctionnaires de langue française et fonctionnaires de langue anglaise est plus élevé à la fonction publique québécoise (58 points) qu'à la fonction publique fédérale (21 points). La minorité anglaise du Québec est moins nombreuse (41 %) que la minorité française de la fonction publique fédérale (77 %) à faire un usage substantiel de la langue maternelle; par contre, dans chaque organisation, la majorité linguistique travaille presque exclusivement dans sa langue (tableau n° 17.29).

Connaissant ces modèles d'utilisation de la langue seconde et de la langue maternelle par les groupes minoritaires ou majoritaires, il ne semble pas surprenant que les deux fonctions publiques manifestent, tout au long d'une carrière faite dans l'une d'elles, des ressemblances quant à l'importance relative de certaines formes de changement de la langue de travail optimale (tableau n° 17.30). À un taux de survie de l'anglais très élevé dans la fonction publique fédérale (.996) va correspondre un taux également très élevé de survie du français au Québec (.999), où la survie de la langue minoritaire reste cependant moins grande qu'au fédéral (.786 contre .916). Dans chaque milieu de travail, les pressions exercées en faveur de l'emploi de la langue majoritaire sont, il va sans dire, plus fortes que celles exercées en faveur de la langue minoritaire. Pour ce qui est de la

Tableau 17.29

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de langue française et des fonctionnaires de langue anglaise faisant un usage substantiel de la langue seconde et de la langue maternelle au travail, dans l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux et à la fonction publique québécoise — 1965

	Usage substantiel de la langue seconde	Usage substantiel de la langue maternelle
<i>Fonction publique fédérale</i>		
Minorité de langue française*	76,9	77,2
Majorité de langue anglaise**	3,2	98,1
<i>Fonction publique québécoise</i>		
Minorité de langue anglaise**	83,9	41,2
Majorité de langue française*	10,4	99,0

Sources : Pour la fonction publique fédérale, Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey »; pour la fonction publique québécoise, Lapointe, « Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise ». Dans ces études, les catégories décrivant la fréquence d'emploi d'une langue au travail sont comparables, « usage substantiel » regroupant les catégories autres que « jamais » et « parfois ».

* Ayant le français pour langue maternelle.

** Ayant l'anglais pour langue maternelle.

Tableau 17.30

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires des ministères fédéraux et de la fonction publique québécoise qui ont conservé le français, l'anglais, ou les deux, comme langue de travail optimale, et de ceux qui, depuis leur entrée dans la fonction publique (fédérale ou québécoise), ont acquis l'autre langue — 1965

	Fonction publique fédérale	Fonction publique québécoise*
Survie du français	91,6	99,9
Survie de l'anglais	99,6	78,6
Survie du bilinguisme	85,7	79,0
Acquisition du français	1,5	74,2
Acquisition de l'anglais	47,5	16,2

Sources : Pour la fonction publique fédérale, Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux, « Public Service Survey »; pour la fonction publique québécoise, Lapointe, « Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise ». Dans ces deux études, les catégories décrivant la fréquence d'emploi d'une langue au travail sont comparables, « usage substantiel » regroupant les catégories autres que « jamais » et « parfois ».

* Pourcentages calculés à partir des données fournies par l'étude de Lapointe, « Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise ».

langue majoritaire, notons qu'elles sont plus fortes en faveur du français dans la fonction publique québécoise qu'en faveur de l'anglais dans la fonction publique fédérale (.742 contre .475).

Notre dernier parallèle entre les groupes majoritaires ou minoritaires des deux fonctions publiques se rapportera à la langue parlée au foyer (tableau n° 17.31). Dans chaque organisation, c'est le groupe minoritaire qui fait un usage substantiellement plus grand de la langue seconde au foyer. La minorité anglaise de la fonction publique du Québec serait ici plus assimilée — si on s'en réfère à la fréquence d'emploi de la langue seconde au foyer — que la minorité française de la fonction publique fédérale (respectivement 61 et 26 %). Pour ce qui est de l'emploi de la langue maternelle au foyer par les minorités respectives, les fonctionnaires fédéraux de langue française sont plus nombreux que les fonctionnaires québécois de langue anglaise à en faire un usage substantiel (91 % contre 71 %). Cependant, la majorité fait dans chaque milieu un usage substantiel de sa langue maternelle au foyer dans une même proportion (99 %). En somme, les majorités linguistiques ne « perdent » presque rien en comparaison de ce que « perdent » les minorités, et la minorité de langue anglaise de la fonction publique québécoise « perd » plus que celle de langue française de la fonction publique fédérale.

Tableau 17.31

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires de langue française et des fonctionnaires de langue anglaise faisant chez eux un usage substantiel des langues seconde et maternelle, dans l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux et à la fonction publique québécoise — 1965

	Usage substantiel de la langue seconde	Usage substantiel de la langue maternelle
<i>Fonction publique fédérale</i>		
Minorité de langue française*	25,5	90,8
Majorité de langue anglaise**	1,6	99,1
<i>Fonction publique québécoise</i>		
Minorité de langue anglaise**	61,3	71,2
Majorité de langue française*	3,6	98,7

* Ont le français pour langue maternelle.

** Ont l'anglais pour langue maternelle.

Il apparaît assez nettement, à la lumière de ces comparaisons entre fonctionnaires de langue anglaise et fonctionnaires de langue française, dans deux organisations où minorités et majorités ont un contenu linguistique ou culturel qui diffère de l'une à l'autre, que la situation des fonctionnaires de langue française de la fonction

publique fédérale, et à plus forte raison celle des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, n'est qu'une illustration des rapports minorité-majorité, l'assimilation de ces derniers procédant nécessairement, à des degrés divers, de l'expression de ces rapports. Il serait singulier qu'il en fût autrement, dans l'hypothèse où les structures de la fonction publique fédérale et du milieu de vie outaouais continuent à permettre l'expression desdits rapports.

To the Anglophone public servants no one method of introducing bilingualism into the federal administration appears as important and as useful to them as French lessons. These are provided either inside the Public Service or outside it by a variety of organizations and individuals. A French language course offers the Anglophones either the means or the hope of acquiring the other official language and thus makes them more confident of their survival in the Public Service of the future.

This chapter does not attempt either a lengthy discussion of the political background to the launching of the courses or a technical evaluation of the instruction given. Instead our main focus is on the attitudes expressed by public servants about learning French. We examine differences between departments in their receptivity to language training. We also try to discover which middle-level public servants have already taken or most want to take training and the reasons they give for their decision.

The chapter opens with some brief background information about language training as it is provided by the Public Service Commission.¹ The principal focus, however, is the reaction of Anglophone public servants to the French courses as revealed in a series of telephone interviews conducted in February and March of 1966. One hundred and thirty of the original Anglophone respondents in four of the five departments in the Career Study sample: (Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue)² were interviewed by telephone so that we could obtain specific information about language training.

The telephone interviews were brief. We first established whether or not the respondent had recently taken a French course or if he planned to do so in the near future. The motivation surrounding this decision was thoroughly probed. After this, the interview went on to elicit the respondent's ideas on the value of the training programme (*see* Appendix IV for the complete interview schedule).

A. Language Training: Some Background Considerations

Although many departments and agencies have made French instruction available to their employees in the past, it was not until the early 1960s that a large programme backed by a powerful central agency (the Civil Service Commission, now the Public Service Commission) was developed. One impetus was the report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission). In 1962, it recommended that "the federal government adopt active measures to develop bilingual capacities among its employees on a selective basis."³ As a result of this and other factors, in August 1963 the Cabinet appointed an interdepartmental committee of senior officials from several departments and agencies to look at the problem of bilingualism in the federal administration. One of its first acts was to recommend the initiation of a programme of language training in the two official languages, to be administered by the Civil Service Commission. In a memorandum to the Cabinet the interdepartmental committee described the goals of the programme in these terms:

The ultimate objective of a comprehensive language training programme for the Federal Public Service should clearly be the achievement, over a period of time, of sufficient fluency and facility in both the English and French languages by members of the Public Service generally to permit the day-to-day business of departments and agencies to be conducted interchangeably in either or both languages without the necessity of translation services in routine matters.

Following Cabinet approval, the Civil Service Commission proceeded to launch the service-wide programme. In early 1964, the first courses were under way, involving 32 Anglophone public servants who were taught French and 10 Francophones who were instructed in English. By 1967, there were 3,188 students under training: 2,422 in French courses and 766 in English courses.⁴ This represents a phenomenal growth in size. But despite the growth, available space did not meet the demand. The number of persons nominated by their departments to take the course far out-distanced the expanding facilities.

Since its initiation, a wide variety of course schedules have been developed and offered: full-time (regular), full-time (special immersion), half-time, one hour a day, two hours three times a week, three hours twice a week, and evening. As well, some senior government officials are given an opportunity to live for a year in either Quebec city (for Anglophones) or Toronto (for Francophones). Here, they receive not only special language instruction but also an intensive exposure to the cultural life of the area.

The selection of persons for language training is largely in the hands of the individual departments and agencies. However, a set of preferences has been given to the departments and agencies by the Public Service Commission. Examples of those who as of September 1, 1966 were being given priority are:

- those who are in administrative or executive positions.

- personnel actually in need of skill in the second language (those who of necessity deal with the public or who represent Canada in an official capacity; e.g. those who attend seminars and conferences which require the second language for participation or where it is felt essential that the "bilingual image" of Canada be projected).
- those who have already participated in the second-language courses.
- those who are in branches, divisions, and sections that are totally unilingual so as to eventually develop a bilingual service in those areas serving a bilingual clientele.
- Junior Executive Officers or equivalent who are recruited for the "administrative career program" in the Service.
- employees who are to be transferred to areas where the use of the second language is necessary.⁵

This, then, is the recent history and current organization of the teaching of French in the federal public service.

B. Departmental Variations

At the time of our interviews, about a quarter of the Anglophones were taking or had recently taken a course in French: 14 per cent through the Civil Service Commission and 11 per cent from some other source. In addition, more than a quarter (28 per cent) definitely planned to enrol in a French course in the future (Table 18.1).

Despite uncertainty about the necessity and usefulness of learning French, overall reaction to the idea of government-supported French instruction was positive. Thirty-five per cent felt strongly that they were of positive benefit and 26 per cent were mildly positive. Only 8 per cent definitely felt that the courses were a waste of time (Table 18.2). And, as is indicated in Table 18.1, only 14 per cent of the middle-level Anglophones said quite flatly that they had no intention of taking a French course.

The positive outlook toward French courses was rather strangely coupled with a realization that French was not really of much use on the job. In fact, a third of the respondents claimed they had no opportunity at all to use French and 57 per cent had but slight opportunity to use it (Table 18.3). Only about one person in 10 said that he was required to make considerable use of French on the job.

These figures, however, mask some striking differences in the response to French courses among the four departments studied. Here we present a brief sketch of the general mood about French training in each department as it was expressed in the interviews held with senior officials. As well, a consideration of reaction of middle-level employees points to other variations.

Senior officials of Finance stressed the predominantly English character of both its employees and its clientele, and underlined the

Table 18.1
Intentions of middle-level Anglophone public servants regarding French courses, by department
(percentages)

Department	<i>N</i>	Taking or has taken CSC course	Taking or has taken another course	Definitely plans to take a course	May take course in future	Definitely no plans to take course	Bilingual - no need of course	Total
Finance	28	25.0	7.1	32.2	7.1	10.7	17.9	100
Agriculture	37	10.8	16.2	24.3	29.8	18.9	0.0	100
Public Works	32	18.7	6.3	31.2	28.1	9.4	6.3	100
National Revenue (Taxation)	33	9.1	9.1	27.3	42.4	9.1	3.0	100
The four departments	130	13.5	11.2	27.5	30.7	13.5	3.6	100

Table 18.2
General attitude of middle-level Anglophone public servants towards French courses by department
(percentages)

Department	N	Attitude towards French courses					Total
		Strongly positive	Mildly positive	Mixed feelings	Negative	Not deter- minable	
Finance	28	42.9	25.0	32.1	0.0	0.0	100
Agriculture	37	29.8	24.3	37.8	8.1	0.0	100
Public Works	32	34.4	34.4	25.0	6.2	0.0	100
National Revenue (Taxation)	33	39.4	21.2	24.3	12.1	3.0	100
The four departments	130	34.6	26.2	30.8	7.7	0.8	100

Table 18.3

Amount of opportunity to use French on the job among Anglophone public servants, by department (percentages)

Department	N	Amount of opportunity to use French			Total
		Considerable opportunity	Some or a little opportunity	No opportunity	
Finance	28	21.4	53.6	25.0	100
Agriculture	37	2.7	54.1	43.2	100
Public Works	32	6.3	65.6	28.1	100
National Revenue (Taxation)	33	27.3	51.5	21.2	100
The four departments	130	10.8	56.5	32.7	100

fact that the main language of business and economics in Canada is English. However, the senior people seemed reasonably receptive and in fact quite ready to have all officers learn French, especially those involved in federal-provincial negotiations. The top officials saw many limitations to the courses, but it appeared that every effort was being made to bring them to the attention of those who would be interested, to stress their importance for the present and future, and to pave the way for those who wish to take them.

Despite the stress laid on its predominantly English character it appeared that, at the middle level, Finance had the highest percentage of English bilinguals (18 per cent), as well as the highest percentage of officers taking a Public Service Commission course (25 per cent) (Table 18.1). No one in the department felt blocked by the administration in his wish to take the course. In fact, the overall atmosphere was a positive one of willingness to put up with the inconvenience of understaffing and lost time, despite a realization of the course's inadequacies.

At the policy-making level of the department of Agriculture, pessimism about language training was the dominant mood. On the one hand, complaints about the extra duties that some have to shoulder when regular employees are released to take courses were often voiced. On the other hand, and more seriously, there was a general feeling that attending French courses was a futile exercise. One top official explained his theory that it was nearly impossible to learn a second language once one had left one's childhood. It would be "nice" to understand French, but in his department bilingualism was an impossibility. This man and others declared that English was the language of international communication, and, more particularly, of communication between agricultural or biological scientists.

Many of the middle-level people we contacted had not been made aware of what was available in the way of language training and only 11 per cent of the sample were actually taking a course.

However, it is noteworthy that a substantial proportion (16 per cent) were or had been taking French courses outside the Public Service.⁶ A few who felt that they could use the course complained of unanswered requests.

I took an aptitude test in Hull about a year ago and nothing has happened since then. That was the last that I heard. Actually there are several that I know who have had the same experience. I have asked and asked to be able to take the Civil Service Commission French course. I have only gotten so far as to have the evaluation test over in Hull. I took that test, but things have not gone any farther than that at the present time. And I think I need the course.

The general consensus both at the top and middle levels of the department was that French was unnecessary for research workers. Whether they wanted them or not, the courses were, by definition, out of reach for many.

The department of Public Works seemed to feel the stresses of a policy of bilingualism more than the other departments. Especially in the lower ranks, much of its working force is Francophone; thus, there was a feeling that more bilingualism was required in the higher levels in order to improve communication within the department as well as meet public demands for service in French. However, there had been many problems with the application of this policy and the institution of the French lessons. One of the men involved in the administration of the courses fell into our sample. His remarks bear out the evidence found in the interviews with senior administrators:

Last fall I undertook to organize the French courses from our end of things. Actually we had about 200 apply, but our deputy said that we couldn't possibly spare that number; so we cut the number down. Ultimately we had 65 in the day-time training, of which only 55 stuck it out. The figure is low because our work in the branches began to suffer. To a certain extent there were squawks from the Branch heads. There would have been far more if some of the senior people hadn't dropped out. But all of our senior people have dropped out now. It just got so that they were missing so many classes because they had to attend meetings, or go on trips. . . things like that. It got to the point where they were missing more than 50 per cent of the classes. Anyway, for the next year I foresee the same thing happening again.

Despite the problem, 19 per cent of the Public Works sample had taken or were taking a Public Service course (only Finance had a higher percentage) and although there were some complaints about the method of selection for the course,⁷ it appeared that the department was making a genuine effort to make use of the training available.

The predominant feeling about the French courses and all they stand for in the department of National Revenue (Taxation Division)

can be summed up as indifference. In dealing with its clientele, the senior personnel recognized the usefulness of bilingualism. However, the programme appeared to be given a very low level of priority internally, and to have merited little more than the minimum amount of attention.

Many of our respondents at the middle level mentioned that they had not been given the opportunity even to consider taking a course, and 15 per cent felt that there were barriers in the way of their taking French. Only 9 per cent of sample were taking or had taken a Public Service course, the lowest percentage of the four departments.

The department also has the highest percentage (42 per cent) of people who were uncertain about taking the course although they said they would like to. This may also be indicative of the poor promotion of the courses within the department. Since the courses are government sponsored, the department pays a certain amount of lip service to them, especially since they could be useful for those who deal with the public. But other than this, they did not seem to have come to grips with the idea of bilingualism.

In summary, both at the senior and middle levels there is wide variation in the reception given French training. The top officials at the department of Finance were quite encouraging and this is reflected in the large turnout for French instruction among their middle-level personnel. In the departments of Agriculture, Public Works, and National Revenue, there was much less support at the top for language training. Here there was a general air of discontent: pessimism about the ability of many to learn French; the feeling that pressure of work makes almost impossible the effort and energy required to learn French; and scepticism about the value of taking French-language training because of the few opportunities to use it in their work (and because most Francophones are bilingual anyway). Thus, the resolve of federal politicians to develop bilingual capacity throughout the Public Service was not aggressively supported by many senior officials in these departments.

This situation had created near-havoc in the middle levels of these departments. Personnel knew about the government pronouncements, but there was a lack of communication from the top of their departments about the actual implications. In fact, the senior officials seemed to be ignoring the firm directives. In the department of Public Works, many were seeking out training and obtaining places in a French course. In Agriculture and National Revenue, many were trying but few were chosen. All this was happening in a working environment where many officers, but particularly the agricultural scientists and engineers, felt that knowing French had little relevance to their work. Thus, middle-level personnel in departments like this were confronting conflicting demands: on one side, the government was urging the Public Service to become bilingual but, on the other, senior managers of their departments were responding slowly and the content of their work did not seem to demand much competence in French.

This ambivalence was partly clarified by examining the reasons given for taking or wanting to take a French course (Table 18.4). Few (19 per cent) wanted to learn the language because it would be useful in their work. The vast majority were taking French either out of personal interest and a desire to improve themselves (48 per cent) or because they felt it would increase their job security and chances for promotion (28 per cent). Thus, the usefulness of the course was not a prominent motive.

Table 18.4

Main reason for taking or wanting to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants, by department (percentages)

Department	N*	Main reason to take a French course				Total
		Personal improve- ment	Security or pro- motions	Useful in work	Patriotic	
Finance	20	55.0	15.0	25.0	5.0	100
Agriculture	30	50.0	20.0	23.3	6.7	100
Public Works	27	58.6	24.2	13.8	3.4	100
National Revenue (Taxation)	29	25.9	51.9	18.5	3.7	100
The four departments	106	47.7	28.4	19.3	4.7	100

*Those who had no intention of taking a course or who were bilingual are excluded from the calculations.

In some departments the attitudes of their superiors seemed to have greatly influenced the feelings of middle-level respondents. For instance, the highly educated economists of the department of Finance echoed their seniors again and again. There, the atmosphere was a very positive one, possible because these men knew that if they wanted a course, they could get one, and even if they were not willing or able to learn French, they were not likely to lose their jobs. Sixty-four per cent of the Finance sample responded favourably to the idea of taking a course, i.e., they had been or were enrolled in a course or had definite plans of being so. This figure was the highest of the several departments (Table 18.1).

As was pointed out earlier, English is considered the working language of the department of Finance. Seventy-nine per cent of our respondents stated that they had few or no opportunities to use French. Also, many of the 21 per cent who said they used or could use considerably more French pointed out that this French would be used at international conferences, not in Canada.

I don't think that in Finance - maybe I'm speaking out of turn - it is used too much. The divisions where it could be necessary -

of course anybody at conferences needs a certain amount - would include this one. We go to Geneva and there French is useful. Departments like ours that deal with underdeveloped countries or others who deal internationally must have some French. It's also necessary in Federal-Provincial Relations division in this department.

There are some meetings where there are a considerable number of French-speaking people. Especially overseas, there were meetings which really should have been held in French but were held in very poor English for the benefit of people like me. It would be a good idea to have French for occasions like that. It would only be polite. The Canadian delegations are usually composed of about half French Canadians and it would be nice to be able to communicate in their language.

A quarter of the respondents in Finance gave as their reason for taking or wishing to take the course its usefulness for their work. The majority (55 per cent) wanted a course for reasons of personal betterment, which was in keeping with the insistence that French was not needed very greatly within the department.

A highly sympathetic outlook was common among the personnel of Finance: higher education tends to make them more reasoned in their attitudes, and to see a certain justice in demands for bilingualism. Their reasons for wanting to take the course were usually well thought out. There was no blind, panic-stricken rush for courses. Instead, this response was typical:

There are several reasons, I think, for my wanting to take the course. First, from my own point of view, there is a definite advantage to being able to converse and think in a second language. It broadens one's general horizon and approach to problems. If you are working in only one language, you tend to look at it with the thought process of only one language. Another language acquaints you with the thought processes of this language and gives you a different way of looking at the problem.

The scientists of the department of Agriculture did not follow their superiors' lead in open hostility to the courses; however, they did seem to be the department least interested in taking French. This can largely be explained by the claim that English is the language of science, and hence that the department is not interested in pushing the courses. Thirty per cent of the respondents were very doubtful about taking the course while 19 per cent had no intention whatsoever of taking it.

Ninety-seven per cent supported the statement that English was the language of science by stating that they have few or no opportunities to use French in their work. Here are some typical statements:

Probably in our work, a French course is the least beneficial of all the courses that I could take. It has nothing to do with our research field. Languages are just not the sort of training we can really use.

I just don't use French in my work. Basically, the type of work that I do—it's just not relevant. I might just as well learn to knit as learn to speak French for my work—it would be just as useful. If I was going to take any course, I would take something like minerology which would be relevant to the work I do.

Again, among those taking or wanting to take a course, the main reason given was personal interest (50 per cent). This is in keeping with the contention that French is not very necessary in agricultural work milieux. It is interesting to note that in the sympathy-hostility index connected with the courses, Agriculture was significantly less positive than the other departments. Forty-six per cent were either hostile or dubious about the courses (Table 18.2).

An objective weighing of the pros and cons of learning French is very apparent in the answers of the scientists in Agriculture. As in Finance, these men are highly educated and very much aware of the value of their specialized skills to the government. Thus, the same rationality was present, tempered by the knowledge that if they did not want to, they did not have to put up with French lessons. The following quote illustrates both this and the typical scientist's attitude toward the usefulness of French.

As far as promotions are concerned, they will be in the scientific field, and as Pearson said, those in the scientific stream and in the armed forces would be exempted from the new rules on bilingualism he laid down. I'm in the scientific stream. Now in my work if I were fluent in Russian this would really be valuable. One of my colleagues just came back from a conference where Russian was used. It would be nice to be fluent in four or five languages, because in our work it would mean a lot of international travelling, conferences, etc.

Scientists also seemed to feel that they had a mental block against the learning of languages. This problem came up time and again.

My background has basically been in science and mathematics. I don't have a great aptitude for languages.

The department of Public Works is a department very much concerned with bilingualism and the French courses. Its employees were quite aware of this and seemed to have reacted accordingly. The courses were generally accepted although not on an intellectual level and some times not very graciously. Our sample was made up predominantly of professional men (engineers, architects) but also included a sizeable proportion of low-educated technical workers. This colours the departmental reaction which ranged between uneducated panic and educated rationality. Fifty-six per cent were or had been enrolled or soon planned to be (only Finance had a higher percentage), while 28 per cent were doubtful and 9 per cent had no plans whatsoever of taking the course (Table 18.1)

Despite the fact that Public Works contained a high number of Francophones, 94 per cent of our sample insisted that they had few or no uses for French (only Agriculture had a higher percentage). To

support this, 59 per cent stated that their reasons for taking or wanting a course were predominantly for personal improvement, not because it was useful on the job. The department, in fact, had the lowest percentage of the four who said that they needed a French course because of the usefulness of the language. The discrepancy here is hard to explain.

The problem mentioned elsewhere of the difficulties of working at both a job and a French course was a recurring theme in Public Works. This man had to drop out half-way through the courses:

I found it impossible to do my work properly *and* take the French course. . . . I was away for three weeks and later for another one and a half and I was beginning to hold the others back.

Another point, similar to that brought out in Agriculture, concerns the fact that technical or professional people rarely have a use for French.

I don't think that they [the courses] are very helpful if the people taking them are involved in technical activities in the government. If they are in a predominantly English activity (engineering and all that) they very rarely have any occasion to use French. They might receive a letter in French but that is all.

The department of National Revenue (Taxation) provided a very interesting area of study. As was mentioned earlier, the administrative policy of the department seemed to be one of indifference. However, the reaction in the ranks was anything but indifferent. The respondents were by far the least informed and the most worried of the entire sample. They expressed a surprisingly great need for French. More than a quarter (27 per cent) stated that they could use a considerable amount of French in their work as compared to the combined departmental total of 11 per cent. However, a large number (42 per cent) were rather indefinite about whether they would be able to take a course. This sizable "indefinite" figure seemed to be the result of the poor advertising for the courses as well as the unsympathetic administration which was doing nothing to encourage a positive attitude.

National Revenue had the lowest percentage of university graduates. As we will see later, those respondents without degrees seemed to be the ones most anxious to take the French lessons. This could be explained by the fact that they felt that their jobs were in jeopardy, and that to keep them they must learn French, although they were not necessarily sympathetic to the idea. Unlike professional or scientific people, they were uncertain about their future if they were to lose their jobs. And so there was a great scramble for lessons and a feeling of panic when they found them to be out of reach.

You hear rumours that only the top men will have to be bilingual. I wonder if this will put a clamp on my promotion. I'd like to know where I stand. If this is so, I'd like to know about it so I can go out and learn French. People should be given a choice whether they want to learn or not and they should be given the chance to learn properly.

I'm not as frightened as some. . . provided I'm given the chance to learn French.

National Revenue was the only department where a majority of the respondents (52 per cent) gave promotions and benefits as the compelling reasons for taking French courses. In other departments, respondents emphasized personal betterment as the main motive behind their interest. This might be explained by the fact that National Revenue was rife with rumours concerning the future effect of bilingualism. No department was more concerned with the French fact and its employees were intensely bothered about what it might do to their jobs, yet the department had done little to accommodate itself to the situation.

This, then, completes our consideration of the wide range of reaction to the French courses among the four departments under intensive study. Now we turn to a more detailed depiction of the reasons why public servants want to learn French.

C. The Reasoning Behind the Decision About French Lessons

No matter the person's decision concerning French courses—already enrolled, planning to enrol, not interested—the interviewer attempted to discover the reasoning behind it. Among those who had taken, were taking, or strongly wished to take instruction, the impetus ranged from a desire to ask for bacon and eggs in French to a basic philosophic conviction. As has already been seen (Table 18.4), four themes were prominent. The most frequent reason was a desire for personal improvement. Forty-eight per cent gave a reply like the following:

I'd say that it was a matter of regret that I'm not fluent. I had made numerous efforts on my own years before all these problems of bilingualism and biculturalism, but it's damn hard to make any progress in a unilingual environment such as we have here. I took courses, but nothing or little seemed to stick with me. So when the present B and B problems began to get acute I figured that I wanted to take advantage of the French courses for purely personal reasons. I don't need French in my job. But any educated person should know and be able to speak a second language. Especially for Canadians it should be a part of one's general education to be versed in both French and English. . . . In general then, I would say that my reasons for taking the course spring from a general desire to enjoy a second language. I feel it's worth making the effort quite apart from the present official problems.

In the same vein others spoke in vague terms of broadening their general knowledge:

I think that an additional language would help in the broad sense. Not because it is related to the situation concerning bilingualism in the Civil Service but because I think it would generally enhance my own outlook and capability and knowledge, if I was able to learn it adequately.

Reasons connected with work were very frequently mentioned. These reasons can be separated into two different types. The first concerns security and other benefits: promotion, bonuses, and holding onto one's job.

It will be an asset in getting to administrative positions and will be an asset in these positions. This is the main reason that I am taking the course.

Because I feel there are certain positions in this department which would open up to me if I were bilingual. They require someone with bilingual status, and I would become eligible if I could speak French.

I feel that it would be of use to me as a government official and I'm also interested in learning the language. Besides that there is the obvious advantage to be gained with the incentives and the bonus. And then it's at no expense. It would be silly not to take advantage of it.

This category included 28 per cent of the respondents and was second only to self-improvement.

The second work-related factor includes those who affirmed that French would be directly useful in their job. The respondent usually asserted that he was in a position in which the use of French was important.

It would help me in my work if I were completely bilingual. There might be a time when I would be asked to do a research project in Quebec and I would be severely handicapped. Maybe that's why I haven't been assigned a project in Quebec.

The first thing I'd say is that four of our districts are in Quebec and occasionally I have to get down there to visit them.

It's a little embarrassing when I go down there and they all have to speak in English in order for me to understand.

Nearly one in five (19 per cent) mentioned the usefulness of French at work as lying behind their decision to learn the language.

What might be called nationalistic or patriotic reasons also appeared. Respondents answering in this way usually talked about bilingual-bicultural problems in terms that went beyond the Public Service milieu. About 5 per cent answered in such terms.

The only thing is that I think it's time the rest of Canada thought of the other side of the nation. A good way to solve all this is to talk to them in their own language. It's easier to understand them if you know their language and can converse with them in it.

My philosophy is that it's good for anyone to speak another language. My personal opinion is that this country and the U.S. have been very slow to learn another language. In Europe, the people speak at least two. We should learn to start our children young at another language.

It's the same reason that you hear from all the more intelligent newspaper correspondents. If Canada is to remain as she is, and not become balkanized, the English Canadians should treat the French Canadians as they are treated by them. That is, the

English Canadian should speak French to him because he speaks English to us. It's only fair. It's a worthy purpose if Canada is to remain an entity. Also, as a cultural achievement, it's intellectually satisfying. If it's possible to learn two languages, why not? It's a pretty small thing to do to maintain a country. And as far as I'm concerned, Canada is a pretty good country.

The reason behind a negative response was most frequently that the respondent felt that since he did not use French in his work, there was no necessity for his taking instruction.

I would not be able to use it. I have been here three years and I cannot think of any occasion when I would have had to use it. There are several French Canadians in the office but they know English and prefer to speak it.

Other prominent reasons for not wishing to take French were connected with either hostility or disinterest. French was simply not worth either the time or the trouble.

In summary, it can be seen that nearly half (48 per cent) of those wishing to take French gave as their primary motive a factor connected with their work, either the potential usefulness or promotional benefits of knowing French. A career-conscious public servant naturally would have an eye on the future when faced with a decision to take or not to take French. As many pointed out, there are other useful areas of study in their particular field, but if the government wants French, then French it would get!

D. Willingness to Take French Lessons

This section is concerned with the respondents who were considering taking a French course; they were not bilingual and had not recently been in a course: some 90 cases out of the total of 130. These persons are grouped into three classes according to their degree of willingness to take French language instruction: 1) Probables—those who had definite intentions of taking a course, whether Public Service or other, and were often already slated for the next one, 2) Indefinites—those who thought they would like to take the course but felt they might be blocked by the administration, their workload, or a lack of seniority, and those who were simply not yet sure, and 3) Negatives—those who appeared to have no intention whatsoever of taking a French course. Here, we will examine the importance of a number of different factors that influenced the distribution of people among these three groups.

Of first interest are several personal characteristics of the employees: age, length of government service, salary, and educational level. Concerning age, there seemed to be no major differences in the plans of the younger and older public servants (Table 18.5). About four in 10 of both groups thought it quite likely that they would enrol in a course, and between 15 and 20 per cent of both age groups were quite sure they would not.

Table 18.5

Age level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Age level	N	Plans to take French course			
		Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Younger: 25-35	34	41.2	44.1	14.7	100
Older: 36-45	55	41.8	38.2	20.0	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

Among public servants with long records of government service, there was a strong corps who felt that French instruction was unnecessary for them (Table 18.6). About a quarter (27 per cent) felt this way. The percentage with no plans of enrolling was significantly smaller in the group who had served a shorter period of time. However, it was not that they were eagerly planning to enter a course; they were not any more intent than the older public servants. Instead, half these younger men were vague and uncertain about their future plans for learning French.

Table 18.6

Length of government employment related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Length of government employment	N	Plans to take French course			
		Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Less than ten years	44	40.9	50.0	9.1	100
Ten years or more	45	42.2	31.1	26.7	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

Those at higher salary levels seemed slightly more inclined to take a course than those at lower levels (Table 18.7). Forty-seven per cent of those earning \$9,000 or more per annum wanted to take a course, compared to 38 per cent among those at the lower level (between \$6,200 and \$8,999 per annum). Those at the lower level were more likely to be indefinite about their plans with regard to language training.

Table 18.7

Salary level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Salary level	<i>N</i>	Plans to take French course			
		Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Low: \$6,200-8,999	55	38.2	45.4	16.4	100
High: \$9,000 and up	34	47.1	32.3	20.6	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

Educational level appeared to have an inverse relationship to desire to learn French; the higher the level of education, the less the desire (Table 18.8). Nearly half (49 per cent) of those without a university degree had definite plans of taking a course, but only a third of those with a postgraduate degree. This suggests that those who lacked university credentials were more uncertain about their

Table 18.8

Educational level related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Educational level	<i>N</i>	Plans to take French course			
		Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Some university or less	33	48.5	33.3	18.2	100
First university degree	32	40.6	43.8	15.6	100
Postgraduate degree	24	33.3	45.9	20.8	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

future advancement and saw learning French—or at least making a stab at it by taking a course—as one means of guaranteeing security.

Table 18.9 shows that the possession of specialized training and an advanced degree tends to make one feel less strongly compelled to take a French course. Those in the professional-scientific category were much less likely to have definite plans to attend a course than either the technical and semi-professional or administrative people. The administrators in particular—six out of 10 of them—had definite

Table 18.9

Career type A related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Career type A	N	Plans to take French course			
		Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Professional and scientific	34	29.4	52.9	17.7	100
Technical and semi-professional	30	40.0	40.0	20.0	100
Administrators	25	60.0	24.0	16.0	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

plans to enrol. It seems that, because many of them were generalists called upon to supervise or work closely with others, they felt the need to enhance their communication skills. Also, this category contained a body of men with a low education who had risen to the middle level by dint of long and dedicated service. They felt strongly that their investment in time and effort would be wiped out unless they became bilingual; they were uncertain about the implications of bilingualism and they wanted to protect themselves against adversity.

Many did not accept the language training gracefully. We found that those most hostile to the emphasis on bilingualism in the federal administration were as definite as those sympathetic that they would enrol in a course (Table 18.10). Only those who were apathetic to bilingualism had a low desire or were indefinite about their plans.

The relationship between hostility to bilingualism and a determination to take French lessons is slightly puzzling. It is quite possible that this hostility was a result of anxiety which, in turn, led these public servants to seek out French training. Because they were worried about the effects of the demand for bilingualism, they were more likely to feel hostile and more disposed to taking instruction as part of an immunization process.

For many, learning French is a response to a quite real threat. Those who had the most definite plans were those who thought they needed it in their work (Table 18.11). Over 70 per cent of those who could use some or a considerable amount of French said that they had definite intentions of enrolling. Just over 30 per cent who had little or no opportunity to employ French on the job said that they had definite plans. Also, nearly a quarter (24 per cent) of this group had no intention whatsoever of getting into a course. None of those who could use French rejected the courses in this way.

Table 18.10
Reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Plans to take French course					
Reaction to the emphasis	<i>N</i>	Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Sympathetic: complete or qualified	35	48.6	37.1	14.3	100
Hostile	22	50.0	31.8	18.2	100
Apathetic	26	23.1	53.8	23.1	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

Table 18.11
Opportunity to use French on the job related to plans to take a French course among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Plans to take French course					
Opportunity to use French	<i>N</i>	Probable	Indefinite	Negative	Total
Considerable or some	22	72.7	27.3	0.0	100
Little or none	67	31.3	44.8	23.9	100
Total	89	41.6	40.4	18.0	100

In sum, it appears that those with the most definite intentions of learning French were reacting to a realistic threat. They were experiencing a stronger pressure to use French at work and, on the other hand, were more likely to lack a university degree that would insure their secure tenure. Although they may have been hostile to bilingualism, they were trying to protect their jobs by meeting the threat head on.

E. Problems and Praises

Feelings about the general value of the courses ran the gamut from a total waste of money to a "very useful and worthwhile effort." Although the majority felt positively about the courses, constructive and well-directed criticism was common. The respondents were very much aware of certain limitations inherent in such a programme as well as in their own abilities. They discussed their own problems in learning French and being able to use it, as well as the philosophy behind the courses and the administration of them. They gave praise where they felt praise was due and they condemned the weaknesses in the system, as they saw them.

1. Problems in the learning of French

Difficulties were mentioned primarily by respondents already in the course, or by those who were very much aware of their own incapability of learning a language satisfactorily. The latter group consisted primarily of the older public servants and those in the scientific stream.

A person trained in science or engineering must first learn not to memorize, but to reason. It is the logic of something that you retain. Such people find it difficult to learn a second language unless they start at an early age. In contrast those in Arts would have less difficulty.

It comes down to whether a person has the ability. While the course is very good, I find it very difficult to make any great progress. I certainly haven't made any breakthrough in sound. I just don't have the knack. It's frustrating and I'm finding it quite a struggle because I like to do things well. I certainly have improved. I can read letters and the TV doesn't sound like gibberish any more, but whether I will ever become bilingual it's hard to say.

The respondents in the courses complained that the placing of students of differing abilities in the same class greatly inhibited their rate of learning.

A friend on the full-time course found it not too helpful because the group was too large and heterogeneous. The group was held back by less quick learners. They couldn't all learn at the same rate and the more advanced ones really suffered. However, the people who took the course in smaller groups found it very useful.

The others in the course are brushing up on what they learned in High School or something like that. They do not have much French and they have difficulty speaking it. We have to go very slowly and I find it very boring. It is not at my level but there just aren't enough people at my level to enable us to form a group of our own.

Another problem holding back eager learners was lack of time to keep up regular work as well as take French instruction.

The course takes up a day a week—one hour a day amounts up to a full day per week. That's 20 per cent of our time that is spent

doing something other than our job. It just doesn't work out. I can't keep up with my work and neither can others.

I took a 400-hour language instruction course in Hull last spring through the Commission on a half-time basis. I am selected to go back this February, but I am thinking of throwing the whole thing out the window. I found it quite exhausting to attempt to do the work required by my standard duties, as well as spending half a day in training.

For some the course was too fast, for others it was too slow. Others felt that the teaching method being used was not the best. However, the subjectivity of these remarks is obvious. They are simply several of the more prominent problems experienced in connection with the courses.

2. Problems with the use of French

Even men who felt they would have little difficulty learning French realized they were up against a brick wall in trying to practise this skill. In fact, nearly a third of our sample mentioned that they had no real opportunity to try out their French. If they could not make use of a language, then what was the point in learning it?

There are various courses and as far as I am concerned they are all valuable from the point of view of learning the language. The problem is that after learning the grammar and how to speak it and so on, the value is lost when the person leaves the course. They can't use what they have learned in the office or in the home and they lose what they have developed and they revert to the smattering of knowledge that they had before they started the course.

As was repeated time and again, the Public Service is predominantly "English" and English is the working language.

I spoke to a chap who was taking the course, and he said that he came back from the lessons feeling as though he had learned something, but they sent him back here, where the only three people with whom he really comes in contact are all English. He said that they should have sent him to Quebec or something.

I don't feel that I am in a position to spend all that time in a class trying to learn French when I wouldn't have a chance to use it if I did. It would be a case of learning and then losing. If I could keep the language once I had learned it or if it were necessary in my work then I would most certainly learn it. But the time that I spent in the class would be lost because I would lose what I learned through not using it.

The problem was aggravated by what many regarded as the Franco-phones' unwillingness to speak French to the avid learner.

I suppose that it could be helpful. But—and this is my own personal reaction—I find that if you encounter anyone whose mother tongue is French but who is bilingual then he will usually revert to English when you are speaking to him. I have had some experience of this in the Post Office in Montreal where the senior

officials are all fluently bilingual. I will ask them to speak French to me, and they will for a while, but they always return to English.

The chap next to me in the next office is a French Canadian and he actually advised me against taking them. He said that I would gain so little real French ability that it wouldn't be worth it. And I am sure that the technicians up in Quebec would prefer me to speak perfect English than to struggle in French. I don't see that these courses can really do anything. It will take far more to make anybody proficient to the point where their French will be of any value to them.

Thus, no matter which way he turned, the man taking the course was often unable to make use of this newfound knowledge—that is, if he had been able to learn some French in the first place.

Some criticism was directed at the general idea of bilingualism in the Public Service and the language-training programme as the most suitable method of instituting it.

I wonder about the feasibility of doing things this way. . . as far as I can see you'll never get full bilingualism in the Civil Service—that is where everyone is speaking both English and French. This is an unreal aim.

I don't know. It probably would be useful in giving people grounding in the language—oral conversation, etc., but I don't think a person in even five years of lessons could become proficient enough to use it in their work. Only casually. Even our professional translators have trouble. It just wouldn't be practical. . . . I just don't think the whole thing is efficient. I doubt if the amount of effort put into it is in line with the results.

One of the most often repeated criticisms about the course itself was aimed at the one-hour-a-day lessons and their general inadequacy. Unless the course is concentrated, the people taking it seem to get very little benefit. Having the civil servant go for one hour a day for some time is very questionable. They can't possibly get much benefit from it. The full-time course is a better idea. It is essential that people acquire the facility quickly. One hour a day does not accomplish this.

I think the half-day sessions are more productive in results than the one-hour. Life in the Public Service is uncertain, and to embark on a four or five year course seems to me unrealistic.

Then, of course, there were the complaints about the timing of the course. If it was given in the morning, it should be last thing in the afternoon; if it was last thing in the afternoon, then it would be better in the morning. Some felt it was unfair to ask anyone to take such a course on their own time, while others felt it was unfair to take it on "company" time.

Frankly, I resent seeing anyone else goofing off on work time. They aren't contributing properly to their job and their research work. If I was in a position where I was meeting people from

Quebec, or had to use French at all, I would take French on my own. . . on my own time and money. It's the same thing as I do now. As a researcher, I take courses to improve my standing, my knowledge. The government then pays me more money because I have become more valuable to them. I wouldn't think of taking these courses on their time, though.

Rather an interesting if unusual view! Still others complained that even if the course was on government time, they would have to work overtime to maintain normal output, thus still infringing on their own leisure.

The training programme was felt to be both an insult to the Francophones and a compliment to them. It was a means to promotion, a method of showing oneself eager to learn French—which was almost as good as learning it—but it was hardly ever a road to bilingualism.

I think that no one ever becomes bilingual as a result of these courses. I think that they are interesting and informative, but they would never make a person bilingual as a result.

One of the greatest problems in the administrative end of things was, of course, the impossibility of giving everyone who wanted them the opportunity to take courses.

In spite of what Mr. Pearson says, it's not so damn easy to get into these courses. Everyone here wants to take them.

The seniority consideration was a major bone of contention among both those taking a course and those who wanted to take one. It was generally felt that it was an exercise in futility to try and teach a man nearing or past 40 to speak another language, and yet it was also agreed that the senior men should be bilingual if the Public Service is actually going to carry out a policy of bilingualism.

Younger men who felt that French would be an asset to them and to their employer, especially in the future when they would be senior men, argued that the seniority policy either should be changed or more openings should be created to make room for younger persons.

I think that the government-sponsored French should be open mainly to the junior people and the professionals. If they start training the young people now, then in five years they will be in a position to use French and they will be able to speak it.

Others were worried about the criteria used to measure language ability and that these had not been explained to most public servants.

I'd like to know who says whether or not you are bilingual and how they decide this. The philosophy behind this is very important. They should judge very carefully the length of time you should take the courses and the levels you attain.

There is no need to create a wave of hysteria in the civil service to create bilingualism. People now working should not be thrown out if they don't speak French. Opportunities to learn French should be given and it all should be administered with great care. It would be wise if they started to implement plans for bilingualism now and gave the people a chance to get used to it,

and make sure the people understand the way they are doing things. One of the faults of the Civil Service is the lack of communication between the people making the administrative decisions and the people living under them.

3. Praise of the courses

Although the courses bore the brunt of much criticism, they also received praise. Nowhere was the teaching condemned. The training aids and often the content of the courses also received favourable comment.

If you need it and if you are coming in contact with people who speak French and you would like to be able to converse with them and be able to write their language then it enables you to get along in it. Some people who took it in university or high school are finding that it revitalizes their dormant French and enables them to find everyday uses for it.

This course has been very useful. I am very grateful. We have an extremely good instructor for this particular class, and I have improved my vocabulary already.

It's an exceptionally good course. The quality of instruction and the training aids are very good.

Those actually taking courses often mentioned the highly effective oral method of teaching.

It seems that the new method they are using to teach this course is 100 per cent better than the way they used to teach it. When we were in high school, we used to get all sorts of conjugations. Now they are throwing the sentences at you, so you get the feel of the language a lot faster. This seems to be a much more sensible way of teaching a course than the old way. Any of the French that I have picked up, I got from listening to the French fellows talk, and you get the connection of the words in phrases much more easily, so that when you eventually get to use it, the sentences come much more easily.

Despite the complaints and the problems surrounding the training programmes, the participants felt it undeniably had some good points.

F. Summary

During the past few years, French courses for Anglophone public servants have been widely promoted and many government employees have enrolled in them. The early emphasis was on one-hour-a-day instruction, but half-time and full-time courses have been coming into greater use. Those in senior management positions and newly recruited administrative trainees are two of the groups that have been given priority in gaining entry to the courses.

As of late 1965 and early 1966 we found that about a quarter of the middle-level Anglophones surveyed were currently enrolled or had recently completed a French course given either inside or outside the

federal administration. An additional 28 per cent said they had definite plans about taking training in the near future. This interest in learning French is rather strangely paired with the finding that only one in 10 of the middle-level public servants said that they had considerable opportunity to use French on the job. A third of them indicated that they had no chance whatever to use French at work.

There were considerable differences between departments in the ways that both senior and middle-level employees viewed the advent of language training. The senior officers in the department of Finance claimed that they operated in an almost completely "English" world, but they were willing to encourage the greater use of French in departmental operations. This mood was made manifest in the high turnout among middle-level employees for taking French instruction. The department of Agriculture was marked by pessimism about the returns from the investment of time and money in language training. Many of the middle-level scientists felt learning French was not relevant for their research work. There were mixed reactions in the department of Public Works. The senior officers felt that more persons with bilingual skills were needed at the upper level. The professionals at the middle level tended not to see any need for learning French, while the technical employees seemed to view taking a course as one means of insuring their future employment. The same reaction was common among the employees without university degrees in National Revenue (Taxation). At the senior level of the department, an attitude of indifference prevailed.

When we looked at those at the middle level who had not yet taken a French course, we found that those most anxious to enter one tended to be without university degrees and to be in work settings where a substantial amount of French was already being employed. Their desire for language training seemed to be a response to perceived threats to their future career progress.

Until the mid-1960s the Public Service was generally seen as an English institution—English not only with respect to language of work and communication with the public, but also in its style of operation. The technology, administrative practices, and the pragmatic mode of operation were an offshoot of Anglo-American culture adapted to special Canadian needs. Today the functioning is still overwhelmingly English, but the legitimacy of unilingual and unicultural federal structures in a country with two official linguistic and cultural traditions has been sharply questioned. The result is that widespread transformations in language use, recruitment, and operating procedures are under way.

All this was in the air when we conducted our interviews in 1965-6. Public servants already knew that their employer, the Government of Canada, was committed to major changes, although they were unclear about the specific directions these would take. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had been appointed in 1963 with the federal Public Service as one of its areas of concern. French lessons were being extensively advertised. And even after Prime Minister Pearson had appointed the Royal Commission, in April 1966 he went ahead and introduced new policies designed to increase bilingualism in the federal administration. Thus, when we talked to them, the public servants were aware of some or all of these initiatives.

Social change inevitably produces both satisfaction and resentment. Some Anglophones were open to and excited by the implications which increased bilingualism might have both for their work and for the social life of the Ottawa-Hull region; some felt that the changes had but slight relevance to their lives; while others—and they were a significant minority—were bitter. The latter translated their uncertainty about the future into defensiveness and hostility.

It was not always easy to talk to middle-level public servants about the bilingual and bicultural nature of the federal Public Service. It was also difficult to ascertain and classify their emotional

reaction. Relevant material tended to crop up at any time during the interview.¹ Thus, in coding each respondent's reaction, we decided to review the whole interview protocol. A five-point classification scheme was used, ranging from complete sympathy toward Francophone Canadians and the movement to increase the use of French and the participation of Francophones in the higher ranks of the federal Public Service,² to outright, and at times vehemently expressed, hostility. As well, a fairly large minority seemed to be apathetic about the question. Table 19.1 presents the statistical distribution and gives a description of each of the five categories.

Table 19.1

General attitude towards the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Percentage distribution	Reaction to the emphasis
14.9	1. COMPLETE SYMPATHY: The respondent was unreservedly in sympathy with demands to increase the bilingual and bicultural character of the federal administration.
26.8	2. QUALIFIED SYMPATHY: The respondent was generally sympathetic towards the demands but is concerned that some of the potential dangers involved might outweigh the advantages to be gained. Not unrelated to this, he may have felt that the recent emphasis is out of proportion to the size of the problem as he perceived it.
28.6	3. APATHY: The respondent showed little awareness of the situation and had formed no opinions on it.
8.3	4. MIXED FEELINGS: The respondent saw some good and some bad in the demands and could not determine priorities for one over the other.
21.4	5. OUTRIGHT HOSTILITY: The respondent was resentful and often bitter towards the emphasis. He felt that it was an unnecessary and even unethical intrusion upon him.
100.0	
168	

Four in 10 (42 per cent) of these relatively senior public servants were sympathetic, either unreservedly or with slight reservations, toward the demands to increase the use of French and the participation of Francophones in the Public Service. On the other hand, about a fifth (21 per cent) expressed hostility. Interestingly, 29 per cent would have to be classed as apathetic. These people generally felt untouched by the recent discussions about bilingualism.

In the analysis that follows, special attention is given to those who fell into the two extreme categories, the "Sympathetics" and the "Hostiles."³ This was done for two reasons. First, we were more confident of the validity of the responses of these two types. They usually involved a certain spontaneity and frankness lacking in the replies which fell in the middle groups. Secondly, the nature of the attitudes at the extremes of the continuum will have important consequences for future changes in the Public Service. Those sympathetic to increased bilingualism represent an important human resource whose support is assured for developing a new working environment with an enhanced French atmosphere. Those who expressed hostility are a potential talent loss for the federal Public Service. Persons who see their careers adversely affected by these changes could leave; those who stay on in uncongenial surroundings would certainly work less productively.

A. Some Correlates of Sympathy and Hostility

This section will examine whether any definable groups within the Public Service can be said to be those most likely to express either hostility or sympathy towards the Francophone demands. It examines correlations between attitudes and three types of factors: the basic characteristics (sometimes called "tombstone" characteristics) of the public servants, their current career situation, and the nature of their social contacts. It also points out any significant differences between the departments studied.

1. Basic characteristics

Some of the traits which most succinctly identify a person are age, place of birth, class origins, religion, and educational level.⁴ We attempted to determine the types of persons who tend to be more sympathetic or hostile than others.

It is widely held that older persons are less flexible in their attitudes and less receptive to new ideas or to the disruption of a stable order than are younger people. Thus, it would be expected that the older public servants would be more hostile to the demands for change and younger persons more sympathetic. This expectation was at least partly confirmed by the data (Table 19.2). The older group was substantially more hostile than the younger employees: 26 per cent of the older group expressed hostility, compared with 15 per cent of the younger. However, there was no marked difference among the age groups in the amount of sympathy expressed. Not shown in the table was the large core of apathy among the younger public servants: 38 per cent of those between 25 and 35 years of age were quite unconcerned about the whole matter. The comparable figure for the older group was 26 per cent.

Canada is a country of regions, each with its own distinctive political culture, and individuals who grow up in different parts of the

Table 19.2

Age level related to reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Age level	<i>N</i>	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Younger: 25-35	55	16.4	14.5
Older: 36-45	113	13.3	25.6
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

country often differ significantly in their views. Here, we try to detect regional variations in reactions to bilingualism in the federal Public Service. We classified the public servants according to where they spent their teenage years. Of course, all the people interviewed were currently working in Ottawa and thus probably differed from their contemporaries who not only grew up but stayed in any other region. This caveat aside, it is probable that the regional experience of their teenage years continues to affect their attitudes, even though they have moved away from its immediate influence.

The largest pool of sympathy existed among those who grew up in Ontario outside Ottawa. Overall, 57 per cent were generally sympathetic and, as Table 19.3 shows, 24 per cent were completely sympathetic.

Table 19.3

Geographic origin related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Geographic origin	<i>N</i>	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Ottawa-Hull	30	16.7	23.3
Rest of Ontario	37	24.3	21.6
Rest of Quebec and the Maritimes	24	8.3	29.2
Western Canada	42	9.5	21.4
ALL CANADA	133	15.0	23.3
Foreign country	35	11.4	17.2
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

One of the higher levels of sympathy was found among those from Ottawa-Hull: 17 per cent were strongly sympathetic and four in 10 were generally sympathetic, either with or without reservations. One of the lower levels of sympathy was registered by those from western Canada. But the lowest degree of sympathy, as well as the strongest opposition to bilingualism, was found among the Anglophones raised in Quebec and the Maritimes. About three in 10 of these people expressed a hostile reaction. Interestingly, the lowest amount of hostility was scored by those from foreign countries.

These findings both reinforce and negate commonly-held views about Canadians. It is not too surprising, for instance, that Anglophones from western Canada, Quebec, or the Maritimes were not very favourably inclined towards bilingualism and biculturalism. Unexpected, however, was the support located among Ontarians raised outside Ottawa. It is also rather surprising that those raised in foreign countries were less hostile to Francophone Canadians and their problems than native Anglophone Canadians.

Growing up in the country or the city can have a bearing on certain types of attitudes, but sympathy to bilingualism in the Public Service was one area where this made a slight difference (Table 19.4). Those from large cities tended to be more sympathetic than those from medium-sized cities, towns, and rural areas. Hostility, on the other hand, appeared to be equally prevalent among those of both rural and urban origins.

Table 19.4
Size of place of origin (as of the 1941 Census) related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Size of place of origin	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Large city—250,000 or more	46	21.7	21.7
Medium city—50,000–250,000	56	10.7	23.2
Towns and rural areas	61	13.1	21.3
Not determined	5		
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

Another important formative influence is the social class into which one is born. Many of a person's beliefs or opinions are taken over directly from his parents and relatives, and this is perhaps reflected in attitudinal differences between those from various class levels. For instance, persons from working-class and farm backgrounds

or from lower middle-class origins are significantly more hostile than those from upper-middle- and upper-class roots (Table 19.5). Those from near the top of the social scale were less likely to oppose strongly the spread of bilingualism in the federal Public Service. On the other hand, expressions of sympathy were fairly evenly spread among public servants from all the class levels.

Table 19.5

Class origins related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Class origin	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Upper and upper middle	49	18.4	12.2
Lower middle	49	14.2	28.6
Working and farm	70	11.4	24.3
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

Religious affiliation, important in influencing opinions about many facets of society, seemed to have little bearing on views concerning bilingualism in the Public Service. Roman Catholics and Protestants were quite similar in the proportions of hostile and sympathetic persons they contained (Table 19.6). Thus, any claims that there is extensive support for or resistance to the use of French and the participation of Francophones in the federal administration among public servants of either of these religious traditions could not be supported by these findings.

Table 19.6

Religious affiliation related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Religious Affiliation	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Roman Catholic	41	14.6	26.8
Main Protestant groups: Anglican, United, Baptist, etc.	100	12.0	20.0
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

In line with the main body of theory in the field of education and attitudes,⁵ we discovered that educational level is inversely related to hostility. In other words, the lower the level of education, the greater the likelihood of hostility being expressed. Only 19 per cent of those who had one or more university degrees expressed hostility, but 32 per cent of those with only some university training or less were hostile. As Table 19.7 shows, the effect of decreasing education is not really striking until one moves from the categories with university degrees to those without. The difference in the level of hostility between those at the postgraduate degree level and those with only a first university degree is minimal.

The effect of education on sympathy is relatively slight until the postgraduate level. While 24 per cent of those with such degrees were sympathetic, only 9 per cent of those with a single university degree and 14 per cent of those with no university degree were. Thus, at the very top of the educational scale, sympathy to bilingualism was most common, while at the bottom of the scale, hostility was more prevalent.

Table 19.7
Educational level related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Educational level	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Some university or less	44	13.6	31.8
First university degree	78	9.0	19.2
Postgraduate degree	46	23.9	17.3
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

What emerges from these results? We see that hostility to Francophones and the French language is more strongly rooted among older public servants, those of farm, working-class, or lower-middle-class origins, persons raised in Quebec, the Maritimes, or western Canada, and those whose education terminated before receipt of a university degree. Sympathetic concern was registered most strongly by employees raised in Ontario (excluding Ottawa), in large cities, and those with postgraduate degrees.

2. Career and work situation

Here we relate details of past or current career and present working conditions to emotional reactions. Although the background characteristics just considered can be strategic in setting one's attitudinal gyroscope along a certain course, experiences in work

organizations can reinforce, or, more importantly, deflect attitudes. In fact, recent events on the job and the nature of one's current work group are among the strongest influences on opinions about a multitude of contemporary political and economic events.

First, let us consider length of government service. Interestingly, we found meagre sympathy matched with strong hostility among those who could truly be said to be at mid-career—those who had served between six and 14 years (Table 19.8). While only 7 per cent of those with medium-length service expressed sympathy, 20 per cent of both the short- and long-term groups expressed such support. Similarly, those with medium-length service had a tendency to be more hostile than the other two, although the percentage differences here are not large enough to be significant.

Table 19.8

Length of government service related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Length of government service	<i>N</i>	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Short: 5 years or less	60	20.0	16.7
Medium: 6-14 years	73	6.8	27.4
Long: 15 years or more	35	20.0	20.0
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

In the different career types, hostility is more prevalent among those in technical and semi-professional fields while sympathy appears strongest among the administrators (Table 19.9). The percentage differences between categories, however, are on the borderline of being statistically significant. Therefore, the differences should be regarded as suggestive rather than firmly established.

Thirty-one per cent of the technical specialists were classified as hostile, compared to 20 per cent of the professionals and scientists and 17 per cent of the administrators. Many professionals and scientists appeared to feel that bilingualism is irrelevant to the esoteric subject areas in which they work. By contrast, administrators contain a strong corps of sympathetic persons: about a fifth (21 per cent) of them gave strong support and an additional third registered qualified support. This level of sympathy is higher than that shown by either of the other two career types.

A more refined analysis of career types adds a new dimension to the relationship sketched above. It appears that the hybrids—specialists who have moved into administrative work—particularly the

Table 19.9

Career type A related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Career type A	<i>N</i>	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Professional and scientific	84	11.9	20.2
Technical and semi-professional	42	11.9	31.0
Administrative	42	21.4	16.7
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

technical hybrids, were the most hostile. Table 19.10 shows that four out of ten of the hybrids were hostile compared to between 17 and 22 per cent of the other three groups. Also, when the hybrid category is split into technical hybrids and professional-scientific hybrids the picture becomes even more clear. The number of cases is rather small, but it appears that while a third of the professional-scientific were hostile, some 47 per cent of the technical hybrids were. This locates one source of anti-French feeling quite exactly and dramatically.

Table 19.10

Career type C related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Career type C	<i>N</i>	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Professional and scientific	69	10.1	17.4
Technical and semi-professional	27	11.1	22.2
Hybrids	30	16.7	40.0
Administrative	42	21.4	16.7
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

What is to account for the extensive hostility among the technical hybrids? A tentative explanation can be advanced. The hybrids, more

than any other group, have a vested interest in a career in the Public Service. They started by carving out a career in a specialized area, then moved on to supervisory positions. Many of their early skills have been left behind. Much of the knowledge they have acquired may be in a field unique to government and not easily transferable to a job even in another government department. Hence, they are firmly embedded within the Public Service; they would find it comparatively difficult to locate a similar position outside it. These non-mobile persons are intensely threatened by the prospects that bilingualism and biculturalism will upset the *status quo*.

On top of this, the technical category includes those with fairly low education. They fear that a Francophone with better academic credentials could be brought in at a level above them, despite their experience. They have worked for their position and now are apprehensive that an outsider could challenge it.

Further support for the contention that it is those with a vested interest in a Public Service career who feel most threatened, and hence, hostile is found in Table 19.11. Here the familiar breakdown between those pursuing benefits and security in government employment and those who are attracted by the work itself is related to attitudes. The relationship is not a powerful one but it seems that those interested in benefits are also less sympathetic and more hostile to bilingual and bicultural programmes than those who find the work intrinsically satisfying. Persons who view government workplaces as centres of stable employment appear distressed and opposed to changes in their work patterns.

Table 19.11

Main reason for joining the Public Service related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Main reason for joining involves	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Benefit factors	68	10.3	26.4
Work factors	85	17.6	18.8
Other factors	15		
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

To clarify further our portraits of Anglophone sympathy and hostility, we can examine some particular career specialties in the departmental settings. These were chosen because they represent the range of emotional expression (Table 19.12). Sympathetic understanding is personified by the Finance Officer in the department of Finance and the Research Scientist in the department of Agriculture. The

Table 19.12
Selected career categories related to the reaction to the emphasis on
bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among
middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Career category	N	Reaction to the emphasis		
		Sympathy		Hostility
		Complete	Qualified	
Finance Officer	23	26.1	30.4	17.4
Agricultural				
Researcher	23	13.2	52.2	13.0
Patent Examiner	27	7.4	14.8	22.2
Revenue professional				
and semi-professional	20	5.0	20.0	25.0
Public Works				
professional	18	5.5	22.2	27.7
Total Anglophone				
middle level	168	14.9	26.8	21.4

majority (57 per cent) of the Finance Officers were generally sympathetic; about a quarter (26 per cent) voiced complete sympathy. Among the Research Scientists, 13 per cent were completely sympathetic; overall, nearly two-thirds (65 per cent) were generally sympathetic. Contrast this with those who work on mechanical processes or routine administration in the departments of Public Works and National Revenue. The lowest levels of unqualified sympathy were registered by the engineers and architects in Public Works (6 per cent) and the accountants, lawyers, and computer specialists in National Revenue (5 per cent). Also, in the department of Public Works, more than a quarter (28 per cent) of the engineering or architectural personnel and more than half (7 out of 13) of the technical workers indicated their opposition to the spread of bilingualism.

These observations gain additional support when we carve up the various careers into yet another classificatory system. Table 19.13 shows that the technical workers, followed by the engineers, were the most hostile. The most sympathetic, as well as one of the least hostile groups, was the senior policy-makers. These men, of which the Finance Officers contributed the largest contingent, were aware of a need to respond effectively to the French Canadian "cause."

These results suggested what the composite scores for the various departments would be. The differences between departments in levels of support or hostility resulted from the different human components—career types, age groups, and so on—within them. For instance, Public Works, which had the highest proportion (38 per cent) of hostile persons among the five departments studied, gained this rank because of its preponderance of engineers and technical supervisors, many of

Table 19.13

Career type B related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Career type B	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
Scientist	35	14.3	14.3
Senior Policy-Maker	25	28.0	16.0
Semi-professional	28	10.7	21.4
Engineer	40	7.5	27.5
Technician	21	19.0	33.3
Administrator	19	10.5	21.1
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

them quite old (Table 19.14). By the same token, National Revenue's technical hybrids and older accountants gave them a low score on sympathy (9 per cent) and a level of hostility (30 per cent) that was second to Public Works but considerably above the other departments. Finance, with a goodly proportion of young, highly-educated policy-makers had the largest pool (25 per cent) of complete sympathy. Likewise, the younger scientists in the department of Agriculture raised its level of sympathy so that overall 57 per cent were classed as sympathetic. Thus, it is apparent that, at the middle level, departmental differences in reaction to bilingualism are considerable. These differences are largely explainable by the social and career characteristics of the people within the department.

Table 19.14

Reaction in selected government departments to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Department	N	Reaction to the emphasis		
		Sympathy		Hostility
		Complete	Qualified	
Secretary of State	38	13.2	18.4	21.1
Finance	28	25.0	28.6	14.3
Agriculture	37	16.2	40.5	8.1
Public Works	32	9.9	21.9	37.5
National Revenue	33	9.1	21.2	30.3
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	26.8	21.4

3. Social contacts

Here we examine some aspects of the interpersonal contacts of the public servants and how these relate to attitudes. Specifically, the focus is on their memberships in clubs and voluntary associations and the type of contacts they have with Francophones.

It is generally held that active participation in a wide range of voluntary associations encourages tolerance. It is an indication of broad interests, contact with a large variety of people, and opportunities to exchange ideas. In short, clubs and associations provide settings for encounters between persons of differing background—encounters that should result in the development of mutual understanding.

Our data provide partial support for this contention (Table 19.15). A comparison was made between those who reported that they did not belong to any voluntary associations and those with memberships. There seemed to be a correlation between belonging to associations and sympathy. Only 10 per cent of the non-joiners, but 21 per cent of those with two or more memberships were sympathetic. However, the relationship between associational membership and hostility did not pertain. There even was a slight tendency for those with no memberships to be less hostile than those with one membership. Thus, the results here are tenuous, although there is a suggestion that sympathy is heightened among those who are joiners of clubs and associations.

Table 19.15
Membership in clubs and associations related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Number of memberships	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
None	87	10.3	19.5
One	48	16.7	27.1
Two or more	33	21.2	21.2
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

Sociological writings suggest that when persons from two different groups are brought into face-to-face contact in settings where they must co-operate, there is a reduction in mutual hostility. For instance, whites with sustained and intimate contact with Negroes in the United States were significantly less prejudiced than those who did not have such contacts.⁶ It is principally at work that such co-operative contacts occur. Therefore, in the following we try to apply this proposition to French-English relations in the federal Public Service.

We developed an index of "exposure to French milieux." It provides a quantitative measure of the amount of contact Anglophones have had with Francophones in three settings: during their education, at work before joining the Public Service, and while working within the federal administration. Because of the small numbers with considerable contact, we are forced to make our comparisons between those with no or a few fleeting contacts and those with some contact ranging from the moderate to the intensive.

Generally, no significant correlation between exposure and either sympathy or hostility is indicated when the total for all five departments is considered (Table 19.16). In fact, there are some grounds for rejecting the suggested hypothesis. It appears that those most exposed to French milieux have a slight tendency to be less sympathetic and more hostile. But, it should be emphasized, the relationship is not a strong one and certainly not statistically significant.

Table 19.16

Amount of exposure to French milieux related to the reaction to the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the federal administration among middle-level Anglophone public servants (percentages)

Exposure to French milieux	N	Reaction to the emphasis	
		Sympathy	Hostility
None or low	83	16.9	19.2
Moderate or intensive	85	11.8	24.7
Total Anglophone middle level	168	14.9	21.4

However, if the departments are inspected individually a new perspective is thrown on the matter. In three departments the expected result of an increase in exposure associated with a decrease in hostility holds—Secretary of State, Finance, and Agriculture. The reverse situation with increased exposure related to increased hostility pertains in the other two departments, Public Works and National Revenue. Granted that these findings are based on a rather small number of observations, it still raises the intriguing question of why these two groups of departments differ among themselves.

The first point is that the three departments in which the predicted relationship pertained are units in which an ability to use French is not an obvious asset. The Patent Examiners, Finance Officers, and Research Scientists have only minimal contact with the Francophone public. Thus, the Francophones in these work settings are not regarded as having a legitimate claim to using their language. This means that Francophones are not viewed as different and

threatening by Anglophones. Because the Francophones "fit in" and bow to the pressure to use English, they are regarded as colleagues, as part of the co-operative work venture.

In Public Works and National Revenue, the use of French is felt to be more necessary and Francophones are seen as threatening. They are not embraced as co-operating colleagues, but as competitors with an unfair bonus. Also, these are regionalized departments while the other three are based primarily in the national capital. The Anglophones are aware of Francophones not only at head office but also in the field who could be brought in above them. Those, in particular, who deal with or travel to the regional offices in the province of Quebec know of the necessity to use French and the existence of able Francophones whose bilingual capacity could give them a large boost in promotion competitions. Thus, an atmosphere of guarded antagonism prevails among the majority of Anglophones.

If this explanation is acceptable, it appears that the amount of visibility and co-operation among linguistic groups is the crucial factor. Exposure to Francophone milieux—when it occurs in settings of intimate co-operation, or at least in a non-threatening relationship—is conducive of sympathetic understanding among Anglophones. When the two linguistic groups are obviously distinguishable and eye each other as unfair competitors, then close contact leads to Anglophone suspicion and hostility.

B. How is Hostility Expressed?

Having determined who within the Public Service is most likely to be hostile to the Francophone demands, we must now determine what this hostility means. We are concerned here with general expressions of hostility as well as its particular manifestations in the Public Service situation.

1. "The threat of bilingualism"

The majority of Anglophone public servants defined the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism only in terms of the immediate and concrete problems of "working in French" or meeting "the language requirement." This, far more than biculturalism, poses a threat to the individual's own position. Bilingualism on the job—or rather its possible implementation—becomes the focus for hostility. It is a threat to his future career.

These feelings become understandable when the paucity of Anglophone skill in French is recalled. While 52 per cent felt they had considerable ability in reading French, between 77 and 82 per cent indicated that they lacked fluency in the other areas of French language skill (speaking, writing, understanding the spoken language). Thus, Anglophones are quite aware of their own language lacks and many feel angry that they might be handicapped by them.

This threat is perceived from two angles. It is felt to be something that will detract from the normal promotion system, and, second, it implies an unwarranted advantage to the Francophones at the expense of the Anglophones. The Anglophones in fact feel justified in demanding with one Patent Examiner in Secretary of State: "Where's the justice of reversing an injustice?"

a. The promotion system

On the first point the argument revolves in particular about the requirement of bilingualism which many public servants feared would be imposed throughout the federal administration. This fear, perhaps more than any other, produces hostility. A remarkable pool of resentment was unleashed against the idea that bilingualism might become a job qualification for positions for which it was seen as irrelevant and useless. Its function would become then merely that of blocking expected and "normal" career channels, and reaction to this was often very bitter. The following quotations which have been chosen to illustrate this are short because usually elaboration was not provided. In any case, the message is conveyed. They are taken predominantly from interviews in the department of Public Works where, it was noted, the most open hostility existed.

Technical knowledge is more important in some jobs and those people who aren't bilingual and who don't feel that bilingualism is necessary for a job will feel resentment when it is asked for as a requirement.

If they make bilingualism a prerequisite it could ruin people's chances for promotion. Some departments don't require bilingualism. It is not necessary for the higher positions here.

There have been a few hard feelings when there were competitions that asked for a bilingual person and where there was an English-speaking person who felt he could fill the position.

Quite a number resent the fact that they need to be bilingual for a job in order to get it, and they are quite sure that there is no need for bilingualism in some of these jobs.

One Patent Examiner in particular characterized the weight of feeling that existed upon this point:

It's unfair to promote bilinguals if the language is not needed by the job. . . . Ethnic origin shouldn't be a factor. . . . I don't like being forced as regards language. I don't like the idea of its affecting my livelihood. It's hard to speak French.⁷

b. The Francophone advantage

Fearing for their own career, it is not perhaps entirely surprising that Anglophones should vent a good deal of their angry response at those who seemed to them to be the cause of this situation: the Francophone Canadians! A particular bone of contention was that, while bilingualism was a threat to them, it was all too obviously, as they saw it, a promise to the Francophones, most of whom are bilingual. Any bilingual requirements would be a clear advantage to them alone, and as such were resented. One architect in Public Works expressed it this way:

I think it certainly helped the French Canadian employees, possibly to the detriment of the English.

A Patent Examiner in Secretary of State and an engineer in Public Works repeated the same theme:

In the government the English-speaking person is going to suffer. Very few French-speaking people will. Everybody is saying "the poor French" and nobody takes into account the majority.

Bilingualism was also regarded by such people as a politically motivated device for giving the Francophones an added advantage. It has a built-in "double standard":

It appears that if a person is French and speaks two languages, this is given considerably more weight than if one is English and speaks both languages. If you're French in this department you are bilingual, and if you're English and speak French, you merely speak French.

These are the words of a senior architect who had been in government work for four years. He, like others, feared that men of ability would be passed over in favour of someone of lesser talent but with bilingual capacity or the "right name."

It is worth noting that hostility was not always directed at the Francophone himself. Very often it was directed at the politicians—the indeterminate "they" of many answers—for example, for pandering to the French language demands and using bilingualism alternatively as a "political football" or a "political sop."

c. The counter-threat

Perhaps in defiance of the emphasis upon bilingualism they feared, some respondents offered what can only be interpreted as a counter-attack. In an effort to rationalize and order a situation which they felt to be intolerable they attempted to prove it impossible.

This is a definite variation on the theme of hostility and as such should be distinguished from the mere statement of the impracticability of bilingualism which occurred far more frequently but had few, if any, hostile overtones. It was an attempt to call off the attack, as it were, by pointing out the dangers of proceeding.

If it's overemphasized it will drive competent civil servants out of the government.

If there is indiscriminate promotion on the basis of language and not qualifications it will destroy the morale of the civil service. If this happens we will lose some of our best people. It's not hard for a person with good qualifications to go elsewhere.

I think if the present emphasis continues you will have a tendency to reluctance of English-speaking Canadians to enter the civil service, especially those from out west. I know a lot of individuals who were considering the civil service but for this reason (bilingualism) decided not to enter the federal Civil Service. . . . If this continues we will end up with a very difficult staffing problem.

What we have here is a sharp difference of opinion between employer and a number of employees about the nature of an efficient organization. The employer, the government of Canada, views an increase in bilingualism as promoting efficiency on several fronts. It will guarantee service of equal quality to the two official language groups of the country. An enhanced "French" atmosphere in the federal Public Service will go far in attracting to government work what has until recently been an untapped human resource—the educated Francophone. Those already in the Service will be able to contribute more effectively to the work of their department. Hostile Anglophone public servants generally agreed that a wider range of services in French could be offered to Francophone clients. But, apart from this, they regarded bilingualism as largely unnecessary, not a skill for which extra "merit points" ought to be given in decisions of hiring or promotion. In fact, if widescale bilingualism was to be "forced" on the upper levels of the Public Service, this hostile core foresaw tremendous inefficiencies: able unilingual Anglophones being passed over for promotion, a wasteful duplication of procedures, falling morale, and the exodus of competent men from government work.

2. Fear for the status quo

Hostility vented against the "threat of bilingualism," against the Francophones, the politicians, or the "system" is of course often only a symptom of a much deeper-rooted hostility which was only openly expressed, and perhaps only consciously perceived, in a few cases. Let us refer again to the quotation from the Patent Examiner about the promotion of bilingual persons:

It's unfair to promote bilinguals if the language is not needed by the job. . . . Ethnic origin shouldn't be a factor. . . . I don't like being forced as regards language. *I don't like the idea of its affecting my livelihood.*

It is possible to see that he was relating the situation as he saw it to the situation as he felt it should be. He was pointing to the disintegration of an expected moral order, and in doing so was expressing a far deeper fear than that bilingualism would affect promotions, or that Francophones would gain some advantage—that would affect the status quo.

On the whole I would say that it (bilingualism and biculturalism) has had an upsetting effect. It threatens to disturb the *status quo*. . . it's been pretty bad for morale. . . there has been no sympathetic reaction on the part of the English because this whole thing threatens the *status quo*.

It is in this area that the expression of hostility seemed to become most emotional, an almost surprisingly extreme assertion of the rightness of that very moral order that seemed to be threatened:

We weren't told about bilingualism and biculturalism when we came in. They can't change the rules in the middle of the game. I feel that if bilingualism is going to be a factor it should

have been told to us when joining. It is unfair to come in and invest many years in this office and then be told *after* that we can't progress unless we learn French.

I have a right to expect to keep my job. It is my country.

I fought and bled for it. I should be able to keep my job in it.

The status quo encompasses established work routines. These too, were expected to be disrupted by the Francophone demands, or at least by the recent emphasis upon them. Some hostility was aroused over the creation of supposed inefficiencies through the necessity for duplication of forms, memoranda, etc. Far more was expressed over the development of distinctions between the two linguistic groups. The frequent complaint was that relations were fine until all this fuss came along, disturbing the peace, as it were. An information officer in Agriculture and a Finance Officer both implied this:

I think the whole emphasis has harmed the situation considerably. . . . People. . . have been alerted that there is a problem, and this has led to an awareness of themselves and made for the establishment of opinions which were not needed before.

Twenty years ago it was a real open animosity. . . it disappeared, but now the controversy has revived.

An important point here, however, is that again hostility was not so much directed actually at the Francophones, but at the process of bilingualism that had developed around them. A number of the respondents who were hostile in their general attitude to bilingualism nevertheless admitted to getting along very well with the Francophones they knew in the office—or at least until the recent emphasis.

3. The solution as the respondents see it

If hostility is directed at the process rather than the people caught within it (and the distinction is admittedly difficult to make), then it should be possible to decrease hostility if the process is demonstrated to be less awful than is obviously expected. The current attitudes formed and opinions expressed are formed and expressed in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Most views, as the earlier description implied, are based more upon rumour than upon fact. They are predominantly "if" statements, and indeed some respondents seemed to be surprised that as yet the worst was not happening.⁸

A number of respondents themselves demanded an ultimatum one way or the other. They were aware of what was happening and suggested a way out. They wanted the imposition of some kind of order upon a situation which seemed to many public servants to be chaotic:

I take the idea that if it [bilingualism] is not to be a job requirement then say so. Let's not have the innuendo that preference will be given to the French-speaking candidate. . . . My own personal experience is that it [the recent emphasis] has created a lot of animosity primarily because it has been misunderstood.

You hear rumours that only the top men will have to be bilingual. I wonder if this will put a clamp on my promotion. I'd like to know where I stand. If this is so I'd like to know about it so I can go out and learn French. People should be given a choice whether they want to learn it or not and they should be given the chance to learn properly.

An Appeals Supervisor in National Revenue expressed the same demand for clarification:

There is no need to create a wave of hysteria in the civil service to create bilingualism. People now working should not be thrown out if they do not speak French. Opportunities to learn French should be given and it should all be administered with great care. . . make sure people understand the way they are doing things.

It may be that, if he were right, some of those who were hostile would become, if not sympathetic, at least less resistant. If, for example, it could be demonstrated to them that bilingualism was not "the be all and end all" of their careers, they might be able to take a more objective standpoint and even consider some of the other issues, especially biculturalism, that have all too obviously been missed by the preoccupation with the "threat of bilingualism."

C. How is sympathy expressed?

We have discussed who is most likely to be sympathetic to the Francophone demands, and it will now be useful to delineate what form this expression of sympathy takes. Two sections will deal in turn with the type of thinking behind a sympathetic response and with the specific perceptions of the situation within the Public Service. A third section will deal with those who are sympathetic but with reservations.

1. A way of thinking

Those respondents who were sympathetic made a conscious effort to see the Francophone demands in as wide a context as possible. They were attempting to form an organized and realistic picture of the situation and to relate this rationally to the Public Service situation as they saw it. This was a far more complex and sophisticated approach than that of the respondents who were hostile, and it covered the implications of biculturalism as much as of bilingualism.

Perhaps most important of all is that the sympathetic respondent was attempting an objectivity of approach. He was standing back from the immediate problems and relating the French Canadian situation to the whole spectrum of other minority demands and rights; he saw it as having a place on the world scale. An Architect in the Public Works explained this clearly:

I am interested in what happens in Canada on an international basis, because many countries have the problem in more virulent forms; for example, India, Cyprus and Nigeria. . . . People can

only become closer, see each other's points by knowing each other better . . . and I think that Canada is an easy place to start to solve this problem. If she solves this problem it could be an example, a blue-print for other countries.

A more usual comparison was with the Negro situation in the United States. An Administrative Officer in National Revenue and a Research Director in Agriculture had this to say:

It is similar to the problem the Americans have with the Negroes. The Ku Klux Klan points to the ignorance of the Negro. But of course they must be ignorant if they are held down. In this case only the strongest will rise to any level comparable to that of most of the whites. Our problem up here is certainly not comparable in scope, but it is basically the same. It involves the same attitude to minority education, and keeps them from rising to the higher positions.

My own personal philosophy is that we should, if we are to maintain a bicultural society in Canada, give the French more opportunity. It is like the Negro in the States. In order for them to have equal opportunity we must give them more than equal opportunity.

Given this appreciation of the French-Canadian problem as essentially a *cultural* problem, it is not surprising that one of the effects of the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism most frequently cited as important was that of an increased cultural understanding between the two groups. Basically this took either of two forms, the first being generally on the theme that Francophones and Anglophones were "tending to draw together":

It's made everybody sit back and start reappraising. Some think it's the best thing that has ever happened. . . . It will produce a mutual exchange of ideas. The French culture has a lot to offer.

We begin to realize an old cultural heritage. . . increases awareness of a cultural background.

Second, there was the political understanding that could be gained by the recognition of a French-Canadian contribution. Two Finance Officers illustrated this latter point:

The emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service is a highly desirable one in terms of . . . adding a deeper awareness and understanding of the thinking and problems of Quebec to the general flavour and character of government attitudes and policy.

It would be useful to have someone who knew something about Quebec, and who had contacts inside the Quebec government. . . . It is even perhaps necessary to have a French Canadian in the department . . . sometimes connections can be useful, and we have not enough in French-speaking Canada.

Thus, the sympathetic approach was particularly characterized by its focus on the potential advantages rather than disadvantages of the recent developments.

2. A sense of responsibility

The sympathetic respondent made a conscious effort to be objective, and to see the Francophones' position within the Public Service from the Francophone rather than the Anglophone point of view. In the department of Finance, for example, where promotion is largely through a system of personal sponsorship, it was largely recognized that the French Canadian might be at a disadvantage in this:

They do not seem to be proportionately represented in the senior echelons, and, because they are not, there is inherently less of a tendency towards sponsorship.

Our department hasn't attracted a good senior French Canadian who has managed to collect other good people around him. Our history stems from the Queen's and the impact of Clark and Skelton. Perhaps a French Canadian of this calibre wouldn't come to this department but we should try to find ways to attract them.

It was also recognized in other departments where sponsorship was not as important as in Finance that Francophones often received unfair treatment. The feeling expressed here by a Research Scientist in Agriculture was echoed several times in several different work places.

People are basically prejudiced. They will hire their own kind when it comes to getting a job. Those who are in a position to do the hiring hire those of similar ethnic and religious origin. It was perhaps best summed up by a Finance Officer who returned to this theme several times in describing the senior levels of government in the national capital:

It is very much an in-group. I am thinking in particular of the French here — they find it difficult to break into. The people who matter unconsciously see a man who doesn't quite fit in when they see a Frenchman.

On a more pragmatic level, but equally important, there was a recognition of the practical difficulties the Francophone actually meets within his work situation—working in a second language:

Much more attention has been given to the fact that a person working in a language other than his own has innate difficulties . . . you begin to realize very clearly that this is a real problem.

Second and less easy to illustrate with a single quotation, some Anglophones were aware of the problem of working in an alien cultural environment.

Perceiving the problems, the sympathetic respondent was willing and often eager to act in a constructive way towards eliminating them. Perhaps because the problem was originally seen as large in scope and complexity, there was a definite sense of responsibility towards it—at times an almost frenzied desire that something be done:

I think the goal of bilingualism and biculturalism—my God!—I think it must be achieved, and achieved in some degree. I have been thinking, it is not that we should, it is that we have to.

This sense of responsibility was the result of a rational and open recognition of what one Finance Officer described as the "political reality of the time." Of those who were sympathetic, 25 per cent regarded the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism as a challenge to be met. One Administrative Officer in National Revenue put it this way:

The fact is that the English people have been educated to the fact that there are going to be two languages recognized in Canada. And whether they are in favour of it or not they have gone along. . . . They are all quite willing to take the French course and want to get it as soon as possible.

But it was not simply the willingness to improve the level of bilingualism that was important. Other points were also taken into account. This Personnel Officer in Agriculture typified the support given increased Francophone participation:

In this department it has made everyone more conscious of the desirability of encouraging French-speaking people within the department and it has made the department more aware of the desirability of recruiting French-speaking people, with the necessity of providing an accommodative environment for them. . . . Many people will react with a lot of resentment towards any changes made. . . yet, at the same time, gains the French-speaking people will make in terms of career opportunities may be worth whatever resentment is created. It might not be too high a price to pay.

It would seem that the sympathetic respondent was willing to take into account many aspects of the situation, and to attempt to judge these unemotionally. He might perhaps be best described as ready to agree that "if this country is going to survive in a useful way it can't without making changes." And, to refer again to a previous point, it is unlikely that, having accepted this position, he would retract his sympathy easily.

3. Sympathy with reservations

Not all sympathetic respondents were as openly sympathetic as those described in the previous section. The expression of sympathy can take other forms. Two of the most common of these will be briefly discussed here. They serve to add yet another dimension to the nature of Anglophone attitudes and they also point to a potentially important line between ultimate acceptance or rejection of the Francophone demands.⁹

a. Sympathy only so far

A number of respondents felt that, while they were generally sympathetic, nevertheless there were dangers inherent in the Francophone demands or in their accommodation, which they could not ignore. These revolved in particular about the implications of linguistic or cultural representation *per se*, if in fact this should ever become the case. The objections were common and will be described here only briefly to illustrate their expression in public servants' thinking.

There was a general concern, for example, throughout a large area of the Public Service that the ability to speak both French and English might take precedence over "the individual and his own abilities." Among those who were otherwise sympathetic this worry frequently took the form of concern for the internal standards of the Public Service. Those with reservations about the special emphasis on French referred to the necessity of recruiting new entrants from as wide an area as possible; they could not accept, on a philosophical basis, any limitations upon this. An extensive quotation from a Finance Officer serves to illustrate this point:

The emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service is a highly desirable one in terms of two things: making French-Canadian people feel at home in the Public Service. . . [and] adding a deeper awareness of the thinking and problems of Quebec to government attitudes and policy. . . . I'm also very much aware of the antagonisms which are encountered at the idea of establishing a formal requirement of French for joining the Public Service . . . I think there are probably grave risks of reducing the general effectiveness and efficiency of the Public Service by an excessive emphasis on "formal French language requirements."

I see the advantage of giving preference to English-speaking Canadians who do speak French rather than those who don't as being advantageous in terms of their contribution towards making French-speaking people feel more at home in the Civil Service. But what I am aware of, coming from the West, is that unless handled rather delicately and carefully this formal French requirement can work a considerable injustice with subsequent disadvantages. . . . Opportunities to be fluent in French are very often limited and it is difficult to feel that ruling such people out (those without French) as candidates for the Civil Service is particularly desirable. I'm particularly conscious of this for people who haven't had the opportunity to study French.

This theme was especially characteristic of the department of Agriculture. Here a very high standard of scientific excellence is demanded, and scientists feared that any imposition of linguistic standards or ethnic representation would jeopardize their style of work. They felt that as yet the French-language education system was not producing scientists with comparable qualifications.¹⁰ One Research Director summed this feeling up. It is a theme he stressed repeatedly.

There aren't any [French Canadians in this division]. This disturbs me a bit. It means that the competition just isn't there. And until we get them—and we will—there will be no effect except that applied from above. And then that will be disastrous. It would be so easy to get the wrong people. . . . I am aware of the possibility that the politicians might find it necessary. I still think that it would be disastrous.

The point to be drawn from these descriptions is that, if the warnings are heeded and the reservations thus demonstrated to be unnecessary, a pool of sympathy existed that had not previously been taken into account. The ranks of the completely sympathetic could be greatly augmented.

b. The French-speaking public

The second form of sympathy with which we are concerned is more subtle and perhaps ultimately more important. It was directed towards French Canada and in particular towards the Francophone public, but seemingly disregarded those Francophones actually working within the Public Service.

This attitude seemed to result from an inability to perceive any problem in French-English relations within the work situation. Concentrating almost exclusively upon the language used to serve the public, a significant number of respondents hinted, if they did not say openly, that while it would be "nice" to speak French at work, it was in practice unnecessary. They claimed that all the Francophones with whom they came into contact in the Public Service spoke English.¹¹ The only situations in which they could conceive of a necessity to be bilingual were those involving negotiations with a unilingual Francophone client. Of the five departments, Agriculture again provided the best examples of this attitude. It and the Patent Office saw themselves as independent, isolated units with English as their obligatory language. Two Research Scientists put it this way:

I think myself all those who deal with the public in the Federal government should be able to manage the other language. We in Research are not in contact with the public and don't necessarily need to be bilingual.

I would think [the recent emphasis] has had very little [effect], primarily because our objective is research. We have very little contact with the public.

But within Agriculture there was also a certain amount of pride in the fact that any negotiations in Quebec which involved the Francophone public there were conducted in French through a bilingual district office. These offices, staffed very largely by Francophones, then reported to headquarters in English.¹² It is here that the paradoxical quality of this particular form of sympathy is best illustrated.

D. A Note on Apathy

Thirty per cent of the Anglophones interviewed appeared apathetic about the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism. Although this number may be artificially high and if they had been asked specifically how they felt, some of these respondents might have proved strongly sympathetic or hostile, it is obvious that a very significant percentage of public servants had given very little thought indeed to the question. It was not that they had taken a neutral

stance: they were not interested. One Fire Protection Engineer in Public Works expressed more explicitly than most, but nevertheless in a tone that was not uncharacteristic, the importance attached to the problem.

I've always been far more interested in the world at large than

I am in bilingualism and biculturalism.

It must be admitted that in many cases even "the world at large" did not enter the competition for attention.

As apathy does appear so widely throughout the Public Service, it will be useful very briefly to examine the apathetic persons more closely. Apathy's chief importance lies in its potentiality to be come translated into either sympathy or hostility.

The emphasis once again is placed upon bilingualism. Thirty-seven per cent of those who expected to be totally unaffected by any bilingual measures, but only 13 per cent of those who feel they might be affected, were apathetic.¹³ It is interesting in the light of this to find that, of the major occupational groups, the Patent Examiners, engineers in Public Works, and the professional or technical employees of National Revenue showed the highest percentage of apathy. These are men with technical or university training in a specialized subject; as a result of this they felt isolated to a certain extent from the considerations of bilingualism. Thus a Patent Examiner stated:

There is no necessity to introduce bilingual qualifications in this office. There may be need for the odd person to work in French, but only part-time. There isn't enough work for a full-time person in French.

He was echoed by a Research Scientist in Agriculture:

I feel that English is pretty much the scientific language.

. . . I doubt that there will be a change.

Apathy is in fact especially a phenomenon of the Patent Office: 48 per cent of the Patent Examiners appeared to be disinterested either in what was happening or in what was likely to happen as a result of the emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism. One, a Patent Examiner 3, typically arguing from his own work unit to a generalization about the whole Public Service, summed up the general atmosphere:

I can't get too excited about this. It's not really practical for the Civil Service.

The question remains: which way would those who were now apathetic turn if it was demonstrated to them that even in their "little place" bilingualism and biculturalism was "practical?" Given the findings of the previous sections, it is unlikely that they would remain either uninterested or uncommitted.

One hint is provided by the fact that the apathetic tended to feel that any talk of bilingualism and biculturalism was no more than a passing fad. To our question of what effects they expected in the Public Service as a result of the bilingual-bicultural emphasis, only 15 per cent of the respondents in our sample replied directly that

they expected none. But the impression gained from reading the interviews would suggest that this is an artificially low figure. Many more respondents offered an obvious guess without conviction and several more couched their answer in terms of a process of "levelling out." The tone of their answers indicated that substantial numbers held the view that nothing much would come out of the French ferment.

This lack of conviction was primarily the result of what can best be described as a strictly utilitarian interpretation of the situation. The Francophone demands might well be met with sympathy, but in realistic terms they were seen as impractical. One Finance Officer put it this way:

It is certainly desirable if as large a percentage as possible are bilingual. But the recent hope of making the civil service bilingual is unrealistic. It may be one day, but not for a long time.

The point of importance here is that the level of expectation and support for any measures to meet the French-Canadian demands was quite low. Thus, the apathetic persons could be expected to be rather disenchanted if bilingual or bicultural measures were introduced.

E. Summary Remarks

In this chapter we have described both *who* expressed sympathy or hostility to the implementation of bilingual-bicultural measures in the federal administration and *how* it was expressed. Those at mid-career in the middle level who were strongly against bilingualism were highly likely to have one or more of the following characteristics: they were older (in our study, between 36 and 45), raised in Quebec or the Maritimes, born near the bottom of the social hierarchy; they were lacking a university degree, had completed a medium length (6-14 years) of government service, were in an engineering-architectural area or were supervisors in a technical field, they had joined the government for the benefits offered, or were employees in work units where using French was a visible asset. When a person had several of these features, he was much more likely to be hostile. Sympathy, on the other hand, was more strongly rooted among those who grew up in Ontario outside of Ottawa, spent their early years in large cities, possessed university degrees, joined the Public Service because of their interest in the work going on there, were in work areas where policy and research predominated, belonged to a variety of clubs or associations outside work, and were located in units where Francophones were not visible competitors. Again, individuals with several of these characteristics were more likely to have a sympathetic attitude.

Hostility within the Public Service setting seemed to be largely an outcome of personal fears about one's future career. The hostile person was particularly aroused by the "threat of bilingualism"—which

he invariably felt was unnecessary—and by the unfair advantage any implementation of language policy would give to Francophones. Sympathy, in complete contrast, was primarily the result of an attempt to view the situation in a larger perspective, from the Francophone rather than Anglophone point of view, or to see the possible advantages to Canada rather than injustice to the Anglophones. The sympathetic respondent was as much concerned with encouraging French-Canadian culture and its expression in the Public Service as with guaranteeing linguistic rights.

Les questions permettant de mesurer les réactions optimistes ou pessimistes des francophones aux promesses du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme étaient les mêmes qu'en anglais*. Cependant, au cours de ces diverses rencontres, les informateurs ont souvent précisé et développé leurs opinions, que ce soit à propos du système de promotion, du déroulement de la carrière fédérale, du contentement dans le travail ou des activités sociales. Aussi nous sommes-nous référés à l'ensemble de l'interview pour évaluer et codifier les attitudes vis-à-vis du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme.

Il est important de noter que le champ des attitudes des francophones diffère de celui des anglophones (étudié au chapitre XIX). Il est vite apparu, à l'analyse préliminaire des réponses, que ces derniers exprimaient, souvent en termes personnels, des attitudes allant de la sympathie à l'hostilité à propos de l'idée du bilinguisme dans la fonction publique fédérale et de la reconnaissance effective du français comme langue de travail; les francophones, pour leur part, faisaient le plus souvent une évaluation optimiste ou pessimiste du processus de changement amorcé dans la langue de travail, mais ils introduisaient l'élément biculturel, réagissaient dans bien des cas en termes collectifs plutôt qu'individuels, mettaient en évidence leur appartenance au groupe canadien-français, ou encore débordaient le sujet en rattachant leurs observations à la situation politico-sociale canadienne.

L'étude des attitudes des francophones présente une double importance car elle permet de voir en quoi ceux-ci se rapprochent ou diffèrent des anglophones en ce qui a trait à leur statut ou à celui de la langue française dans la fonction publique fédérale, et la diversité de leurs attitudes donne des indices stratégiques sur la façon dont seront acceptées les recommandations de la Commission royale

* L'importance accordée depuis peu au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme a-t-elle eu un effet sur la situation respective des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais au sein de ce ministère (Q. 57) ? Quelle influence, selon vous, cela aura-t-il dans l'avenir, dans la fonction publique fédérale (Q. 58) ?

d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Ceux qui sont optimistes et satisfaits de la situation linguistique actuelle seront sans doute plus motivés à rester au service de l'administration fédérale; quant aux pessimistes ils attendront que des changements qu'ils espèrent rapides et profonds interviennent. À travers leurs réactions, nous rejoignons les vues de ceux qui ont laissé la fonction publique ou hésitent à y entrer pour des raisons linguistiques et culturelles, et la rapidité ou la lenteur des changements attendus pourrait modifier les vues de ceux qui adoptent des attitudes mixtes.

Après avoir réparti sur une échelle optimisme-pessimisme les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire, nous pourrions savoir « lesquels » sont optimistes et « lesquels » sont pessimistes en étudiant les relations entre ces attitudes et certaines caractéristiques sociales, professionnelles ou culturelles. Nous expliciterons plus loin sur quoi se fondent l'optimisme, les attitudes mixtes et le pessimisme et en présenterons des expressions-types.

Importance relative des attitudes optimistes et pessimistes

Au tableau n° 20.1 les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire sont répartis sur une échelle d'optimisme décroissant « quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale » selon les catégories suivantes : attitudes fortement optimistes, modérément optimistes, mixtes, modérément pessimistes, fortement pessimistes, chacune de ces catégories étant sommairement explicitée.

On voit que les attitudes optimistes ou pessimistes ainsi classifiées ne se répartissent pas également; l'optimisme fort ou modéré est au total le fait d'une proportion plus forte de fonctionnaires que le pessimisme fort ou modéré : 39 % contre 28 %. Les attitudes mixtes occupent pour leur part une place relativement importante avec 23 %. Le rapport est du simple au double entre ceux qui s'affirment fortement pessimistes et ceux qui s'affirment fortement optimistes, et les attitudes modérées sont deux fois plus fréquentes que les attitudes extrêmes ou les attitudes dites mixtes. On note en outre que 9 % des fonctionnaires ne se préoccupent aucunement des questions linguistiques ou culturelles au sein de la fonction publique fédérale (le tableau n° 19.1 indiquait une proportion trois fois plus élevée chez les anglophones).

A. Quelques variations spécifiques des attitudes optimistes et pessimistes

Qui est optimiste ? Qui est pessimiste ? Répondre à ces questions, c'est étudier les relations entre, d'une part, diverses variables que nous avons jusqu'ici traitées dans l'étude des carrières et, d'autre part, les réactions des francophones quant aux promesses du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale. Sans

pouvoir établir des relations de cause à effet entre ces variables et ces réactions proprement dites, il est néanmoins possible de déterminer s'il y a ou non association et de poser certaines hypothèses pour expliquer les diverses associations observées.

On peut regrouper sous trois chefs les variables que nous avons considérées et reliées aux attitudes des francophones : d'abord, certaines caractéristiques non professionnelles; ensuite, nombre de variables non linguistiques ou culturelles rattachées au déroulement de la carrière dans la fonction publique fédérale; enfin, quelques variables linguistiques ou culturelles.

Tableau 20.1

Attitude* des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale (%)

16,4	1. Fortement optimiste : L'informateur est généralement optimiste et croit que la situation tant de la langue française que des Canadiens français dans la fonction publique fédérale s'améliore. Il est d'avis également que les Canadiens anglais font des efforts réels pour l'améliorer ou la corriger.
22,7	2. Modérément optimiste : L'informateur croit pouvoir déceler des indications d'une amélioration de la situation et pense qu'elle va « probablement » s'améliorer.
23,4	3. Attitude mixte : L'informateur croit que la situation n'a pas été favorable aux francophones dans le passé, mais il perçoit certains signes mineurs de changements.
20,3	4. Modérément pessimiste : L'informateur est plutôt pessimiste, mais exprime son sentiment d'une manière peu accentuée.
7,8	5. Fortement pessimiste : L'informateur est franchement pessimiste et l'exprime avec force.
9,4	6. Indifférence : L'informateur n'est pas préoccupé par ces questions ou n'a aucune opinion à ce sujet.
100,0	Total
128	N

* Dans les tableaux suivants, les catégories 1 et 2 représentent les « attitudes optimistes » et les catégories 3 et 4 les « attitudes pessimistes ».

1. Caractéristiques non professionnelles

Dans cette section, nous verrons en quoi l'âge, la région d'origine, l'origine sociale et le niveau d'instruction différencient l'expression des réactions optimistes ou pessimistes. D'autres variables non professionnelles (importance de la ville d'origine, mobilité sociale, sexe, état civil) ne différencient pas les attitudes optimistes et pessimistes ou n'apparaissent pas ici pertinentes.

a. L'âge

À l'examen du tableau n° 20.2, il apparaît assez nettement que l'ampleur des réactions, qu'elles soient optimistes ou pessimistes, varie selon l'âge, diminuant avec les années pour les premières — on est plus optimiste au-dessous de 30 ans (50 %) qu'entre 41 à 45 ans (34 %) — et augmentant, bien que la tendance ne soit pas clairement établie d'un groupe d'âge à l'autre, pour les secondes : on est moins pessimiste entre 25 et 35 ans (21 %) qu'entre 36 et 45 ans (33 %). Les jeunes francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire expriment plus que leurs aînés l'espoir de voir s'effectuer des changements dans les modèles linguistiques et culturels en usage depuis longtemps dans l'administration fédérale. Cette différenciation est peut-être à rapprocher d'une différenciation selon l'ancienneté. Nous y reviendrons plus loin.

b. Région d'origine

La région d'origine différencie les attitudes : 44 % des francophones originaires de la région Ottawa-Hull sont optimistes, contre 34 % chez les Québécois (tableau no 20.3). Il faut sans doute voir dans cet écart l'expression des exigences et des attentes plus grandes chez les Québécois, en même temps qu'une insatisfaction plus prononcée.

Tableau 20.2

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la classe d'âge

Classe d'âge	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
25 - 30	16	50,1	18,8
31 - 35	36	41,7	22,3
36 - 40	38	36,8	36,9
41 - 45	38	34,3	29,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Tableau 20.3

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la région d'origine

Région d'origine	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Ottawa et Hull	55	43,7	25,5
Province de Québec (Hull exclu)	47	34,1	29,8
Autres provinces et autres pays	26	38,4	26,9
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

c. Origine sociale

L'origine sociale différencie indubitablement l'importance des réactions optimistes et pessimistes (tableau n° 20,4). Les fonctionnaires issus de la classe moyenne sont les plus optimistes (50 %) en même temps que les moins pessimistes (17 %); ceux qui viennent des milieux ouvrier et agricole sont au total un peu moins optimistes (38 %) et un peu plus pessimistes (30 %); enfin, c'est parmi les francophones issus de la classe bourgeoise que l'optimisme est le moins répandu (24 %) et le pessimisme le plus (40 %).

Les variations d'un groupe à l'autre sont assez importantes pour ne pas être le fait du hasard, mais il nous semble néanmoins difficile de formuler des hypothèses valables permettant d'expliquer ces relations statistiques.

Prenons le cas des fonctionnaires issus de la classe bourgeoise, seul groupe qui manifeste des attitudes plus pessimistes qu'optimistes. Pour eux, la fonction publique fédérale n'est pas un canal de mobilité sociale ascendante, et ce ne sont pas d'éventuels changements de modèles linguistiques dans leur ministère qui leur permettront de s'élever beaucoup au-dessus de leur niveau social d'origine, alors que les autres groupes déjà en mobilité ascendante tireraient certainement profit d'une reconnaissance du fait français. On peut penser aussi que l'élite francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire, plus consciente du jeu des forces en présence, « voit » davantage de problèmes dans la fonction publique fédérale et craint qu'ils ne viennent faire obstacle aux changements souhaités.

d. Niveau d'instruction

Il existe une relation certaine entre le niveau d'instruction et la fréquence avec laquelle les francophones se disent pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. Plus on est instruit, plus on risque d'être pessimiste, ce que démontre clairement le tableau n° 20.5 : les fonctionnaires qui possèdent deux diplômes universitaires ou plus (deuxième ou troisième cycle) sont deux fois plus

nombreux que ceux qui n'en ont pas à adopter des attitudes pessimistes; ceux qui ne possèdent qu'un diplôme du premier cycle se situent entre ces deux groupes.

Nous ne croyons pas que l'instruction puisse à elle seule expliquer la montée pessimiste chez les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire. Elle ne le peut qu'en conjugaison avec d'autres variables rattachées au déroulement de la carrière francophone dans la fonction publique fédérale.

Tableau 20.4

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'origine sociale

Origine sociale	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Bourgeoisie	26	24,0	40,0
Classe moyenne	39	50,0	17,0
Milieu ouvrier	51	35,3	31,4
Milieu agricole	12	50,0	25,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Tableau 20.5

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le niveau d'instruction

Niveau d'instruction	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Sans diplôme universitaire	46	43,5	19,5
Un diplôme universitaire (du 1 ^{er} cycle)	47	34,1	27,7
Au moins deux diplômes universitaires (2 ^e ou 3 ^e cycle)	35	40,0	40,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

2. La carrière dans la fonction publique fédérale

Les caractéristiques professionnelles peuvent aussi différencier les réactions des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire. Les antécédents professionnels, l'ancienneté, les motifs d'entrée et l'attachement à la fonction publique fédérale, le milieu de travail ou le ministère, le groupe de spécialisations, le niveau de traitement, sont autant de caractéristiques dont nous étudierons maintenant l'effet sur les attitudes, optimistes ou pessimistes, de divers groupes de francophones.

a. Antécédents professionnels et ancienneté

L'âge au moment où l'on entre dans la fonction publique et le degré de discontinuité de la carrière avant d'y entrer ne semblent pas différencier les attitudes des francophones selon des modèles très cohérents. Pour ce qui est de l'âge, on notera au tableau n° 20.6 deux résultats apparemment non reliés entre eux : les francophones les moins âgés au début de leur carrière fédérale sont plus souvent optimistes (44 % au-dessous de 25 ans), et ceux dont l'âge variait de 25 à 29 ans plus souvent pessimistes (36 %). Par ailleurs, la relation entre le degré de discontinuité de la carrière et la répartition des attitudes établie au tableau n° 20.7 fait apparaître certaines tendances : les fonctionnaires qui ont commencé leur vie professionnelle à la fonction publique manifestent aujourd'hui plus d'optimisme quant au sort réservé au fait français dans l'administration fédérale que ceux qui auraient changé d'emploi à une ou plusieurs reprises, ou auraient connu auparavant une certaine mobilité géographique; les francophones, peu nombreux d'ailleurs, qui ont connu une forte mobilité occupationnelle ou géographique, diffèrent des autres francophones en ce sens qu'ils n'adoptent presque jamais d'attitudes pessimistes (8 %) et sont deux fois plus nombreux à adopter des attitudes mixtes.

Tableau 20.6

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'âge à l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale

Âge à l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Moins de 25 ans	53	43,5	24,6
25-29 ans	39	38,7	35,9
30-34 ans	23	30,4	26,0
35 ans et plus	13	38,5	23,1
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Tableau 20.7

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la discontinuité de la carrière avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale

Discontinuité de la carrière avant l'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes	Attitudes mixtes
Entrée directe à la fonction publique (sans antécédents professionnels)	52	42,3	30,8	21,2
Faible discontinuité	64	37,6	29,4	21,9
Forte discontinuité	12	33,3	8,3	41,7
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1	23,4

L'ancienneté différencie uniquement l'importance des attitudes pessimistes. Les francophones qui comptent peu d'années de service sont les moins pessimistes, puisque seulement 19 % d'entre eux ne croient pas à l'avenir du fait français dans la fonction publique contre 31 % chez les fonctionnaires plus anciens (tableau no 20.8), ce résultat renforçant sans doute la relation déjà observée entre l'âge et la montée du pessimisme ou la baisse de l'optimisme (tableau n° 20.2).

Tableau 20.8

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'ancienneté

Ancienneté	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Moins de 6 ans	36	38,9	19,4
6-14 ans	63	39,7	31,8
15 ans et plus	29	37,2	31,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

b. Groupe de spécialisations

Voyons maintenant en quoi le genre de profession peut être lié à certaines différenciations des attitudes optimistes ou pessimistes. Une première approche avec le groupe général de spécialisations—le groupe A—nous permet d'isoler deux groupes au tableau n° 20.9 : celui des techniciens et quasi-spécialistes qui adoptent des attitudes optimistes dans une proportion supérieure à la moyenne (44 %) et celui des spécialistes et scientifiques dont les membres sont en moyenne deux fois plus nombreux que les autres à se dire pessimistes.

Tableau 20.9

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations A

Groupe de spécialisations A	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Spécialistes et scientifiques	43	37,2	41,9
Techniciens et quasi-spécialistes	54	44,4	20,4
Administrateurs	31	32,3	22,6
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Une précision intéressante apparaît lorsqu'on tient compte de la catégorie de fonctionnaires dont les spécialisations sont dites hybrides. Ces francophones ont une formation de « purs » spécialistes et scientifiques ou de « purs » techniciens et quasi-spécialistes, et remplissent maintenant, dans les domaines de leurs spécialisations originales, des fonctions administratives adaptées à l'administration fédérale. Ils sont majoritairement optimistes (52 %), différant en cela des autres groupes d'une façon significative. Dans cette nouvelle typologie des groupes de spécialisations—groupe C—obtenue par l'introduction de la catégorie « hybrides », le groupe des spécialistes et scientifiques se différencie des trois autres par son pessimisme plus étendu (tableau n° 20.10). L'optimisme élevé du groupe « hybrides » serait donc surtout le fait des francophones possédant une formation de techniciens ou de quasi-spécialistes.

c. Statut et traitement

Si l'on examine la relation entre l'expression de l'optimisme ou du pessimisme et le groupe ayant des spécialisations plus raffinées—groupe B—on obtient des résultats assez nets. Ce sont les cadres moyens et inférieurs qui sont les plus optimistes (50 %) et les hauts

Tableau 20.10

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations C

Groupe de spécialisations C	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Spécialistes et scientifiques	30	36,7	43,3
Techniciens et quasi-spécialistes	34	35,3	20,6
Hybrides	33	51,5	27,0
Administrateurs	31	32,3	22,6
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

fonctionnaires et les ingénieurs qui le sont le moins (respectivement 18 et 25 %), les scientifiques, les traducteurs, les autres spécialistes et quasi-techniciens et les techniciens se situant entre ces deux extrêmes (36 à 40 %). L'image qu'offre l'importance des attitudes pessimistes n'est pas exactement l'inverse (tableau n° 20.11) : les scientifiques sont relativement les plus nombreux à les adopter (57 %) devant les ingénieurs (33 %) et les francophones des divers autres groupes (17 à 25 %).

En somme, ce sont les francophones occupant à l'échelon intermédiaire les postes élevés et prestigieux, où prédominent le travail de création et l'esprit d'initiative, qui présentent le moins de réactions optimistes ou doutent que le caractère anglais de la fonction publique fédérale puisse vraiment changer. Par contre, ceux qui se situent au bas ou au milieu de l'échelon intermédiaire entrevoient d'un bon oeil les changements amorcés dans la langue de travail ou dans la mentalité des anglophones quant au fait français.

L'élévation du statut des francophones au sein de l'organisation coïnciderait donc avec une conscience plus aiguë des problèmes d'ordre culturel et de leur difficile résolution. Cette hypothèse semble être corroborée par l'effet qu'a le traitement sur les attitudes : 26 % des francophones gagnant annuellement moins de \$ 9 000 adoptent des attitudes pessimistes contre 33 % chez ceux qui gagnent \$ 9 000 ou plus. Si l'on raffine les catégories de niveau de traitement, on note toutefois que ceux, peu nombreux, qui gagnent \$ 10 000 ou plus sont fort peu pessimistes (tableau n° 20.12). L'hypothèse d'une plus grande insatisfaction chez les francophones qui occupent un rang élevé dans l'échelon intermédiaire est également confirmée par la relation positive déjà notée entre l'instruction et le développement des attitudes pessimistes (tableau n° 20.5).

Tableau 20.11

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le groupe de spécialisations B

Groupe de spécialisations B	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Scientifiques	14	35,7	57,2
Ingénieurs	12	25,0	33,3
Traducteurs	23	39,1	17,0
Autres spécialistes et quasi-spécialistes	28	39,5	21,1
Techniciens	18	38,9	22,2
Hauts fonctionnaires	17	17,7	23,5
Cadres moyens et inférieurs	16	50,1	24,9
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Tableau 20.12

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le traitement

Traitement	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
\$ 6 200 - \$ 8 999	95	40,0	26,3
\$ 9 000 et plus	33	36,4	33,4
\$ 6 200 - \$ 7 999	62	43,6	22,6
\$ 8 000 - \$ 9 999	54	23,4	37,0
\$ 10 000 et plus	12	41,7	16,7
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

d. Ministères

Les francophones n'affichent pas les mêmes attitudes dans tous les ministères, et le tableau n° 20.13 rapporte la fréquence des attitudes tant optimistes que pessimistes dans chacun d'eux. Pour l'optimisme, le Revenu national (Impôt) vient en tête (52 %); suivent, dans l'ordre, les Travaux publics (39 %), le Secrétariat d'État (36 %) et l'Agriculture (32 %). Pour le pessimisme, les résultats ne sont pas nécessairement inverses, car les attitudes mixtes ne se répartissent pas également. C'est à l'Agriculture que les francophones sont le plus pessimistes (43 %); au Secrétariat d'État, au Revenu national et aux Travaux publics, ils le sont beaucoup moins (respectivement 30, 27 et 18 %). Ces différences tiennent sûrement au fait que les ministères regroupent au sein de l'organisation fédérale des spécialisations bien définies et des fonctionnaires assez identifiables du point de vue traitement, instruction ou statut.

Tableau 20.13

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon certains groupes de spécialisations à l'intérieur des ministères

Ministère et groupe de spécialisations	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes mixtes	Attitudes pessimistes	Indiffé- rence
<i>Secrétariat d'État</i>	33	36,4	24,2	30,3	9,1
Examineurs de brevet	7	1	1	5	0
Traducteurs	23	39,1	30,4	17,4	13,1
<i>Finances</i>	6	1	4	0	1
<i>Agriculture</i>	28	32,1	21,4	42,9	3,6
Scientifiques	13	38,4	0,0	61,6	0,0
Autres spécia- listes, admi- nistrateurs	12	33,4	33,4	25,0	8,2
<i>Revenu national</i> (Impôt)	33	51,5	9,1	27,2	12,2
Spécialistes	18	55,6	11,1	22,2	11,1
Administrateurs	15	46,6	6,7	33,4	13,3
<i>Travaux publics</i>	28	39,3	32,1	17,9	10,7
Spécialistes	9	1	4	3	1
Techniciens	8	4	2	0	2
Administrateurs	11	54,6	27,2	18,2	0,0

Au Secrétariat d'État, deux groupes de francophones adoptent des attitudes différentes. Les examinateurs de brevet, isolés dans un milieu de travail spécialisé complètement anglophone, lequel, selon eux, ne semble pas devoir changer, sont majoritairement pessimistes (cinq sur sept). Par ailleurs, les traducteurs, qui forment une importante enclave francophone au sein du département, présentent une image bien différente : 17 % seulement manifestent des attitudes pessimistes, 30 % des attitudes mixtes, et 39 % des attitudes optimistes. Ces derniers, tout en adoptant un comportement critique vis-à-vis des changements en cours, entrevoient une plus large reconnaissance de leurs qualifications et un brillant avenir au sein de la fonction publique.

Aux Finances, bien qu'on ne puisse pour autant en tirer des conclusions définitives, on note que quatre francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire sur six manifestent des attitudes mixtes.

C'est à l'Agriculture que le pessimisme est, au total, le plus largement représenté, avec 43 %. Il faut voir là l'impact des attitudes du personnel scientifique lequel constitue 46 % de l'échantillon francophone de ce ministère et dont les attitudes sont fortement ou modérément pessimistes dans une proportion de 62 %, optimistes dans une proportion de 38 %. Les administrateurs, les spécialistes d'un niveau moins élevé et le personnel « hybride », fortement représentés dans la catégorie des attitudes mixtes, manifestent à peu près également pessimisme et optimisme. On a vu, au chapitre XIII, l'expression d'attitudes pessimistes caractéristiques.

Aux Travaux publics, les spécialistes francophones les mieux placés — ingénieurs et architectes — forment un petit groupe particulièrement pessimiste, alors que plus de la moitié des administrateurs et des techniciens sont optimistes.

Comment expliquer que les scientifiques ou les spécialistes les plus en vue d'une part, et les administrateurs d'autre part, aient en commun, dans ces deux ministères, les premiers, le pessimisme, les seconds, l'optimisme ? Le travail s'y effectue presque exclusivement en anglais, du moins pour ce qui concerne l'échelon intermédiaire ou-taouais, et c'est, au dire de certains informateurs de langue française, au ministère de l'Agriculture que les préjugés à l'égard des francophones seraient manifestement les plus défavorables. Les spécialistes importants et les scientifiques francophones de ces ministères venant surtout du Québec (Hull exclu) et les administrateurs francophones plutôt des autres provinces ou de la région Ottawa-Hull, n'aurions-nous pas là les premiers éléments d'une explication ? Sachant, par ailleurs, que les premiers sont généralement moins attachés que les seconds à l'organisation pour laquelle ils travaillent, on peut, en toute vraisemblance, proposer les deux modèles suivants : le spécialiste ou le scientifique francophone québécois, attaché à l'exercice de sa spécialité plutôt qu'à son employeur, ne craindrait

pas de s'affirmer plus critique et plus exigeant vis-à-vis de son organisation, tout en restant cependant conscient de l'ampleur des changements à effectuer, voire même de l'impossibilité de les réaliser; l'administrateur francophone qui est formé en dehors du Québec et fortement attaché à l'administration fédérale, entretiendrait de meilleurs espoirs quant à la reconnaissance graduelle mais effective du français comme langue de travail et à la réduction des frictions culturelles ou linguistiques, changements à la réalisation desquels il serait plus à même de contribuer dans l'exercice normal de ses fonctions.

Au Revenu national (Impôt), le climat général d'optimisme se reflète tant chez les spécialistes que chez les techniciens, avec cette nuance toutefois que les premiers semblent être plus optimistes que les seconds, et ceux-ci plus pessimistes que les premiers. L'attitude des spécialistes est ici bien particulière car, de fait, ils ne ressemblent pas à ceux des autres ministères : en effet, ils détiennent rarement plus d'un diplôme universitaire; ils viennent souvent de la région outaouaise; ils ont, plus que les autres spécialistes de l'échelon intermédiaire, l'occasion de faire un usage substantiel du français au travail; leur ministère devant servir une clientèle francophone, leur nombre est appelé à augmenter. Tous ces facteurs, pris isolément ou liés entre eux, expliqueraient l'ampleur de l'optimisme manifesté dans ce ministère par les francophones.

e. Motifs d'entrée dans la fonction publique et attachement à celle-ci

Si l'ampleur des attitudes optimistes et pessimistes varie d'un groupe de spécialisations à l'autre ou en fonction du statut occupé au sein de l'organisation fédérale, peut-être varie-t-elle aussi selon la conception que l'on avait de la fonction publique en y entrant et le degré d'attachement qu'on lui porte.

Pour ce qui concerne les motifs d'entrée à la fonction publique fédérale, il semble, à l'observation du tableau n° 20.14, que les francophones intéressés par les avantages professionnels seraient un peu plus optimistes que ceux attirés plutôt par des avantages personnels; si faible qu'elle soit, cette tendance nous apparaît difficilement explicable.

Entre le degré d'attachement à la fonction publique fédérale et l'expression des attitudes ou des réactions quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, la relation est assez nette : à une baisse de l'attachement à la fonction publique va correspondre une fréquence moins élevée des attitudes optimistes et plus élevée des attitudes pessimistes. En effet, si l'on s'en tient aux attitudes opposées, on note que la moitié des francophones attachés sans réserves à la fonction publique envisagent avec optimisme l'avenir de la langue française ou des relations linguistiques et culturelles dans leur milieu de travail, et, parallèlement, que la moitié des francophones sans attachement particulier ou déterminés à la quitter sont sceptiques ou désespèrent de voir un jour le français reconnu

langue de travail au même titre que l'anglais, ou les Canadiens français considérés comme des partenaires égaux (tableau n° 20.15). Nous avons illustré là, de façon quantitative, deux importants réseaux d'attitudes qui polarisent la majorité des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire. La relation entre le degré d'attachement et l'optimisme ou le pessimisme va dans les deux sens : si le contentement dans le travail ou le degré d'attachement à la fonction publique fondé sur des raisons purement professionnelles peuvent donner la mesure des attentes francophones en ce qui a trait aux questions linguistiques ou culturelles, il est juste également de penser que ce qu'on attend, n'attend pas, ou n'attend plus, du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme va nécessairement conditionner le degré d'attachement à la fonction publique fédérale.

Tableau 20.14

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon les motifs d'entrée dans la fonction publique fédérale

Motifs d'entrée	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
Avantages personnels	61	36,0	27,8
Avantages professionnels	50	48,0	28,0
Autres motifs	17	23,5	39,4
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1

Tableau 20.15

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le degré d'attachement à la fonction publique fédérale

Degré d'attachement	<i>N</i>	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes mixtes	Attitudes pessimistes
Attachés sans réserves	52	50,0	21,2	17,3
Attachés avec réserves	24	35,4	29,2	29,2
Indécis	14	57,2	21,4	14,2
Sans attachement ou déterminés à la quitter	34	20,6	20,6	50,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	28,1	23,4

3. Facteurs linguistiques

Les attitudes optimistes ou pessimistes des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale peuvent-elles être différenciées par certains comportements linguistiques ou culturels ? Nous répondrons à cette question en décrivant l'incidence relative des réactions optimistes ou pessimistes selon les aptitudes linguistiques, la langue de travail et le degré d'acculturation.

a. Connaissances linguistiques

Au tableau n° 20.16, on observe que la connaissance de l'anglais n'affecte pas l'importance des attitudes optimistes mais, surtout pour ce qui concerne l'expression orale et l'expression écrite, différencie la fréquence avec laquelle les francophones vont adopter des attitudes pessimistes.

Ainsi, ceux qui jugent considérable leur habileté dans l'expression orale ou écrite de l'anglais sont beaucoup moins nombreux à se montrer pessimistes que ceux qui l'estiment « convenable » ou « limitée » (respectivement 24 contre 38 %, et 25 contre 41 %). Concernant l'habileté à lire l'anglais, on note également une forte différence dans le même sens. Étant donné l'échantillon restreint des francophones n'excellant pas dans la lecture de l'anglais, il ne faudrait toutefois pas attacher trop d'importance à cette différence.

Tableau 20.16

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon l'habileté en anglais

Habileté en anglais	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes pessimistes
<i>Compréhension écrite</i>			
Habileté considérable	116	39,7	25,9
Moins que considérable	12	33,3	50,0
<i>Compréhension orale</i>			
Habileté considérable	109	38,5	28,4
Moins que considérable	19	42,1	21,1
<i>Expression orale</i>			
Habileté considérable	88	39,8	23,9
Moins que considérable	40	47,5	37,5
<i>Expression écrite</i>			
Habileté considérable	101	39,6	24,8
Moins que considérable	27	37,0	40,7

En somme, les francophones les moins aptes à communiquer parfaitement en anglais seront plus pessimistes, et ceux qui ne sont pas d'excellents bilingues « actifs » plus nombreux à croire les changements souhaités impossibles à réaliser ou trop lents à s'effectuer. La singularité de ces francophones, pour ce qui est d'une plus forte incidence des attitudes pessimistes, est sans doute à mettre en parallèle avec leur plus faible attachement à la fonction publique (graphique n° 16.6).

b. Langue de travail

La langue de travail différencie l'incidence des attitudes optimistes et des attitudes pessimistes, ce que fait clairement ressortir le tableau n° 20.17 : en effet, seulement le quart des fonctionnaires ayant travaillé surtout en anglais au cours de leur carrière fédérale sont optimistes, contre plus de la moitié chez les francophones ayant fait un usage substantiel du français.

Tableau 20.17

Pourcentage des fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon la langue de travail au cours de la carrière fédérale

Langue de travail	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes mixtes	Attitudes pessimistes
Surtout le français	30	43,3	26,7	20,0
Autant le français que l'anglais	36	58,3	5,6	30,6
Surtout l'anglais	59	25,4	30,5	32,2
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	23,4	28,1

c. Acculturation

Si l'exposition prononcée à l'anglais au cours de la carrière fédérale — la langue de travail en est le principal indice — se trouve associée à une moins forte incidence des attitudes optimistes, il en va de même des orientations très marquées vers le monde anglophone : on note, au tableau n° 20.18, que l'incidence de l'optimisme est deux fois moins élevée chez les fonctionnaires les plus acculturés.

En résumé, les déficiences linguistiques même mineures, l'utilisation intense de l'anglais au travail et les orientations très prononcées vers le monde anglophone seraient associées à une incidence moins élevée des attitudes optimistes et à une incidence plus élevée des attitudes mixtes; l'incidence des attitudes pessimistes ne serait pas différenciée.

Tableau 20.18

Pourcentage des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire optimistes ou pessimistes quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale, selon le degré d'acculturation

Degré d'acculturation*	N	Attitudes optimistes	Attitudes mixtes	Attitudes pessimistes
Très faible	54	42,6	25,9	27,8
Moyennement faible	35	40,0	17,1	34,3
Moyen	23	43,4	17,4	21,7
Élevé	16	18,8	37,5	25,0
Échelon intermédiaire francophone	128	39,1	23,4	28,1

*Indice regroupant les quatre indicateurs suivants : origine ethnique du conjoint, origine ethnique des trois meilleurs amis, langue de l'école fréquentée par les enfants, langue du quartier.

B. Les formes des attitudes optimistes

Les groupes de fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire les plus susceptibles d'être optimistes « quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale » pouvant maintenant être identifiés, nous allons décrire les principales formes et les expressions-types de ces attitudes dites optimistes pour, ensuite, passer aux attitudes mixtes et aux attitudes pessimistes.

Quatre francophones sur 10 adoptent des attitudes fortement optimistes ou modérément optimistes. Les principaux thèmes retrouvés dans ces réactions concernent l'augmentation des possibilités d'avancement, les dispositions nouvelles des anglophones envers la langue française et les Canadiens français, et la perception, chez les francophones, d'une amélioration très sensible de leur statut dans la fonction publique ou au sein de la communauté canadienne. Les informateurs n'ont pas toujours développé l'un ou l'autre de ces thèmes pris isolément, mais assez souvent intégré dans leurs vues divers sujets connexes.

a. Meilleures possibilités d'avancement

Plusieurs fonctionnaires se disent optimistes, car les perspectives d'avenir quant aux chances d'avancement des Canadiens français (bilingues) leur apparaissent excellentes. Un enquêteur du Revenu national, au service du ministère depuis douze ans, s'exprime en ces termes :

Ça augmente mes chances d'avancement car on exigera de plus en plus de bilingues ici au bureau-chef et dans les bureaux, surtout de la province de Québec. À date, mon bilinguisme est pratiquement la cause de mon avancement. Je crois que ça m'aidera

à l'avenir également.

Un jeune cotiseur du Revenu national, originaire d'Ottawa, et un traducteur tiennent des propos semblables :

Ça a aidé les Canadiens français pour les occupations, on a pris note d'eux dans les *posters*, on réclame des personnes bilingues de plus en plus au fédéral. À Ottawa un bilingue est valorisé, il est au même niveau qu'un Anglais, sinon plus élevé, à cause de sa langue. À travail égal, le bilingue a la préférence. Si on respecte les clauses des concours, ceci constitue un avantage pour les Canadiens français qui sont les seuls vraiment bilingues; ils auront de meilleures chances d'avancement.

On s'accorde à reconnaître désormais que « les francophones ont beaucoup d'avenir au fédéral à cause de leur bilinguisme maintenant valorisé ». Pour certaines professions, celle de traducteur par exemple, on anticipe une meilleure considération :

Oui, ça revalorise ma fonction de traducteur. La traduction est indispensable dans les divers ministères. Ceci laisse supposer que les traducteurs seront de mieux en mieux considérés.

Un optimisme plus modéré s'exprimera généralement ainsi :

Je suis peut-être optimiste, mais j'attends beaucoup de la Commission [sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme]; l'extension du bilinguisme, ça va avancer lentement, il ne faut pas bousculer les étapes.

Par ailleurs on ne manque pas de pressentir, parallèlement à ces nouvelles chances, un déblocage des attitudes anglophones traditionnelles à l'égard du fait français et une amélioration certaine du statut des Canadiens français dans le fonctionnarisme fédéral. Un agent technique du ministère des Travaux publics, originaire de la région outaouaise et au service du gouvernement fédéral depuis seize ans, rend ainsi compte des changements observés :

On est mieux considéré ? Je le pense, oui, ici l'accent de l'embauchement a été mis sur le recrutement des Canadiens français. De façon générale il y en a plusieurs qui sont rentrés depuis l'avènement de la Commission [sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme]. Le futur du bilinguisme ça va créer une meilleure atmosphère du point de vue national. Avant, tous les services étaient en anglais, ça créait des frictions; aujourd'hui s'il vient un Canadien français, on a des Canadiens français pour le recevoir.

b. Égalité des chances

De nombreux francophones, sans trop expliciter leur pensée, reconnaissent ou prévoient simplement l'amélioration du statut des Canadiens français dans l'organisation fédérale :

Tout ce que je peux dire, c'est que je crois que le statut des Canadiens français s'améliore. Il n'y a pas de réel obstacle à ce qu'il s'améliore davantage.

Dans l'avenir, on peut espérer, à chances égales, à compétence égale, que les Canadiens français soient sur un pied d'égalité.

c. Changement d'attitudes chez les anglophones

Nombreux sont les francophones qui se disent confiants dans l'avenir, car ils constatent un éveil de l'opinion anglaise au fait français dans la fonction publique. Donnons-en comme preuve cet intérêt tout récent pour les cours de français et cette réceptivité nouvelle aux problèmes des Canadiens français. Un cotiseur du Revenu national dans la quarantaine, originaire d'Ottawa, perçoit ainsi les effets de l'importance accrue attachée au bilinguisme dans la fonction publique fédérale :

Oui, ça va mettre le monde alerte, éveillé. Ici, au département, plusieurs Anglais y pensent sérieusement, ils prennent des cours de français. Il y a aussi des Français qui ont pris des cours d'anglais... Il va y avoir plus de compréhension. Ça va aussi permettre de normaliser un fait établi, l'égalité entre les deux langues. Ça va aussi nous donner plus de connaissance sur les deux groupes ethniques...

Des traducteurs décrivent ainsi la nouvelle attitude anglophone : Ça réveille l'opinion publique et l'opinion des Canadiens anglais. Le départ est fait pour accorder une plus grande attention aux Canadiens français, pour qu'on cesse de les considérer comme étant nécessairement des employés de niveau inférieur. [L'importance accordée depuis peu au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme a eu une] influence connexe et conjointe avec les autres événements politiques, économiques et culturels du Québec. Cela a commencé avec l'histoire Chaput : ça a réveillé les Canadiens français, et les Canadiens anglais ont commencé à réaliser que nous n'étions plus des porteurs d'eau ou des bûcherons. Plusieurs ont commencé à suivre des cours de français. Ils nous interrogent sur ce qui se passe, pourquoi, et cetera. Le problème, s'il ne les inquiète pas, les intrigue. Le dialogue est plus facile.

Concernant ces changements d'attitudes, certains manifestent un optimisme plus modéré. Témoin les propos tenus par ce technicien de Montréal, au service du gouvernement depuis 21 ans :

Je crois que les Canadiens anglais réalisent de plus en plus que les Canadiens français ne sont pas à rejeter... Je crois que ça continuera et que le bilinguisme fera du progrès. L'atmosphère d'entraide qui règne ici contribue d'ailleurs à ce climat...

Ça continuera si nous nous en occupons. Je pense bien qu'il y aura toujours les Plaines d'Abraham de 1759 entre nous autres...

En tout cas ça prend du temps avant de les regagner.

Un jeune cotiseur de 26 ans du Revenu national nuance ainsi sa pensée :

En tout cas, [l'importance accordée au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme] a fait faire beaucoup de farces et on s'agace beaucoup à ce sujet-là. Par contre, je pense que malgré tout cela les Anglais prennent ça assez au sérieux : plusieurs prennent des cours de français et essaient de parler français. Il y en a d'autres qui ont peur de ça, ils ont peur que s'ils ne sont pas bilingues ils vont être bloqués dans leur avancement. C'est pour

cela qu'il y en a plusieurs qui ont voté conservateur parce qu'ils avaient peur des *French Liberals*.

d. Confiance des francophones

Parallèlement à ces indices d'une reconnaissance du fait français dans la fonction publique fédérale, et pour une bonne part à cause d'eux, se développent chez les francophones une certaine assurance et un sentiment de sécurité vis-à-vis du groupe majoritaire anglophone. Un examinateur de brevet le constate en ces termes :

Voyez-vous ça change un peu en ce moment dans notre attitude avec les collègues. Jusqu'à il y a deux ans, lorsqu'on parlait entre Canadiens français et qu'un Anglais arrivait, on se mettait tous à parler en anglais. Maintenant cette attitude a changé. Quand la chose se produit, on continue de parler en français. Et les Anglais nous demandent même parfois de parler français, car ils veulent apprendre cette langue.

Je m'affirme davantage. J'exige des formules en français. Je me sens moins gêné et peut-être plus solidaire, plus égal avec mes collègues de langue anglaise. Cela améliore mon climat de travail.

Un diplômé de l'École des hautes études commerciales, dans la trentaine, pense pour sa part que :

Le gouvernement fédéral va s'apercevoir qu'il y a une province française à l'est de l'Ontario; qu'il y a des Canadiens français capables de faire du bon travail.

La transformation de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la conscience de groupe canadienne-française ou francophone est donc perçue favorablement. Même si cela implique l'examen attentif de son comportement antérieur et la critique d'une certaine inaptitude à se faire valoir :

Nous avons beaucoup à apprendre des Anglais. Surtout la confiance et le goût de l'aventure.

Même si la situation semble favorable aux Canadiens français ceux-ci ne devront pas cesser d'être exigeants.

Il y a un effort sincère pour comprendre les autres. Je crois que l'idéal serait quand le Canadien français ne viendra pas en quémandeur, mais en étant lui-même, en se débarrassant de ce complexe d'infériorité.

Quelquefois, même, certain fonctionnaire francophone non québécois, tout en affirmant sa confiance dans l'avenir, se définira par opposition à ses compatriotes du Québec :

Il y a encore beaucoup à faire, mais nous, les Canadiens français d'Ontario, on est assez forts. Ce que nous avons ici, c'est grâce à nous, et non aux Canadiens français du Québec.

C. Les caractéristiques des attitudes mixtes

Une forte proportion de francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (23 %) adoptent des attitudes qui sont vraiment ambivalentes — toujours il y a un « oui, mais... » dont l'expression est gênée

ralement bien articulée. On admettra que le francophone bilingue a actuellement plus de chances que l'unilingue anglais, mais il ne faut voir là qu'un repli stratégique des anglophones. Un ingénieur des Travaux publics, depuis 12 ans à la fonction publique, apprécie dans ces termes l'importance récente accordée au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme :

Ça n'a pas changé grand chose en réalité. On a un peu plus de français sur la papeterie. Mais ça dépend plutôt des ministères canadiens-français et des sous-ministres. C'est une amélioration. Oui, disons que ça a changé un petit peu. Il y a des Anglais qui apprennent un peu de français. Ils essaient un peu de le parler. C'est à la mode, mais je ne pense pas que ce soit profond, profond. Si le gouvernement continue à faire des efforts ça pourra aller. Et surtout si les Canadiens français veulent.

Pour ce cotiseur du Revenu national, âgé de 30 ans, les possibilités d'avancement et les avantages dont pourraient bénéficier dans l'avenir les francophones bilingues de la fonction publique ne doivent pas être surestimés :

Dans l'industrie ça m'aurait avantage [le fait d'être bilingue]. Au fédéral j'en retirerais un certain avantage, mais moins que dans l'industrie. Les Canadiens français sont en demande au fédéral, mais on ne leur donne pas une plus grande importance. À fonctions identiques, à qui, des Canadiens français ou des Canadiens anglais, accordera-t-on la priorité pour les promotions ? Non, c'est l'ouvrage qui compte et non la langue. Il y aura plus de Canadiens français engagés, mais pas à des niveaux supérieurs. Un jeune ingénieur du ministère des Travaux publics, originaire du Nouveau-Brunswick, exprimera ainsi le « oui, mais... » :
Actuellement, une personne bilingue a plus de chance qu'une personne unilingue... Oui, je dirais que oui, nous sommes encore inférieurs aux Canadiens anglais. Vous savez que les Anglais sont politiciens; ils voient que, pour leur existence, la meilleure chose à faire est d'accepter le français sur un même pied. Mais dans certains cas d'urgence, c'est l'anglais qui gagne.

Un autre, Montréalais d'origine et depuis un an au même ministère, tiendra des propos semblables :

D'après ce que je peux voir, beaucoup d'autres Canadiens français ont été engagés ou promus en tant que bilingues. Mais je ne crois pas à un bilinguisme complet dans la fonction publique fédérale. Pas du tout. Il ne sera jamais que marginal, par exemple, comme dans mon cas, avec les rapports qu'un ministère peut entretenir avec des contractants du Québec.

De même que cet administrateur d'une trentaine d'années :

Moi, j'ai bien confiance dans le temps pour régler les problèmes. Celui-là, c'en est un gros. Il ne peut pas se régler du jour au lendemain. C'est une question d'éducation d'abord. C'est vrai que le séparatisme, Lesage, les plans conjoints, ça aide à faire comprendre ou à mieux accepter le Québec, mais ça peut jouer dans les deux sens. Ça peut nuire au bilinguisme à Ottawa. Si le fédéral redonne tout l'argent à Québec qui l'administre, les

Anglais pourront bien demander pourquoi il faut des bilingues à Ottawa pour administrer le Canada. C'est du séparatisme à l'envers, mais plusieurs pensent comme ça... Puis ça ne sera jamais facile pour les Canadiens français. Ils seront toujours en minorité en Amérique. Mais c'est leur droit. Il va falloir qu'ils luttent tout le temps. Moi, je les admire.

En ce qui concerne les relations ethniques, nous rencontrons également des attitudes mixtes. Un traducteur d'une quarantaine d'années décrit ainsi ce qui lui semble être la situation :

C'est naturel que les Anglais qui sont en majorité favorisent les Anglais. Le Canadien français doit s'angliciser un peu. Même ceux qui réussissent deviennent antipathiques aux autres Canadiens français. Il doit devenir autre chose que ce qu'il était... Le Canadien anglais aime le Canadien français; ce n'est pas par désintéressement, mais par sens pratique. L'engouement actuel peut durer. J'ai peur qu'on s'endorme... Le Canadien français a droit de cité dans l'Est, mais pas dans l'Ouest... Il faut admettre le bilinguisme. C'est un fait et ça va rester.

Un autre, depuis 19 ans au service de la fonction publique fédérale, exprime les vues suivantes :

Je me demande si, depuis le discours de Pépin qui a réclamé que le bilinguisme soit considéré comme un mérite, je me demande si, depuis ce temps, il n'y a pas une sourde tension. Les positions semblent s'être durcies... J'ai nettement l'impression que ça n'ira pas jusqu'à l'éclatement. Je lisais récemment que le Canada vient de passer son adolescence, et que les problèmes que nous avons rencontrés ne sont que des problèmes de croissance. Le pouvoir de décision est encore entre les mains de la majorité, mais la majorité est, comment dirais-je, est touchée par le fait canadien-français. Ils ne peuvent pas gouverner sans la participation des Canadiens français. Ce sont des opinions claires, et je pense qu'il faut en tenir compte.

Un administrateur du Revenu national, à qui on demande si le bilinguisme va se développer, répond :

Oui, mais les Anglais ont la tête dure. Quant on est dans un autobus, ça fait grimacer certaines personnes si on parle français. Mais il y a des bons et des méchants des deux côtés. Ça s'améliore.

Nous rapportons, pour terminer, les espoirs mitigés d'un examinateur de brevet. Ses vues portent sur plusieurs questions : le recrutement des Québécois, l'attitude des anglophones, l'atmosphère culturelle de la capitale, les relations fédérales-provinciales. Selon divers « scénarios de bilinguisme ou de biculturalisme », il serait optimiste ou pessimiste.

Le fait que plusieurs Canadiens français soient partis de l'emploi, cela a pu aider, par exemple, à me faire obtenir le grade 4. Mais je ne voudrais pas qu'on dise que j'ai obtenu ce grade uniquement parce que je suis Canadien français ! Je n'ai jamais eu aucune discussion acerbe concernant le bilinguisme au Canada avec mes

collègues. Plusieurs d'entre eux suivent des cours d'anglais. L'attitude des Anglais a changé depuis deux ou trois ans. Ils font un effort. Peut-être qu'ils ont derrière la tête je ne sais quoi mais ils font un effort... Au niveau clérical, il y a des problèmes, pas tellement au niveau professionnel. Ici, mes contacts avec les anglophones sont assez amicaux. Mais je ne pourrais pas dire la même chose de tout le monde. Par exemple, un des examinateurs qui est parti l'année dernière était toujours en conflit avec les Anglais : il ne pouvait pas les endurer. Si on était ensemble, un groupe de Canadiens français et qu'un Anglais arrivait, il s'en allait. Mais je ne peux pas le blâmer. Maintenant il est à Québec, et il est très satisfait...

Ici, à l'office, le dernier Canadien français qui est arrivé est arrivé il y a deux ans. Mon attitude est la suivante : en fin de compte, il faut bien qu'il en reste quelques-uns à Ottawa. D'ici quelques années il peut y avoir des changements : la capitale deviendra plus bilingue et alors les Québécois auront moins de répugnance à venir travailler ici. Ou bien, le Québec deviendra plus autonome, c'est-à-dire indépendant, et alors je m'en retournerais au Québec. J'attends les événements. Mais des efforts se font chez les Anglais. Des efforts pas rapides cependant, ce qui est assez normal. Peut-être pourra-t-on voir un certain bilinguisme, du moins dans la capitale fédérale, où le français n'a absolument pas droit de cité en ce moment...

Si le Canadien français est patient — les Anglais sont lents à prendre des décisions — on peut trouver un moyen terme. La ville deviendra bilingue, on pourra s'y sentir un peu chez soi. L'atmosphère d'Ottawa n'attire pas les Canadiens français. Il faut de la patience pour les Canadiens français; on pourra peut-être briser la résistance de l'Anglais et obtenir une meilleure situation. Mais tout va tourner autour de la lutte fédérale-provinciale. Tout peut changer. Si, à un moment donné, on fait du Canada une nouvelle Suisse, il n'y aura plus de problèmes car on aura un pouvoir central avec bien peu de monde, il ne restera que quelques ministères avec un personnel bien réduit. Dans ces conditions, le bilinguisme serait possible.

D. Les formes des attitudes pessimistes

Vingt-huit pour cent des fonctionnaires de l'échelon intermédiaire adoptent des attitudes modérément ou fortement pessimistes. Les expressions types de ces attitudes, au total moins nombreuses que les attitudes optimistes, sont toutefois plus variées. Les francophones expriment de diverses façons leur pessimisme vis-à-vis « les promesses du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme » : les changements visant à reconnaître effectivement le français comme langue de travail s'effectuent trop lentement ou ne s'effectueront jamais; dans une organisation dont les mécanismes de promotion et la socialisation sont dominés par les anglophones, les francophones ne seront jamais leurs égaux ou continueront à ressentir certaines formes de discrimination; la fonction publique fédérale n'attire pas assez de

francophones du Québec et ne permet pas leur épanouissement; le raidissement et le durcissement des attitudes chez les anglophones vont freiner les changements espérés; le milieu social serait à Ottawa et Hull particulièrement défavorable.

Les difficultés linguistiques

L'une des premières assises du pessimisme réside dans les difficultés linguistiques et l'obligation pour certains francophones de « fonctionner », la plupart du temps ou occasionnellement, en anglais, afin « de se faire valoir à [leur] juste valeur ». Même si cette situation peut leur sembler normale, inévitable, ils n'en seront pas pour autant moins pessimistes :

La difficulté vient de la façon dont sont faits certains concours. Par exemple, pour passer au grade 5, on peut vous demander la question suivante : « Dites-nous en vos propres mots pourquoi vous croyez remplir le poste ? » Pour dire cela dans une langue seconde, et devant un comité, c'est très dur. Ça peut sûrement influencer leurs décisions, car on peut moins bien se faire valoir, exprimer toutes ses idées que si on le faisait en français. Donc, disons que ça a indirectement une influence importante. Dire que cela a une influence directe, c'est plus difficile. Tout cela est humain, et c'est normal. Je suis sûr qu'à la fonction publique du Québec, le problème se pose de la même façon. Mais en sens inverse. On arrive donc au problème principal : dans quelle mesure deux groupes ethniques peuvent-ils travailler ensemble, sans qu'il y ait d'injustices, sans qu'il y ait de domination de l'un sur l'autre ?

Le parrainage anglais, une organisation conçue à l'anglaise

Pour certains francophones, le pessimisme ne se fonde pas sur la perception des difficultés linguistiques—qu'on peut toujours surmonter—mais bien sur l'existence des obstacles démesurés, inhérents à un système de parrainage anglais et à une organisation anglaise qui limitent la promotion aux postes élevés.

Que l'on soit Canadien français ou Canadien anglais, on calcule toujours qu'on a toutes les capacités voulues pour avoir les promotions. Quand on a des promotions à des niveaux élevés, il y a des influences qui jouent. Par exemple, les diplômés de Queen's, de McGill, ont beaucoup plus de chances que ceux de Laval, de l'Université de Montréal. À un autre niveau il est difficile de dire jusqu'où l'influence peut jouer. Je crois qu'une certaine influence peut jouer. Quand un Canadien anglais doit choisir entre un Canadien français qui lui est totalement différent, il choisit l'Anglais. Je crois que c'est surtout au niveau des positions supérieures. On voit des Canadiens français qui quittent la fonction publique fédérale parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas monter et qui s'en vont à la fonction publique du Québec. Là ils obtiennent rapidement des promotions très intéressantes et des responsabilités élevées dans lesquelles ils peuvent faire valoir toute leur compétence. Ça fait réfléchir. Dans ce que l'on appelle l'*establishment*, il y a beaucoup de diplômés de McGill et

de Queen's. De sorte que lorsqu'on doit choisir quelqu'un avec qui on veut travailler, on choisit un candidat avec lequel on a le plus de points communs, le plus d'affinité.

L'administration est conçue à l'anglaise, a des moules anglais, est dirigée et exécutée par les Anglais. Les Canadiens français qui ont des postes de commande et qui pourraient influencer quelque chose ont adopté la mentalité anglaise et sont aussi *British* que les Anglais eux-mêmes.

Les modèles de socialisation anglais

Parallèlement à l'exclusion du système de parrainage anglais, la difficulté éprouvée par les francophones à participer aux activités sociales ou para-professionnelles de leurs collègues anglophones pourra, dans certains cas, motiver des réactions pessimistes. C'est l'avis de cet examinateur de brevet :

Il faut être membre d'associations, cela peut être utile, comme être membre de l'Institut professionnel, de la Corporation des ingénieurs, etc. Les contacts aussi peuvent être importants. Mais pour les Canadiens français il se présente ici un problème. Pour avoir des promotions, il faut montrer à nos supérieurs qu'on est indispensable. Mais c'est difficile pour un Canadien français d'avoir des contacts avec eux, des contacts professionnels, dans les associations, parce que les Canadiens français ont toujours tendance à se grouper ensemble. En somme, pour ne pas s'éloigner de la question, disons que ceci [être membre d'associations] est très important mais que c'est encore plus difficile pour un Canadien français : il s'associe assez peu avec les anglophones pour des raisons naturelles.

La discrimination

Pour quelques-uns, la situation reste aussi « noire » qu'auparavant : il y a encore de la discrimination; à capacités égales, les francophones sont défavorisés; l'importance accordée au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme sera sans lendemain. Un ingénieur de plus de 40 ans, originaire d'Ottawa et fonctionnaire fédéral depuis une vingtaine d'années, est catégorique :

Les Canadiens français n'ont pas autant de chances que les Canadiens anglais qui se tiennent ensemble... La franc-maçonnerie est très forte... Il faut être supérieur à un Canadien anglais pour être considéré. On a dit beaucoup de choses sur le bien que cela [l'importance attachée au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme] a fait, mais je suis en position pour voir que tout n'est qu'apparence et que la réalité sous-jacente est tout autrement... Dans le même sens, un examinateur de brevet de la région de Montréal, qui a l'intention de laisser la fonction publique à la première occasion, ne cache pas son pessimisme :

Les Canadiens anglais sont insensibles à cette éventualité que les Canadiens français quittent la fonction publique. Quand ils se réveilleront il sera trop tard. Il n'y a aucun Canadien français en tête, c'est [un anglophone] qui gouverne. Les seuls Canadiens

français qui ont des postes relativement élevés sont des hommes de paille. Parmi les hauts postes, évidemment, ce sont des Canadiens anglais. Il y a des francs-maçons. On ne voit pas agir ouvertement la franc-maçonnerie, mais, à mots couverts, entre Canadiens français, on discute de la chose et on sent bien que ça joue pour quelque chose.

Le durcissement des anglophones

L'une des principales assises d'un pessimisme modéré chez les francophones sera par ailleurs la crainte d'un raidissement et d'un durcissement des Canadiens d'expression anglaise. Un traducteur qui a pu, depuis 13 ans, observer les rapports ethniques dans la fonction publique déclare :

Au début, il y a eu un rapprochement sensible, un réveil chez les Canadiens anglais à une réalité dont on ne se rendait pas compte, la réalité canadienne-française. Actuellement, depuis quelques mois, il y a un durcissement sensible chez les vieux Canadiens anglais de 40 à 65 ans, pas chez les jeunes de 20 à 25 ans. Je ne suis pas trop optimiste, j'ai peur d'un raidissement des Canadiens anglais et je ne suis pas le seul à pressentir cela.

Cette idée est reprise par un examinateur de brevet d'origine québécoise :

Non. Ceci serait possible si les deux langues étaient sur le même pied. Mais actuellement non. Chaque fois que le gouvernement mentionne l'idée de favoriser le bilinguisme, les fonctionnaires protestent. Le gouvernement veut des réformes, mais ce sont les associations de fonctionnaires à majorité anglophone qui s'y opposent. Les fonctionnaires [anglophones] protestent, ils ont peur de voir leur avenir compromis par un système de mérites, de primes aux bilingues.

Les fonctionnaires québécois et la fonction publique fédérale

Pour d'autres, le peu d'attrait que continuera encore à exercer la fonction publique sur les francophones du Québec est perçu d'une façon pessimiste. Un examinateur de brevets de 42 ans, originaire du Québec et au service du gouvernement depuis 10 ans, pose ainsi le problème du fonctionnaire québécois dans un milieu de travail anglais :

Je crois que les Canadiens français sont ainsi dans une situation d'infériorité, surtout quand ils viennent d'une région éloignée où l'on ne parle pas anglais. Plusieurs Canadiens français n'ont pas obtenu des promotions à cause de cela. L'an dernier, d'ici, de la division de chimie, il est parti quatre Canadiens français. Il y a en tout 54 examinateurs dans cette division. Il reste actuellement quatre Canadiens français et trois étrangers capables de travailler en français. Mais aucun Canadien anglais n'est capable de le faire. Le problème est que les Canadiens français laissent la fonction publique. Ici, des quatre qui sont partis, trois sont allés dans les agences privées et un autre est allé ailleurs dans la fonction publique fédérale. Mais c'était un Franco-ontarien. Les vrais Canadiens français, les purs, les

Québécois, ils retournent chez eux, à Québec.

Un agent technique du Revenu national dans la quarantaine, né à Ottawa, explique en ces termes la désaffection des Québécois pour l'organisation fédérale :

Dans la fonction publique il est très difficile d'avancer quand on est Canadien français, surtout quand on est Canadien français du Québec, pour deux raisons. Premièrement, les Canadiens français du Québec hésitent à déménager loin du Québec. Deuxièmement, les Canadiens français du Québec sont différents de ceux de l'Ontario. Nous, de l'Ontario, on se laisse faire, mais ceux du Québec insistent pour utiliser le français. Si au début, on demande pour se servir du français, on n'aura pas de promotion... Quand on parle de justice et d'égalité, nous, Canadiens français, on est un peu aveugle, car on représente une valeur supérieure en étant bilingue.

Dans le même ordre d'idée, certains ne nient pas qu'un francophone puisse réussir dans le fonctionnarisme fédéral, mais c'est au prix de certains compromis idéologiques. [« Il ne faut pas être trop Canadien français », dira-t-on.] Des traducteurs originaires du Québec tiendront ces propos :

Une chose est certaine, il y a beaucoup de Canadiens français qui ont été promus. C'est ceux qui soutiennent auprès des autorités les thèses officielles, les thèses de la *B and B*, du fédéralisme coopératif. Ça nous amène d'ailleurs à parler du problème des deux libertés. Des gens comme mon patron peuvent faire campagne à droite et à gauche et crier sur tous les toits leur fédéralisme. Cela est bien vu. Mais si l'on veut présenter d'autres thèses, tout aussi honnêtes, tout aussi démocratiques, cela est interdit en pratique. Deux poids, deux mesures.

Ce n'est pas la différence de langue, mais surtout mes prises de position qui affectent mes chances d'avancement.

Les désavantages de Hull par rapport à Ottawa

Enfin, la situation privilégiée d'Ottawa par rapport à Hull et le complexe d'infériorité dont semblerait souffrir celle-ci face aux intérêts anglophones de la région outaouaise, ne seraient pas sans assombrir les espoirs de certains francophones qui voudraient que l'égalité culturelle et sociale se reflète dans leur milieu de vie :

Il y a ici le problème d'une ville qui appartient au fédéral. Le fédéral est omnipotent. Ça affecte le fonctionnement des gouvernements municipaux. Ça crée des problèmes administratifs. Du côté de Hull et des villes voisines, il y a un grave problème : le gouvernement fédéral avantage toujours Ottawa. D'autre part, Hull c'est bien loin pour le gouvernement de Québec. Et puis, ceux qui pouvaient faire quelque chose n'ont pas présenté leurs demandes d'une façon ferme et positive. Ainsi, les Canadiens français de Hull ont la crainte de l'Anglais. On a peur d'antagoniser l'Anglais. Prenez un exemple : l'allumetterie de Hull. Pendant des années les pouvoirs municipaux de Hull n'osaient réclamer à Eddy la part de taxes qu'il devait payer. Les gens

disaient que si on faisait payer les taxes à Eddy, il s'en irait. C'est vraiment infantile comme raisonnement. Peut-on imaginer que Eddy serait parti parce qu'on voulait lui faire payer 60 000 piastres de taxes par années alors que cette compagnie a à Hull des investissements de \$ 60 000 000 ? Plus récemment on a soulevé le problème de certains grands magasins de Hull qui ne paient pas un sou de taxes aux commissions scolaires canadiennes-françaises. C'est le R. I. N. qui a soulevé l'affaire avec beaucoup d'à-propos. Avant, personne ne le savait, sinon les commissaires d'écoles, mais ils n'avaient jamais osé protester. Comme si on allait déménager le centre d'achat. Je ne fais pas partie des mouvements séparatistes, mais je m'y intéresse beaucoup. Surtout quand ils font des actions intelligentes comme celle de dénoncer cette injustice. Mais ce n'est pas tout de signaler les injustices, il faut encore les changer. Reste à savoir si nos édiles feront les démarches nécessaires. Mais je crois que l'opinion publique sur ce point au moins est maintenant renseignée.

Pour étayer davantage les fondements possibles des attitudes pessimistes, nous citons un long extrait du Mémoire de l'Association des fonctionnaires fédéraux d'expression française présenté à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme :

Au sein du fonctionnarisme l'on discerne des tendances au patronage. Il est tout à fait naturel et normal que chacun préfère travailler dans un milieu homogène par la langue, la nationalité et la culture. Mais ceux qui donnent trop libre cours à de telles tendances risquent fort de commettre des injustices tôt ou tard, souvent même sans trop s'en rendre compte.

D'autre part, les Canadiens d'expression anglaise qui occupent des postes de commande s'entourent de compatriotes. Peu d'entre eux se soucient de la représentation équitable des deux éléments constitutifs du pays. Ils reconnaissent facilement les qualités requises chez les leurs, mais voient très difficilement les mêmes aptitudes chez les Canadiens français.

D'autre part, les Canadiens d'expression française ont également ce désir de s'entourer de leurs semblables. Ils se sentent plus à l'aise ainsi. Mais le Canadien français ne peut pas exercer librement les mêmes prérogatives. De fait, il est surveillé pour ainsi dire. Si le groupe d'employés qu'il dirige devient trop homogène, on a tôt fait de le lui rappeler. La situation inverse n'existe à peu près pas. Le résultat pratique de cet état de chose est le suivant : là où le chef de division est canadien-français, la répartition entre les deux groupes ethniques est équitable ou peu s'en faut. Là où le chef est canadien-anglais, les Canadiens français n'atteignent à peu près pas les postes de commande, comme c'est le cas pour le National canadien et le ministère de la Production de défense.

Quelques années d'expérience dans l'administration fédérale suffisent pour constater chez les Canadiens anglais certaines attitudes néfastes aux Canadiens français, attitudes partagées par de nombreux fonctionnaires :

1. Un Canadien français aspirant à un emploi particulier a très peu de chance d'obtenir le poste convoité s'il parle l'anglais correctement mais avec un accent français. Ceci est d'autant plus vrai que le poste a d'importance. Par contre l'aspirant est-il d'origine européenne que l'on ne remarque pas son accent.

2. Plus le candidat est Canadien français de coeur et d'esprit, [sans être anglophobe pour autant] moins il a de chance d'accéder à un poste supérieur si ses chefs sont de langue anglaise. Comme corollaire, les Canadiens français en viennent à craindre de s'affirmer tels qu'ils sont. Les exceptions qui reflètent la présence de leur culture deviennent des exaltés aux yeux de tous, même de leurs semblables.

3. On admire sans réserve le Canadien anglais bilingue, dont le français est médiocre alors qu'on trouve normal qu'un Canadien français parle et écrive l'anglais parfaitement. Le bilingue d'origine anglaise acquiert ainsi un avantage énorme sur l'autre bilingue...

4. Pour justifier leur politique d'emploi et de promotion certains Canadiens anglais incluent parmi leurs bilingues des gens parlant médiocrement le français.

5. On écoute peu les plaintes des Canadiens français débordés de travail. Par ailleurs, on fournit volontiers l'aide aux anglophones qui en font la demande. Sont-ils vraiment meilleurs juges ?

La nature humaine étant ce qu'elle est, il y aura sans doute toujours des inégalités et des injustices de part et d'autre. Il est souvent très difficile de déterminer la mesure de préjugés ou de bonne foi qui motive certains gestes. Aussi, nous nous gardons bien de juger qui que ce soit. Toutefois, il importe d'empêcher le plus possible ces préjugés humains.

E. Conclusion

Dans ce chapitre, nous avons identifié, à l'aide de certaines caractéristiques morphologiques, sociales, professionnelles ou linguistiques, les fonctionnaires francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire qui se disent optimistes ou pessimistes « quant à l'avenir du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique fédérale ». Nous avons également explicité, en les exposant, des réactions variées enregistrées au cours de nos entrevues.

La majorité des francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire (62 %) entretiennent des attitudes optimistes ou mixtes, car ils entrevoient des changements réels dans la fonction publique fédérale, et certains semblent déjà satisfaits des progrès accomplis, l'importance accordée au bilinguisme et la reconnaissance véritable du fait français dans la fonction publique et au Canada signifiant pour eux, dans un avenir rapproché, une carrière plus harmonieuse dans son déroulement et la reconnaissance, dans les faits, d'un statut de citoyen à part entière.

Cependant, les demandes des francophones ne semblent pas devoir être toutes satisfaites : aux yeux d'une importante minorité qu'un certain réalisme et une longue expérience de la fonction publique anglaise ont rendus peu enthousiastes, il semble bien qu'il doive en être ainsi. Le fonctionnarisme fédéral ne pourra pas attirer et retenir dans ses rangs les francophones du pays, en particulier ceux du Québec, différents des autres sur plusieurs points, si de profondes transformations linguistiques et culturelles ne viennent pas modifier le milieu de travail et le milieu de vie du fonctionnarisme outaouais, et si les effets normaux et explicables des rapports majorité-minorité ne sont pas contrés.

The main concern of this report has been to describe how Anglophones and Francophones pursue careers in the federal administration and to try to explain why Francophones tend to be less successful than Anglophones. In our research we found that the relative positions of the two groups varied from one work setting to another. Generally, however, Francophones are disadvantaged in three main ways: they have to cope with the linguistic problems, discrimination, and the cultural environment of the federal bureaucracy. The following discussion summarizes our findings on each of these factors.

A. *Linguistic Disadvantages*

First, anyone who is required to work in a second language—as Francophones in professional, administrative, and technical positions frequently are—tends to be less competent than those who operate in their mother tongue. This, of course, is easy enough to grasp in the abstract but, in the concrete work settings of the large-scale organizations we investigated, we found it was all too frequently overlooked. Perhaps this is because most Francophones in such organizations are relatively fluent in English when they begin their careers. Or, should they not be fluent, they either leave or expend considerable energy in their first years becoming so. Anglophones thus tend to feel that their Francophone colleagues start off on an equal footing with themselves. Actually, we know on the basis of both theoretical knowledge and empirical investigation that this is far from true. Save in the case of those who are equally at home in both languages—and such persons are rare—the necessity of operating in a second language limits an individual's effectiveness in any context where communication skills are important. The higher one moves up the hierarchy, the more this is likely to be the case. It is especially likely to be the case at and near the top of our governmental, military, and corporate organizations where the ability to communicate effectively and the self-confidence and assertiveness that are its concomitants are the *sine qua non* of effective performance.

B. Discrimination

Discrimination has always been hard to define, let alone measure, even in situations where there is rather obvious evidence of it. In the context of the work settings that we studied, however, we arrived at an adequate working definition that viewed discrimination as differential treatment of persons on the basis of factors—for example, ethnicity, religion, language, or sex—that have little or no bearing on how well such persons are able to perform relevant work tasks.

We also found that the discrimination that exists in the federal bureaucracy can be either conscious or unconscious. The conscious variety tends to be based on the antipathies, fears, and rivalries that may characterize the way the members of one group feel about the members of another. It may also be based on the fact that, even in this day of greater tolerance, many people feel more comfortable working with and for others of the same social background as themselves. Conscious discrimination occurs when these various types of feelings are overtly allowed to influence decisions as to who is suitable for what types of work.

Unconscious discrimination appears to be both more widespread in the organizations we studied and harder to identify. This is largely because Francophones and Anglophones tend to think of and act toward each other on the basis of stereotypes, and this tends to make them blind to the qualities in others that are relevant to work responsibilities. Thus we found that who a man is, in terms of his ethnicity, mother tongue, and so on, often gets confused with what he can do.

It is not surprising that Francophones have met discrimination in a large bureaucratic setting dominated by Anglophones. Whenever persons of different backgrounds work with and for each other on a grand scale, certain forms of discrimination, both conscious and unconscious, are a universal by-product. Discrimination, it should be noted, tends to reflect certain aspects of reality, just as it surely tends to distort those aspects. Hence its causes and consequences are interrelated and hard to distinguish.

This last statement is especially applicable to the five departments that we studied intensively. In seeking to find out what role, if any, discriminatory treatment may have had in discouraging Francophone personnel and in blocking their advancement, we were struck by how much the causes and effects of discrimination were interwoven. On the one hand, we found that certain differences existed between Francophone and Anglophone personnel that were relevant to career advancement. The Francophones tended to be linguistically—and to some extent educationally—disadvantaged. They also tended to be less enthusiastic or "loyal" employees, largely because of the "atmosphère anglaise" of these organizations. The reigning stereotypes in the organizations we studied reflected these differences. They also vastly exaggerated their importance. Francophones could see the exaggeration and could sense the unfairness in this climate of opinion. They could see that some talented Francophones were being over-

looked. As a result, many were discouraged from committing themselves to the hard work and supplementary learning on and off the job that is usually the basis of getting ahead in large-scale organizations.

The foregoing is meant to provide a somewhat simplified depiction of how discrimination affected the major work organizations that we studied. There were, of course, major variations from organization to organization in the manifestations of this phenomenon and in the extent that it had an impact on staffing decisions and the participation of Francophone personnel. Nevertheless, our depiction does capture the essence of discrimination as a social process in work institutions. We hasten to add that in our investigations there was strong evidence that discrimination—at least the conscious variety—has been largely eliminated from these institutions. In fact, after many years of neglect, most senior executives and officers of our major work organizations are now bending over backwards to recruit Francophones and move them into top positions.

On the other hand, it is important to realize that until fairly recently discrimination did remain a problem within our major work institutions. It contributed to the estrangement that Francophones felt, and to some extent still feel, toward the major organizations of the work world; and it affected the efficiency and work environment of those organizations. Hence, as part of the social landscape of the past, it is important that we understand how it has contributed to the economic inferiority of French Canada.

C. The Culture of the Major Work Institutions

The third barrier to the full-scale participation of Francophones in the federal bureaucracy is by far the most important of the three. It involves the fact that the culture of the Public Service has always been an expression of English-speaking Canada. This factor has been discussed at length throughout this study and needs only passing mention here. What chiefly needs to be stressed are the pressures and tensions that Francophone employees experience. Career advancement usually means that Francophones must learn "English" ways of thinking and acting and must adapt their work styles—and frequently even their family and social life—to Anglophone cultural mores. In short, they are under strong pressures to become facsimile Anglophones. Only in this way can they be assured of obtaining promotions commensurate with their managerial, professional, or technical competence.

This problem has doubtless been eased somewhat in recent years, largely in response to the ferment over bilingualism and biculturalism. But notwithstanding the growing sensitivity to problems in this area, senior officers still tend to be oblivious to the unicultural nature of their work settings. For instance, everywhere we found senior officers voicing great concern for recruiting talented Francophones, but the desire always seemed to be for men who could

adapt to existing arrangements and fit easily into existing structures. In few places did we find that the desire for Francophone personnel was complemented by the willingness to provide the intellectual atmosphere and work arrangements, both formal and informal, that in some way would reflect the language and culture of French Canada. Whether a truly bilingual and bicultural Public Service can be developed is difficult to say, but it is obvious that Canada will not receive the effective administration that it needs until it is.

A study of Organization, Ethnic Participation, and Career Development in Selected Federal Government Departments

A number of studies of federal government departments and agencies already have been undertaken by the research staff of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. These include studies of the recruitment of university students, the Civil Service Commission, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Treasury Board, parts of the departments of Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, and discussions with more than a dozen other departments and agencies.

It has been agreed within the Commission that studies of organization, ethnic participation, career patterns and service to the two basic language and cultural groups in Canada be carried out in five additional government departments. These projects, together with those already in progress, will provide information and analyses to assist the Royal Commission to "report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration."

The studies we are proposing will be divided into two inter-related parts:

1. The first part will focus on the organization of the department, ethnic participation within the department and service to the two basic cultures.

The objectives of this part of the study will be:

- a) to identify departmental adjustments which already have been made to accommodate Canada's two main languages and cultures;
- b) to discuss the potential for, and problems related to, future adjustments.

2. The second part of the study will focus on the career patterns and perspectives of French and other Canadian employees within the departments.

The objectives of this part of the study will be:

- a) to describe the career experiences of a sample group composed of an equal number of French and other employees;
- b) to describe the career system of the department as reflected in the career experiences of individuals;
- c) to explain ethnic differentials, if any, in career patterns and perspectives.

Both parts of these studies will be concerned with relatively senior positions.

PART ONE OF THE STUDY

Part one of the study will consist of two steps:

1. a description of the department;
2. an evaluation of adjustments to two languages and two cultures.

Description of the Department

The first step will be to obtain an accurate and up-to-date description of the overall department, its legal basis, functions, organization, clientele, and some basic information about language use in the department. An attempt will be made, furthermore, to gain an understanding of some aspects of personnel administration within the department, the regulations and procedures followed in recruiting for senior positions, training policies and programs for senior staff, and career channels and patterns of promotion to the upper echelons of the department.

This understanding of the department is required before the Commission staff can begin to discuss the department's adjustments to bilingualism and biculturalism. It is also necessary for the second part of the study in which individual career experience within the department will be explored.

An attempt will be made to obtain this descriptive material from existing documentary data and to have it updated if need be. The descriptive information which will be requested is outlined, in greater detail, under "Request for Information."

Evaluation of Adjustments

The second step will be to identify existing departmental accommodations to two languages and cultures and the potential for and problems related to future adjustments. This part of the study will focus on two areas:

1. *The department's relationship with its clientele.*

Here we would like to discuss anything in the department's functions which leads to different relationships with different provinces or regions. We will be concerned, also, about differences, if any, between the place of origin of a problem (Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, etc.) and the way in which it is handled. More specifically, we are interested in variations, if any, in procedures followed, language spoken and ethnicity of civil servants in the department's dealings with French-speaking and English-speaking clientele. We would also like to discuss past practices and future prospects for and problems related to adjusting to two main languages and cultures in dealing with the department's clientele.

2. *The way in which the department manages its personnel.*

In this aspect of the study we want to consider the effect of the existence of two main languages and cultures in Canada upon the department's recruitment, training and promotion policies: are there differences in the recruiting procedures followed by the Civil Service Commission or the department in Quebec as compared with other provinces; have there been difficulties recruiting qualified French Canadians; do French- and English-speaking officers exhibit different degrees of interest in training courses provided by the department; what is the departmental policy on language training; do French and English-speaking officers follow different career patterns; does the department have difficulty retaining qualified French Canadians in its employ, and so forth.

This second step of the study will be conducted through a series of unstructured, conversational interviews with a limited number of the most senior administrative people in the department—assistant deputies and some branch heads. It is our intention to discuss the above subject areas, but no formal, detailed interview questionnaire will be used.

PART TWO OF THE STUDY

The second part of the study will attempt to examine the career experience of individual civil servants within the same five departments and ethnic differentials, if any, between French-Canadian and English-speaking civil servants. The purpose of the study will be to compare career patterns and perspectives of French-Canadian and other civil servants across a range of several government departments.

The method for this part of the project will be to select a random sample of 30 French-Canadian and 30 "non-French" officers in the department between the ages of 25 and 45 who earn more than \$6,200 annually. Structured interviews will be held with each of these individual officers. The interviews will collect information on the background, education, previous work history, work history within the federal service, and career views of each individual. It is hoped that all the interviews in a department can be conducted within a

period of one week. Each interview, which will last about one and a half hours, will be treated by the Royal Commission and its staff as anonymous and confidential. This method of analysis assures that the data will be viewed without reference to specific individuals. The questionnaire for this part of the study is being prepared.

Request for Information

We would appreciate receiving existing documentary material or other data, updated where necessary, which describe both your department and certain aspects of personnel administration within your department. We would appreciate if if, in addition, you could identify any major changes which are either in process or are anticipated within the department.

The following questions outline our request in greater detail:

1. Under what statute(s) and regulations does your department operate?
2. What other acts and regulations does your department administer?
3. What are the major functions for which your department is responsible?
4. What is your department's formal organization structure? What are the main functions of each branch?
5. With what clientele (federal, provincial, national, international agencies, private organizations, individuals, etc.) does your department deal? What is the nature of your department's relationship(s) with its clientele?
6. Is French used as the working language by anyone in your department? If so, by whom? In what positions?
7. Are there any unilingual French organization units, no matter how small, in your department? If so, which one(s)? How many employees are in this (or these) organization unit(s)?
8. What regulations and procedures are followed in recruiting people for senior positions (\$6,200 annually and over)? What are the main sources of supply of people for these positions?
9. What are your department's training policies for people in senior positions? What training programs and courses do you have for people in senior positions?
10. Are there identifiable career channels in your department through which people move in rising to higher senior positions? If so, what are these?

(Please indicate any significant changes in 1-5 above which are in process or anticipated.)

Some Immediate Requirements

1. A list of all people in your department by name and language spoken (if language information is in your departmental records) between the ages of 25 and 45 who earn \$6,200 or more annually.
2. A list of all assistant deputy ministers and branch heads in your department.

Interviewing in the Five Departments

This appendix describes the size of the Anglophone and Francophone population within our age and salary criteria in the five departments, the size of the sample drawn where sampling was required, and the number of completed interviews. A summary is given in Table 1.1.

Secretary of State: Within the age and salary limits, 114 Anglophones were found. A random sample of 29 persons was selected and interviewed; several months later, an additional group of nine was selected. Thus, a total of 38 Anglophones were interviewed—33 per cent of the Anglophone population.

On the Francophone side, an original sample of 29 was interviewed, including five Translators who worked mainly in Montreal. It was later decided that, since the study was designed to focus on the Ottawa-Hull area, the five Montreal Translators would be excluded.¹ A second sample of nine Francophones was added to the remaining 24 cases several months later, bringing the final total to 33 respondents—58 per cent of all Francophones in the relevant population.

Finance: Here, 48 Anglophones were found within the age and salary limits. A random sample of 28—58 per cent of the eligible Anglophone respondents—was chosen and interviewed.

Only six Francophones were located in the target population in Finance. Four additional persons were located within the appropriate age range but below the minimum salary standard. They include two Finance Officers (grades 1 and 2), an Economist 1, and an administrative Officer 1, all with salaries between \$5,500 and \$6,200. These four were interviewed and their views of the department are sometimes used to gain insight into the inner workings of Finance, but they are excluded from statistical compilations.

Agriculture: This department had 279 Anglophones and 28 Francophones within the target population. All the Francophones were interviewed. Because the department is the setting for a large number of

research specialists it was decided to increase the Anglophone sample above the usual 30 cases in order to gain a more thorough picture of the scientific career. For this reason 37 persons—13 per cent of the eligible Anglophone respondents—were chosen and interviewed.

Public Works: As in Agriculture, only 28 Francophones fitted our sampling criteria and all were interviewed. There were 173 Anglophones in the population, of whom 32 (18 per cent) were interviewed.

National Revenue (Taxation Division): There were 154 Anglophones and 33 Francophones within the age-salary boundaries. All the Franco-phones and a sample of 33 Anglophones—21 per cent of those eligible—were contacted and interviewed.

In the above, we equate being selected and being interviewed. In general the equation is correct; those who were selected and contacted for an interview appointment invariably were interviewed. Only one Anglophone in Public Works refused to be interviewed. This high acceptance rate resulted from a number of factors. The interview was conducted during office hours at a time convenient to the employee and had been approved by the senior officers of his department. It dealt with a problem about which these men were personally concerned: the impact of bilingual requirements and greater biculturalism on their careers in the federal service. Finally, a promise was made to keep the interview short and to guarantee anonymity to the person so that any critical or personal details he provided would not be attributed to him.

There was one problem which we were forced to solve, not altogether satisfactorily. Between the time of the compilation of the lists and the selection of persons for interviewing, two persons who were selected had left government service. We decided to interview them in any case and treat them as if they were still in federal employment but with definite intentions of leaving. Since they had only left the Service a month or two previously, their employment experiences were still fresh in their minds. We felt that since the accuracy of their recollections would be good and since our sample could remain intact, to include them would be justifiable.

Altogether, then, we interviewed 168 Anglophones and 137 Franco-phones. But, when the five Translators from Montreal and the four persons from Finance were dropped out, the final total was 128 Franco-phones.

In the following tables, the chi-square test has been used to assess the "goodness of fit" between the departmental sample and population. Three criteria have been employed to measure similarity: occupation, salary, and age.

Statistician Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. suggests that if a researcher wants to show that no difference exists, then it is wise to use the .10, .20, or even .30 level of significance to lessen the chance of accepting a false difference.¹ In other words, the chi-square value will have to be quite small or it will exceed these limits. If there is a significant difference between the sample and population then the larger chi-square value will surpass the limits.

A look at the following tables will show that most of the chi-square values fall around the .70 level or higher. Many are close to .90. These indicate a close correspondence between sample and population. In a few cases the value approaches the .20 level but in no case does it exceed .10 which Blalock suggests as the lowest acceptable significance level.

Table A-1
Comparison of the sample and the population in selected departments,
by occupational types

Department of the Secretary of State

	English				French			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Patent								
Examiners	27	(71)	76	(67)	7	(21)	10	(18)
Translators	3	(8)*	7	(6)*	21	(64)	37	(65)
Interpreters	0	(0)*	1	(1)*	2	(6)*	4	(7)*
Others	8	(21)	30	(26)	3	(9)*	6	(11)*
	38	(100)	114	(100)	33	(100)	57	(100)
	$\chi^2=.56, 2 \text{ df}$				$\chi^2=4.58, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .80-.75				P: .25-.20			

Department of Finance

	English				French	
	Sample		Population		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	
Finance						
Officers	21	(75)	32	(66)	3	
Senior						
Officers	2	(7)	6	(13)	2	
Others	5	(18)	10	(21)	1	
	28	(100)	48	(100)	6	
	$\chi^2=.20, 2 \text{ df}$					
	P: .95-.90					

Department of Agriculture

	English				French	
	Sample		Population		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Research						
Officers	18	(49)*	139	(50)*	12	
Research						
Directors	2	(5)*	6	(2)*	0	
Veterinarians	0	(0)*	10	(4)*	5	
Others	17	(46)*	124	(45)*	11	
	37	(100)	279	(100)	28	
	$\chi^2=.11, 1 \text{ df}$					
	P: .75-.70					

*Grouped together for the purpose of chi-square test.

Table A-1 (cont'd)

Department of Public Works

	English		French	
	Sample N %	Population N %	Population N %	
Technical				
Officers	12 (38)	63 (38)	11 (39)	
Engineers	13 (41)	52 (31)	9 (32)	
Architects	5 (16)*	18 (11)*	0 (0)	
Others	2 (6)*	33 (20)*	8 (29)	
	32(100)	166(100)	28(100)	
	$\chi^2=1.8, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .50-.30			

Department of National Revenue

	English		French	
	Sample N %	Population N %	Population N %	
Assessors	12 (36)	55 (36)	9 (27)	
Tax Officers	4 (12)*	10 (6)*	10 (30)	
Computer				
Programmers	3 (9)*	29 (19)*	5 (15)	
Others	14 (43)	60 (39)	9 (27)	
	33(100)	154(100)	33(100)	
	$\chi^2=.19, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .95-.90			

*Grouped together for purpose of chi-square test.

Table A-2
Comparisons of the sample and the population in selected departments,
by salary group

	State English				State French			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$6,200-\$7,999	13	(34)	55	(48)	13	(39)	25	(44)
\$8,000-\$9,999	16	(42)	42	(37)	19	(58)*	30	(52)*
\$10,000 and up	9	(24)	17	(15)	1	(3)*	2	(4)*
	38	(100)	114	(100)	33	(100)	57	(100)
	$\chi^2=3.18, 2 \text{ df}$				$\chi^2=.12, 1 \text{ df}$			
	P: .25-.20				P: .75-.70			

	Finance English				Agriculture English			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$6,200-\$7,999	9	(32)	15	(31)	16	(43)	89	(32)
\$8,000-\$9,999	5	(18)	7	(15)	10	(27)	121	(43)
\$10,000 and up	14	(50)	26	(54)	11	(30)	69	(25)
	23	(100)	48	(100)	37	(100)	279	(100)
	$\chi^2=.31, 2 \text{ df}$				$\chi^2=4.02, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .90-.80				P: .20-.10			

	Public Works English				National Revenue English			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$6,200-\$7,999	11	(34)	72	(41)	19	(58)	72	(47)
\$8,000-\$9,999	13	(41)	62	(36)	9	(27)	57	(37)
\$10,000 and up	8	(25)	40	(23)	5	(15)	25	(16)
	32	(100)	174	(100)	33	(100)	154	(100)
	$\chi^2=.62, 2 \text{ df}$				$\chi^2=1.78, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .75-.70				P: .50-.30			

	All Departments English			
	All samples		Population	
	N	%	N	%
\$6,200-\$7,999	68	(41)	303	(39)
\$8,000-\$9,999	53	(32)	289	(38)
\$10,000 and up	47	(28)	177	(23)
	168	(100)	769	(100)
	$\chi^2=3.29, 2 \text{ df}$			
	P: .20-.10			

*Grouped together for the purpose of chi-square test.

Table A-3

Comparisons of the sample and the population in selected departments, by age group

	State English				State French			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
25-29	2	(5)*	13	(11)*	0	(0)*	3	(5)*
30-34	12	(32)*	26	(23)*	7	(21)*	14	(25)*
35-39	7	(18)	29	(25)	13	(39)	19	(33)
40-45	17	(45)	46	(40)	13	(39)	21	(37)
	38	(100)	114	(100)	33	(100)	57	(100)
	$\chi^2=1.23$, 2 df				$\chi^2=1.34$, 2 df			
	P: .70-.50				P: .70-.50			
	Finance English				Agriculture English			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
25-29	7	(25)	9	(19)	2	(5)*	14	(5)*
30-34	3	(11)*	8	(17)*	5	(14)*	57	(20)*
35-39	4	(14)*	4	(8)*	11	(30)	83	(30)
40-45	14	(50)	27	(56)	19	(51)	125	(45)
	28	(100)	48	(100)	37	(100)	279	(100)
	$\chi^2=1.05$, 2 df				$\chi^2=.67$, 2 df			
	P: .70-.50				P: .75-.70			
	Public Works English				National Revenue English			
	Sample		Population		Sample		Population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
25-29	2	(6)*	8	(5)*	6	(18)*	24	(16)*
30-34	4	(13)*	26	(15)*	6	(18)*	37	(24)*
35-39	8	(25)	44	(25)	9	(27)	41	(27)
40-45	18	(56)	96	(55)	12	(36)	52	(34)
	32	(100)	174	(100)	33	(100)	154	(100)
	$\chi^2=0$, 2 df				$\chi^2=.16$, 2 df			
	P: .99				P: .95-.90			

*Grouped together for purpose of chi-square test.

Table A-3 (cont'd)

	English All Departments			
	All samples		Population	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
25-29	19	(11)	68	(9)
30-34	30	(18)	154	(20)
35-39	39	(23)	201	(26)
40-45	80	(48)	346	(45)
	168	(100)	769	(100)
	$\chi^2=2.25, 3 \text{ df}$			
	P: .70-.50			

*Grouped together for purpose of chi-square test.

PERSONAL INTERVIEW - ENGLISH VERSION
CAREER STUDY

Interview Number _____ Department _____
Date _____ Time Began _____
Length _____ Interviewer _____

Opening Remarks by Interviewer

- 1) Introduction of self.
 - 2) Previous contact with Royal Commission.
 - 3) Explain this is one of 300 interviews being done in five departments.
 - 4) Person was selected at random.
 - 5) Questions concern career patterns and career plans.
 - 6) Focus on bilingual-bicultural element.
 - 7) Anonymous and confidential.
 - 8) Will take 1 to 1½ hours.
-
1. What is your job title and classification?
 2. All together, how long have you been in the civil service?

Now we can start through your career in a chronological way beginning with your early education and working through to your present job.

3. Primary Education

Province where <u>Located</u>	Language of <u>Instruction</u>	Kind of <u>School</u>	Date of <u>Completion</u>
----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------

4. Secondary Education

Location (City <u>and Province)</u>	Language of <u>Instruction</u>	Kind of <u>School</u>	Last Grade Successfully <u>Completed</u>	Date of <u>Completion</u>
--	-----------------------------------	--------------------------	--	------------------------------

5. Post-Secondary

Do you have any education beyond secondary school?

(1) Yes (2) No (If no: go to next section.)

<u>Institution</u>	Language of <u>Instruction</u>	<u>Specialty</u>	Level or Degree <u>Attained</u>	Date of <u>Completion</u>
--------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------------

6. Post-Graduate

Have you done any post-graduate studies?

(1) Yes (2) No (If no: go to next section)

<u>Institution</u>	Language of <u>Instruction</u>	<u>Specialty</u>	Level or Degree <u>Attained</u>	Date of <u>Completion</u>
--------------------	-----------------------------------	------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------------

7. In college or university, were you active in extra-curricular activities? (1) Yes (2) No

If yes: Probe

What types of activities were these?

(Code for:) (1) athletics (2) journalism (3) student administration (4) student politics, debating (5) technical or professional societies (6) mainly social activities, fraternities (7) artistic, literary, and cultural activities (8) patriotic activities (9) religious (10) others.

8. What was your academic standing in your last year of education? Did you stand in the top third, the middle third, or the bottom third of your class? (1) top third (2) middle third (3) bottom third.

9. Was your education ever interrupted for a significant period of time either because you were working full time or on military service?

Probe: Circumstances

How long

Part-time education during this

Related to area of study at school.

10. Did you work in the summers during your university education?

Probe: Jobs held

Related to studies

Relevance to later career.

11. Now we would like to know something about how you came to choose an occupation. Some people have a clear idea of what they want to be from childhood on. Others decide very late, perhaps even after they graduate.

Probe: In your own case, when did you first start thinking of a specific occupation?

What influenced you in that decision?

How committed were you to it?

Did you ever change your mind?

12. In your last year of full-time education, did you have any idea of what company or organization you wanted to work for?

(1) Yes (2) No

13. If yes: What was the name of this organization?

Probe: English- or French-speaking, and location:

(Code into:)

English speaking

French speaking

(1) _____ large company

_____ (8)

(2) _____ small company

_____ (9)

(3) _____ provincial government

_____ (10)

(4) _____ federal government

_____ (11)

(5) _____ teaching

_____ (12)

(6) _____ independent profession

_____ (13)

(7) _____ other

_____ (14)

Location:

14. If appropriate: What circumstances led you to change your earlier choice of an organization?

MILITARY SERVICE

15. Have you ever had Military Service in the Canadian or Allied Forces? (1) Yes (2) No

If no: Proceed to next section.

16. If yes: When was this? _____ to _____ (dates)
17. Was this overseas active service? (1) Yes (2) No
18. What rank were you when you were discharged?
19. What influence do you think this military service had on your decision to enter the public service?
20. What influence has it had on your subsequent career in the civil service?
21. PREVIOUS WORK HISTORY: Did you have any full-time jobs after leaving school but before coming to the service? (1) Yes (2) No. If no: pass to next section.

					<u>Duties</u>	(super-	<u>How did you get</u>
						visory?)	<u>the job?</u>
						(tasks?)	<u>Why did you</u>
<u>Organi-</u>	<u>Loca-</u>			<u>Lan-</u>		(changes	<u>make the move</u>
<u>zation</u>	<u>tion</u>	<u>Kind</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>guage</u>		<u>in level?</u>	<u>to the next one?</u>

REASONS FOR JOINING THE SERVICE:

22. Now could you tell us something about your reasons for joining the service?
- Probe: If general reasons are given: specific circumstances surrounding the decision.
- If specific reasons are given: more general, long-term reasons.
23. How did you obtain your first position in the civil service?
- Probe: size of competition.
24. If through a large competition: Did you get your first choice as to the type of work you wanted to do, the department you wanted to work in, and the position you wanted to fill?
25. When you first joined, how committed were you to staying with the service?
- Probe: re - intentions to leave for more education
- intentions to gain experience and leave
- intentions to leave if better opportunities were available elsewhere.

26. CIVIL SERVICE WORK HISTORY

- Please list the posts you have held since joining the service
- By posts we mean different positions which involved promotions and a change in duties or else changes in classification and grade
- We do not want automatic increases.

Dept. and location	Branch	Job title and class	Duties	Ethnic origin of super- visor	How ob- tained (compe- New group	Reasons for leaving

27. Looking back over your career, were there any moves that you would consider as particularly important turning points?

28. When you first started your career here, did you have a very clear "career plan" in mind?

Probe: - Inter-departmental or departmental
- Sequence of positions within this department.

29. How committed are you at present to continuing your career in the service?

30. What do you see as the progress of your career from here?

Probe: What level do you eventually hope to obtain?

31. Do you see any ceilings or barriers to your continued career progress? (1) Yes (2) No

Probe: If yes: What are they?

Now we would like to know something more about what skills and abilities your present job requires, and how you gained these skills.

32. All told, what kinds of knowledge and skills do you think are most important in your work?

Probe: communication skills
informal or intangible skills.

33. Are these skills mainly administrative or technical skills?

Now we can talk about how you came to acquire your work skills.

34. Have you ever taken any formal training courses?
(1) Yes (2) No

35. If yes: Which ones were these? Whose initiative? Length?
When?
36. How relevant do you think these formal courses have been to your career success?
37. Were there any jobs or assignments especially useful in providing the "right kind of experience"?
38. Were there any people in particular whom you worked for who were especially important in teaching you these skills?
39. Did you have any knowledge of the French language before coming to work for the service? (1) Yes (2) No
40. If yes: How did you pick it up?
41. When you first started working for the civil service did you have any language difficulties resulting from the use of French in certain situations? (1) Yes (2) No
42. If yes: What were they?
43. How did you meet these difficulties?
44. Throughout your career have there been any extended periods of time when your fellow workers have been mainly French Canadians? (1) Yes (2) No
Probe: What language did you speak then?
45. When in your career was this?
46. Have there been any other times during your career when you used French as a language of work? (1) Yes (2) No
Probe: How long was this?
47. Under what circumstances and with whom did you do this?
Probe: Superiors, subordinates, colleagues, the public.
48. Do you think that the language difference has affected your work performance? (1) Yes (2) No
49. Do you think that the language difference has affected your chances for promotion? (1) Yes (2) No
Probe: In what ways?
50. Do you think that the French-speaking have as equal an opportunity to gain "the right kind of experience" and "informal training" as the English-speaking?

51. Do you think the promotion system as it works at present is a fair one? (1) Yes (2) No

Probe: Why do you think this way?

52. How important are activities and connections outside work to career success in the service?

Probe: a) Professional organizations
b) Other organizations
c) Social activities
d) Wife.

53. So far we have been talking about your career as if it was going on in a vacuum. Undoubtedly events outside the service such as making new friends, marriage, raising a family, and so on affected your career decisions. Can you tell us something about this?

Probe: - marriage
- children
- buying a home
- making friends

54. At what stage in your career did these events occur and what effect did they have on career planning?

In the light of what we've discussed about your own career, the promotion process, etc., let's consider the hypothetical case of a young man entering the civil service now who wants to get to the top as soon as possible and who comes to you for advice.

55. What would his best route to the top be?

Probe: Departmental or inter-departmental.

56. What qualities would he need to get ahead? Probe:

57. What effect do you think the recent emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism has had so far on the relative positions of French and English in this department?

58. What effect do you think it will have in the civil service in the future?

59. Has it affected your own career hopes in any way? Probe:

60. When you were first thinking of joining the service, did the prospect of moving to Ottawa have any bearing on your decision?

61. At present, what do you think of Ottawa-Hull as a place to live?

Probe: - schools
- cultural facilities
- municipal administration.

62. If you had a choice, is there any other Canadian city in which you would rather live and work? Why?

CAREER QUESTIONNAIRE - ENGLISH VERSION

Q.1. What is your marital status?

Q.2. (If applicable), how many children do you have?

Q.3. Where were you born?

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|------------|
| 1. B.C. | 2. Alta. | 3. Sask. | 4. Man. |
| 5. Ont. | 6. Que. | 7. N.B. | 8. N.S. |
| 9. P.E.I. | 10. Nfld. | 11. Yukon or NWT | 12. U.S.A. |
| 13. U.K. | 14. Other | 15. France | 16. Other |
| Commonwealth | | | |

Q.4. Indicate the ethnic or cultural group to which you or your ancestor (on the male side) belonged on coming to this continent. (ethnic origin)

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
| 1. English | 2. Scottish | 3. Irish | 4. French |
| 5. German | 6. Italian | 7. Ukrainian | 8. Polish |
| 9. Netherlands | 10. Jewish | 11. Scandinavian | 12. Other |

Q.5. If married, indicate the ethnic or cultural group to which your spouse belongs.

- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|
| 1. English | 2. Scottish | 3. Irish | 4. French |
| 5. German | 6. Italian | 7. Ukrainian | 8. Polish |
| 9. Netherlands | 10. Jewish | 11. Scandinavian | 12. Other |

Q.6. Which is the language you first learned in childhood and still understand? (mother tongue)

- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. English | 2. French | 3. German | 4. Italian |
| 5. Ukrainian | 6. Polish | 7. Netherlands | 8. Indian or |
| 9. Yiddish | 10. Scandinavian | 11. Other | Eskimo |

Q.7. What is your reading ability in French?

- | | | | |
|---------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. NONE | 2. LIMITED - | 3. FAIR - | 4. CONSIDERABLE - |
| | I have a great | I have some | I have little |
| | deal of dif- | difficulty. | or no diffi- |
| | ficulty. | | culty at all. |

Q.8. What is your writing ability in French?

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---|---|
| 1. NONE | 2. LIMITED -
I have a great
deal of dif-
ficulty. | 3. FAIR -
I have some
difficulty. | 4. CONSIDERABLE -
I have little
or no diffi-
culty at all. |
|---------|--|---|---|

Q.9. What is your speaking ability in French?

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---|---|
| 1. NONE | 2. LIMITED -
I have a great
deal of dif-
ficulty. | 3. FAIR -
I have some
difficulty. | 4. CONSIDERABLE -
I have little
or no diffi-
culty at all. |
|---------|--|---|---|

Q.10. What is your ability to understand spoken French?

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---|---|
| 1. NONE | 2. LIMITED -
I have a great
deal of dif-
ficulty. | 3. FAIR -
I have some
difficulty. | 4. CONSIDERABLE -
I have little
or no diffi-
culty at all. |
|---------|--|---|---|

Q.11. Which one of the following is closest to describing your father's occupation during most of his lifetime?
(Circle only one number.)

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Professional | 2. Managerial | 3. Clerical and |
| 4. Skilled
Tradesman | 5. Semi-skilled
Tradesman | Sales |
| 7. Farm Owner | 8. Farm Labourer | 6. Labourer |
| | | 9. Other |

Q.12. In which category has your father had the major part of his employment? (Circle only one number)

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Federal Public
Service
(including Crown
Corporations) | 2. Provincial
Public Service | 3. Municipal
Public Ser-
vice,
(other
than
schools) |
| 4. Armed Forces | 5. Schools or
Universities | |
| 7. Employed by Private
Business | 8. Other
Employment | 6. Self-employ-
ment |

Q.13. In which category would you estimate your father's income when you were about 16 years of age?

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Under \$3,000 | 4. \$7,000-\$9,000 | 7. \$13,000-\$15,000 |
| 2. \$3,000-\$5,000 | 5. \$9,000-\$11,000 | 8. Over \$15,000 |
| 3. \$5,000-\$7,000 | 6. \$11,000-\$13,000 | |

Q.14. What was the last grade or level of education attained by your father?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Elementary school | 6. Bachelor's degree |
| 2. Some high school | 7. Master's degree |
| 3. Finished high school | 8. Doctor's degree |
| 4. Diploma or certificate
after high school | 9. Diploma or certificate
after university degree |
| 5. Some college or university | |

Q.15. To which religious denomination do you belong?

(No Q.16.)

Q.17. Do you belong to any professional or technical associations?
(Including the Professional Institute of the Public Service.)

1. Yes 2. No

Q.18. If yes: Please list them.

Q.19. Do you belong to any clubs, veterans' associations, fraternal orders, etc.?

1. Yes 2. No

Q.20. If yes: Please list them.

Q.21. Has your department sent you to any conferences related to your work in the last year?

1. Yes 2. No

Q.22. If yes: Please list them.

Q.23. Have you had any articles published in the last year?

1. Yes 2. No

Q.24. If yes: Please list title(s) and journal(s).

Q.25. Are you presently a member of any departmental committees?

1. Yes 2. No

Q.26. If yes: Please list them.

Q.27. Are you presently a member of any inter-departmental committees?

1. Yes 2. No

Q.28. If yes: Please list them.

- Q.29. Have you ever been on special assignments with outside agencies (such as those of the United Nations)?
1. Yes 2. No
- Q.30. If yes: which ones? when?
- Q.31. Do you live in a predominantly French or English residential area?
1. Mostly English
2. Mostly French
3. About half and half
- Q.32. Of your three best friends, how many belong to the following ethnic groups?
1. French _____
2. English _____
3. Other (specify) _____
- Q.33. Do or did your children go to a French-language or English-language school?
1. French-language
2. English-language
3. Bilingual

INTERVIEW - VERSION FRANÇAISE

ÉTUDE SUR LES CARRIÈRES

No de l'interview _____ Ministère _____
Date _____ Heure _____
Durée _____ Interviewer _____

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Contacts précédents avec la Commission
- 3) 300 interviews de ce genre sont menées actuellement dans cinq ministères
- 4) Vous avez été choisi au hasard
- 5) Ce qui nous intéresse : votre carrière et vos plans de carrière
- 6) L'aspect du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme
- 7) C'est anonyme et confidentiel
- 8) Durée prévue : entre 1½ et 2 heures.

1. Quel est votre emploi et sa classification?
2. Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous à l'emploi de la fonction publique fédérale?

Pouvons-nous maintenant effectuer un retour en arrière et retracer chronologiquement les étapes de votre carrière depuis les bancs de l'école jusqu'à votre emploi actuel.

3. Enseignement élémentaire :

<u>Province</u>	<u>Langue d'enseignement</u>	<u>Type d'école</u>	<u>Date</u>
-----------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------	-------------

4. Enseignement secondaire :

<u>Endroit (ville et province)</u>	<u>Langue d'en- seignement</u>	<u>Type d'école</u>	<u>Dernière année complétée avec succès</u>	<u>Date</u>
--	------------------------------------	-------------------------	---	-------------

5. Enseignement post-secondaire : Avez-vous fait d'autres études après votre cours secondaire (i.e. après la Rhétorique ou la douzième année)? (1) oui (2) non
(Si non, passer à la section suivante)

<u>Nom de l'institution</u>	<u>Langue d'enseignement</u>	<u>Diplôme Spécialisation</u>	<u>obtenu</u>	<u>Date</u>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---------------	-------------

6. Enseignement universitaire : Avez-vous fait des études au niveau de la maîtrise, de la licence ou du doctorat? (1) oui (2) non
(Si non, passer à la page suivante)

<u>Nom de l'institution</u>	<u>Langue d'enseignement</u>	<u>Diplôme Spécialisation</u>	<u>obtenu</u>	<u>Date</u>
---------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---------------	-------------

7. Au collège ou à l'université, preniez-vous part à des activités extra-académiques? (1) oui (2) non

Si oui, précisez :

Quel genre d'activités était-ce?

Coder ainsi : (1) activités sportives (2) journalisme (3) administration étudiante (4) politique étudiante - débats (5) sociétés techniques ou professionnelles (6) activités sociales - fraternités (7) activités artistiques, littéraires ou culturelles (8) action patriotique (9) activités religieuses (10) autres.

8. Pendant vos dernières années d'étude, quels étaient vos résultats académiques à comparer avec ceux de vos confrères? Vous rangiez-vous dans : (1) le premier tiers (2) le second tiers (3) le troisième tiers?

9. Avez-vous eu à interrompre vos études pour travailler (à plein temps) ou servir dans les Forces armées?

Préciser : Pourquoi?

Pendant combien de temps?

Cours suivis durant cette période?

Travail relié de près ou de loin aux études?

10. Durant vos études universitaires avez-vous travaillé pendant les vacances d'été?

Préciser : Emplois
Relation avec les études
Rapport avec la carrière future.

11. Maintenant nous aimerions savoir ce qui vous a amené à choisir une occupation. Certains ont, dès leur enfance, une idée arrêtée de ce qu'ils feront plus tard. D'autres se fixent très tardivement, voire même seulement après leurs études terminées.

Préciser : Vous-même, quand avez-vous songé à une occupation précise?
Qu'est-ce qui vous a amené à faire ce choix?
Ce choix était-il bien arrêté dans votre esprit?
Avez-vous par la suite changé d'idée?

12. Pendant votre dernière année d'études, aviez-vous une idée du genre d'entreprise pour laquelle vous désiriez travailler?
(1) oui (2) non

13. Si oui, pour qui?

Préciser : D'expression française ou anglaise, et en droit:

Expression <u>anglaise</u>	Expression <u>française</u>
(1) _____ grande entreprise	_____ (8)
(2) _____ petite entreprise	_____ (9)
(3) _____ Gouvernement provincial	_____ (10)
(4) _____ Gouvernement fédéral	_____ (11)
(5) _____ enseignement	_____ (12)
(6) _____ profession libérale	_____ (13)
(7) _____ autre	_____ (14)

Endroit?

14. S'il y a lieu : Quelles circonstances vous ont amené à modifier vos projets initiaux?

SERVICE MILITAIRE

15. Avez-vous déjà servi dans les Forces armées canadiennes ou alliées? (1) oui (2) non

Si non, passer à la section suivante.

16. Si oui :

Quand? De _____ à _____ (dates)

17. Etait-ce du service actif outre-mer? (1) oui (2) non

18. Quel grade occupiez-vous quand vous avez été démobilisé?
19. Votre service militaire a-t-il influencé votre décision de joindre la fonction publique?
20. Comment votre service militaire a-t-il influencé votre carrière au sein de la fonction publique fédérale?
21. TRAVAIL ANTÉRIEUR : Avez-vous occupé des emplois à plein temps après avoir terminé vos études et avant d'entrer au service de la fonction publique fédérale? (1) oui (2) non

Si non, passer à la section suivante.

Nom de l'entre- prise	Endroit	Type	Date	Lan- gue	Attri- (super- bu- vision?) <u>tions</u> (tâches?)	Comment avez- vous obtenu cet emploi?	Pourquoi avez- vous changé d'emploi?
					(change- ments?)		

MOTIFS D'ENTRÉE AU SERVICE CIVIL

22. Nous aimerions connaître les motifs qui vous ont amené à joindre la fonction publique?

Faire préciser : Si des motifs d'ordre général sont donnés, faire spécifier les circonstances particulières entourant cette décision.

Si des circonstances particulières sont invoquées, faire donner les raisons d'ordre général à long terme entourant cette décision.

23. Comment avez-vous obtenu votre premier emploi dans la fonction publique?

Préciser : Nombre de candidats admis à ce concours?

24. Si plusieurs candidats ont été admis en même temps que vous ("Large competition") :

Est-ce que votre premier poste correspondait à celui que vous vouliez obtenir? Était-ce ce genre de travail que vous vouliez faire? Était-ce pour ce ministère que vous vouliez travailler?

25. Au début, étiez-vous bien déterminé à demeurer dans la fonction publique fédérale?

Préciser : - intention de quitter pour parfaire études
- désir d'acquérir de l'expérience pour laisser ensuite le service
- intention de quitter advenant de meilleures offres d'emploi ailleurs.

26. HISTOIRE DE TRAVAIL DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE :

- S.V.P. énumérer les différents postes que vous avez occupés depuis vos débuts dans la fonction publique.
- Par POSTES, il faut entendre des emplois différents qui impliquent des promotions, des changements dans les attributions ou encore des changements de classification.
- Il ne s'agit pas ici des augmentations de traitement statutaires ou automatiques.

Minis- tère et <u>endroit</u>	Divi- sion <u>sion</u>	Emploi et classi- fication <u>fication</u>	Attri- butions <u>butions</u>	Ori- gine eth- nique du supé- rieur <u>rieur</u>	Mode d'obten- tion (con- cours) <u>cours</u>	Nou- veau groupe <u>groupe</u>	Motifs de change- ments <u>ments</u>
--	------------------------------	--	-------------------------------------	---	---	---	--

27. Au cours de votre carrière y a-t-il eu des tournants décisifs?

28. Lorsqu'a débuté votre carrière de fonctionnaire fédéral, aviez-vous en tête des plans précis ("career plans")?

Préciser : - Dans plusieurs ministères ou à l'intérieur d'un seul ministère.
- Postes successifs prévus.

29. À l'heure actuelle jusqu'à quel point tenez-vous à faire encore carrière dans le service civil?

30. Comment envisagez-vous le progrès de votre carrière?

Préciser : Quel niveau espérez-vous atteindre éventuellement?

31. Voyez-vous des obstacles au progrès de votre carrière?
(1) oui (2) non

Préciser : Si oui, quels sont-ils?

Nous voudrions connaître maintenant les aptitudes et l'expérience de travail que requiert votre occupation actuelle. Nous voudrions aussi savoir comment vous avez acquis ces aptitudes et cette expérience de travail.

32. En gros, quelles sortes de connaissances et d'aptitudes sont, selon vous, les plus importantes dans votre travail?

Préciser : - L'art de communiquer ("communication skills")
- Aptitudes difficilement définissables acquises par l'expérience ("informal and intangible skills").

33. Est-ce que ces connaissances et ces aptitudes sont surtout d'ordre administratif ou technique?

Maintenant nous allons parler de la manière dont vous avez acquis votre habileté au travail ("work skills").

34. Avez-vous déjà suivi des cours d'apprentissage? (1) oui (2) non
35. Si oui : Lesquels? Qui en a eu l'initiative? Durée? Quand?
36. Ces cours ont-ils contribué au succès de votre carrière?
37. Certains postes ou emplois ont-ils contribué à vous faire acquérir une expérience de travail "adéquate" ("a right kind of experience")?
38. Certaines personnes vous ont-elles particulièrement aidé à acquérir cette expérience?
39. Avant d'entrer au service civil, connaissiez-vous l'anglais?
(1) oui (2) non
40. Si oui : Comment aviez-vous acquis cette connaissance?
41. Au début, l'usage de l'anglais vous a-t-il causé certaines difficultés dans l'exercice de votre travail? (1) oui (2) non
42. Si oui : En quelles circonstances?
43. Comment avez-vous surmonté ces difficultés?
44. Au cours de votre carrière vous a-t-il été donné de travailler surtout avec les Canadiens français pendant des périodes prolongées? (1) oui (2) non
Préciser : Quelle langue parliez-vous alors?
45. Quand?
46. Avez-vous eu, au cours de votre carrière, à vous servir du français comme langue de travail? (1) oui (2) non
Préciser : Pendant combien de temps?
47. En quelles occasions et avec qui?
Préciser : Supérieurs - subordonnés - collègues - public
48. Croyez-vous que la différence de langue ait pu affecter la qualité de votre rendement? (1) oui (2) non
Préciser : En quoi?

49. Croyez-vous que la différence de langue ait pu affecter vos chances d'avancement? (1) oui (2) non

Préciser : En quoi?

50. Croyez-vous que les Canadiens français ont autant de chances que les Canadiens anglais d'acquérir cette expérience adéquate ("the right kind of experience") et cette habileté au travail qui ne s'enseigne pas ("informal training")?

51. Croyez-vous que le présent système de promotion est juste? (1) oui (2) non

Préciser : Expliquez votre réponse.

52. Quelle importance ont les activités et les relations en dehors du travail comme facteurs de succès dans la fonction publique?

Préciser : a) associations professionnelles
b) autres organisations
c) activités sociales
d) rôle de l'épouse.

53. Jusqu'à maintenant il a été question de votre carrière, comme si elle ne s'était déroulée qu'en vase clos. Sans doute le fait de vous faire de nouveaux amis ou de vous marier, ou d'élever une famille a-t-il pesé dans les décisions qui ont affecté votre carrière. Pourriez-vous nous en parler?

Préciser : - mariage
- enfants
- achat d'une maison
- nouveaux amis.

54. À quels moments de votre carrière ces événements sont-ils survenus, et en quoi ont-ils influencé vos projets?

À la lumière de ce qui a été dit au sujet de votre carrière, des promotions, etc., imaginons le cas hypothétique d'un jeune homme qui entre dans la fonction publique et qui veut connaître votre avis sur la façon d'atteindre le plus vite possible les plus hauts échelons.

55. Quel serait le meilleur chemin à prendre?

Préciser : Au sein d'un même ministère ou dans plusieurs ministères.

56. Quelles qualités lui seraient requises? Préciser

57. L'importance accordée depuis peu au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme a-t-elle affecté la situation respective des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais, au sein de ce ministère?

58. Quelle influence, selon vous, cela aura-t-il dans l'avenir, au sein du fonctionnarisme fédéral?
59. Cela a-t-il affecté vos perspectives d'avenir comme fonctionnaire
Préciser
60. Quand vous avez songé à joindre la fonction publique, est-ce la perspective de déménager à Ottawa (ou de demeurer à Ottawa) a influencé votre décision?
61. À l'heure actuelle, que pensez-vous d'Ottawa-Hull comme lieu de résidence?
Préciser : - écoles
- facilités culturelles
- administration municipale
62. Si vous en aviez le choix, préféreriez-vous travailler et résider dans une autre ville du Canada? Pourquoi?

QUESTIONNAIRE - VERSION FRANÇAISE

ÉTUDE SUR LES CARRIÈRES

- Q.1. Quel est votre état civil?
- Q.2. (S'il y a lieu) Combien d'enfants avez-vous?
- Q.3. Où êtes-vous né?
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| 1. C.-B. | 2. Alberta | 3. Sask. | 4. Man. |
| 5. Ont. | 6. P.Q. | 7. N.-B. | 8. N.-É. |
| 9. I.-P.-É. | 10. Terre-Neuve | 11. Yukon ou | 12. États-Unis |
| 13. Royaume-Uni | 14. Autre pays du Commonwealth | Territoires du N.-Ouest | 16. Autre |
| | | 15. France | |
- Q.4. Indiquez à quel groupe ethnique ou culturel appartenait votre ancêtre paternel (ou vous-même) lors de son arrivée en Amérique? (origine ethnique)
- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Anglais | 2. Écossais | 3. Irlandais | 4. Français |
| 5. Allemand | 6. Italien | 7. Ukrainien | 8. Polonais |
| 9. Néerlandais | 10. Juif | 11. Scandinave | 12. Autre |
- Q.5. (Si marié) Indiquez à quel groupe ethnique ou culturel appartient votre épouse?
- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Anglais | 2. Écossais | 3. Irlandais | 4. Français |
| 5. Allemand | 6. Italien | 7. Ukrainien | 8. Polonais |
| 9. Néerlandais | 10. Juif | 11. Scandinave | 12. Autre |

Q.6. Quelle est la première langue que vous avez apprise dans l'enfance et que vous comprenez encore? (langue maternelle)

- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Anglais | 2. Français | 3. Allemand | 4. Italien |
| 5. Ukrainien | 6. Polonais | 7. Néerlandais | 8. Dialecte |
| 9. Yiddish | 10. Scandinave | 11. Autre | indien ou esquimaud |

Q.7. Possibilité de lire l'anglais?

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 1. NULLE | 2. LIMITÉE -
J'éprouve
beaucoup de
difficultés | 3. CONVENABLE -
J'éprouve
quelques
difficultés | 4. CONSIDÉRABLE -
Je n'éprouve
pas ou pres-
que pas de
difficultés |
|----------|---|---|--|

Q.8. Possibilité d'écrire l'anglais?

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 1. NULLE | 2. LIMITÉE -
J'éprouve
beaucoup de
difficultés | 3. CONVENABLE -
J'éprouve
quelques
difficultés | 4. CONSIDÉRABLE
Je n'éprouve
pas ou pres-
que pas de
difficultés |
|----------|---|---|--|

Q.9. Possibilité de parler l'anglais?

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 1. NULLE | 2. LIMITÉE -
J'éprouve
beaucoup de
difficultés | 3. CONVENABLE -
J'éprouve
quelques
difficultés | 4. CONSIDÉRABLE
Je n'éprouve
pas ou pres-
que pas de
difficultés |
|----------|---|---|--|

Q.10. Possibilité de comprendre l'anglais parlé?

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 1. NULLE | 2. LIMITÉE -
J'éprouve
beaucoup de
difficultés | 3. CONVENABLE -
J'éprouve
quelques
difficultés | 4. CONSIDÉRABLE
Je n'éprouve
pas ou pres-
que pas de
difficultés |
|----------|---|---|--|

Q.11. Laquelle des catégories suivantes décrit le mieux l'occupation de votre père durant la majeure partie de sa vie? (N'encerclez qu'un seul numéro)

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Professionnel | 2. Administrateur | 3. Employé de bureau |
| 4. Ouvrier
spécialisé | 5. Ouvrier semi-
spécialisé | ou vendeur |
| 7. Agriculteur | 8. Salarié agricole | 6. Manoeuvre |
| | | 9. Autre |

Q.12. Quel a été le principal employeur de votre père?
(N'encerclez qu'un seul numéro)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1. Fonction publique
fédérale (y
compris les
corporations de
la Couronne) | 2. Fonction publique
provinciale
5. Écoles ou
Universités | 3. Fonction publi-
que municipale
(à l'exclusion
des écoles) |
| 4. Forces armées | 8. Autre employeur | 6. À son propre
compte |
| 7. Employé par
l'entreprise
privée | | |

Q.13. Quel était le salaire annuel de votre père quand vous aviez
16 ans?

- | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Moins de \$3,000 | 4. \$ 7,000-\$ 9,000 | 7. \$13,000-\$15,000 |
| 2. \$3,000-\$5,000 | 5. \$ 9,000-\$11,000 | 8. \$15,000 et plus |
| 3. \$5,000-\$7,000 | 6. \$11,000-\$13,000 | |

Q.14. Quel était le niveau d'instruction de votre père?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Études primaires | 6. Baccalauréat spécialisé |
| 2. Études secondaires non
terminées | 7. Licence ou maîtrise |
| 3. Études secondaires
terminées | 8. Doctorat |
| 4. Diplôme ou certificat
après études secondaires | 9. Diplôme ou certificat
d'études post-
universitaires |
| 5. Collège ou université | |

Q.15. À quelle religion appartenez-vous?

Q.17. Appartenez-vous à des associations professionnelles ou tech-
niques? (Y inclus l'Institut Professionnel du service civil)
(1) oui (2) non

Q.18. Si oui : Lesquelles?

Q.19. Êtes-vous membre de clubs, d'associations de vétérans, de
fraternités, d'organisations diverses?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.20. Si oui : Lesquels?

Q.21. Au cours de la dernière année, votre ministère vous a-t-il
délégué à des conférences ou congrès concernant votre travail?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.22. Si oui : En donner la liste.

Q.23. Au cours de la dernière année, avez-vous publié des articles?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.24. Si oui : Énumérer les titres et indiquer dans quelle(s) publication(s).

Q.25. À l'heure actuelle, faites-vous partie de comités ministériels?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.26. Si oui : Lesquels?

Q.27. Actuellement êtes-vous membre de comité(s) inter-ministériel(s)?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.28. Si oui : Lesquels?

Q.29. Avez-vous déjà été affecté à des postes spéciaux dans des agences étrangères (tels les postes spéciaux des Nations Unies)?
(1) oui (2) non

Q.30. Si oui : Lesquels? Quand?

Q.31. Demeurez-vous dans un quartier à prédominance française ou anglaise?

1. Prédominance française
2. Prédominance anglaise
3. Autant française qu'anglaise

Q.32. À quel(s) groupe(s) ethnique(s) appartiennent vos trois meilleurs amis?

Français _____
Anglais _____
Autre (préciser) _____

Q.33. Si vous avez des enfants

Est-ce que vos enfants ont fréquenté ou fréquentent actuellement une école française ou une école anglaise?

1. Française
2. Anglaise
3. Bilingue

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW

FRENCH COURSES

Interview Number _____ Interviewer _____

Department _____ Date _____

INTRODUCTION (suggested only)

Excuse me, Mr. _____. This is _____ of the B and B Commission, the one who talked to you last _____. I'm sorry to trouble you again but I've been going over the notes on the interview we had and there seem to be a couple of rather important questions involving French courses or French lessons which I missed. Would you mind if I quickly ask them now?

1. First of all, could you tell me if, at present, you are taking a French course; or if you have taken one in the recent past?

(a) YES (has) (b) NO (hasn't)

Probe: - given by Civil Service or other agency
- what type (how long, how many hours a week, etc.)

NOTE: If answer to Q. 1 is "YES" go on to 2B and 2C. If "NO" do 2A.

- 2A. Have you ever thought of taking a French course? Or have you not really given it any consideration?

Probe: - reasons for considering or non-considering

- 2B. What would you say are the chief reasons behind your taking the
_____ course?

Probe: - whose initiative

- if possible, try to determine primary reason

- 2C. How helpful or valuable do you feel the course is, or perhaps
will be in the future?

Probe: - how much opportunity do you have to use what you have
learned?

3. Is there anything more you feel you might add concerning these
courses—any general comments?

This large survey was directed by John W.C. Johnstone of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, and Denis Ledoux and William Klein of the staff of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The questionnaire was distributed in the major departments and agencies of the federal administration. Later, certain Crown corporations were also surveyed. The findings presented in this study and the following discussion refer only to the original survey of federal departments and agencies.

The sample questionnaire survey of the federal Public Service was drawn from a listing of position numbers provided by the Civil Service Commission in September 1964; this was the listing that had been employed by the Civil Service Commission in April 1964. Included in this listing of 193,973 positions were 1,001 that were under review at that time. Because of the lack of information concerning the latter positions, we were advised by the Civil Service Commission to disregard those under review, thus giving an effective listing of 192,972 records.

Of special concern in the study were the responses of those most likely to be at the decision-making level of the Public Service. This prompted a two-stage sampling design, in which the first stage removed all those positions in a salary range with a maximum of \$10,000 or more; this created a census of 6,396 positions within this high-salaried group.

The remaining 186,576 records were grouped according to department and then by income and occupational classification, and from each group a sample of one in 26 was drawn, to yield 7,176 positions. In total, therefore, there were 13,572 positions chosen, the incumbents of which would be sent questionnaires to be filled in. Questionnaires were then prepared for the potential sample of 13,572 by position number and department. At the same time, a letter was directed to all deputy ministers concerned, requesting the co-operation of the department and the appointment of an officer to facilitate the distribution of the questionnaires. An interview was then arranged with each of

the departmental officers and they were given a printed sheet of instructions which indicated how to handle such categories as position abolished, illness and leave, positions transferred, positions abroad and vacancies.

Table A-4

Distribution of questionnaires in the survey of the Canadian Public Service

Maximum salary in salary range	Usable questionnaires	Non-response	Sample loss*	Total (preliminary sample)
\$10,000 or more	4,461	1,069	874	6,396
Under \$10,000	4,698	1,586	884	7,176
Total	9,159	2,655	1,758	13,572

*These are positions dropped from the sample because it was discovered that there was no incumbent available to complete the questionnaire. These were usually vacant positions or posts that had recently been abolished.

The distribution of the questionnaires took place between July 30 and September 3, 1965. During that time and shortly thereafter, there was continuous liaison between the Royal Commission and the officers concerned. The shared aspect of this work produced a spirit of co-operation which undoubtedly contributed to the high response rate achieved.

Table A-4 presents the results of the distribution of questionnaires. It indicated that 9,159 usable questionnaires were returned to the Royal Commission. Some questionnaires were returned incompleated because there was no current incumbent of the position identified. These 1,758 positions were dropped from the sample since incumbents of these posts were deemed not to exist. The remaining 2,655 questionnaires went to positions where persons were known to be holding the post, but these persons did not return their questionnaires.

When the 1,758 posts lost from the sample are dropped out, the actual sample is 11,814 (13,572 minus 1,758). Table A-5 shows that 77.6 per cent of the actual sample returned usable questionnaires. Such a response rate is as high as the level achieved in surveys using interviewers who often make three or four calls in an attempt to locate the respondent and gather the desired information. In short, it is an impressively high level of response for a distributed questionnaire that did not involve a follow-up by members of the research staff.

Table A-5

Response rate in the survey of the Canadian Public Service

Maximum salary in salary range	Actual sample*	Usable questionnaires	Percentage responding
\$10,000 or more	5,530	4,461	80.7
Under \$10,000	6,284	4,698	74.8
Total	11,814	9,159	77.6

*These are the figures that result when the sample loss is subtracted from the preliminary sample.

It was necessary to combine the top salary group (over \$10,000) with those at lower salary levels in order to arrive at general results for the federal departments. Since the upper group was an attempt at a census while the lower group was a sample of one in 26, this involved giving extra weight to the sample since it represented a large body of persons. Thus, weights were attached to those in the sample, and findings were derived by combining the weighted sample with the census. The tables and figures in the text show the numbers in the census plus *unweighted* sample, but the results in every instance are based on the census plus weighted sample.

Within each department studied, we drew a random sample of Anglophone respondents. In only one department (State) was it possible to draw a random sample of Francophones; in the other departments, all the available Francophones within our age and salary limits were interviewed. Hence, where possible, random sampling procedures were followed.

In any study of a population based on observations of a sample, some differences between the sample and the population universe from which it is drawn are bound to occur. Our samples were checked against as many population facts as were known about each department (occupational distribution, salary distribution, age distribution). The results are presented elsewhere (Appendix IV) but, in general, it was found that according to all available information our samples closely corresponded to the departmental universes from which they were extracted.

Likewise, our five departments were checked against the total relevant population in all government departments (see Chapter III). From the limited available information, it appears that the chosen departments provide a fairly representative cross-section of the Public Service. One could expect that *differences found between categories* in our sample would also be found elsewhere. However, one must be careful in making specific generalizations about what percentage of all—or some category of—public servants in our target population feel a certain way, have done certain things, or whatever.

Our concern here is to establish standards that would lead us to suspect that a difference between categories exists. Given our random sampling, it is possible to calculate the likelihood that the differences would have appeared by chance alone—that is, by sampling errors. We can make valid estimates of the probable magnitude of the errors resulting from reliance on observations of only a sample of the total population. Then, if the difference between the sample categories exceeds those that might have occurred by sampling errors

alone, we conclude that there is indeed a difference between categories.

Such a procedure is known as a "test of statistical significance." These tests are much used in the social science literature, but also much abused. They are often leaned on as an indicator of "real" or "true" differences between people. We have avoided such a strategy by attempting to weave together the statistical differences with the qualitative material provided by the interviews and the analysis of the formal structures within which our respondents were located. By examining a variety of sources of information, including the statistical evidence, we were able to identify relevant similarities or differences between groupings.

Of particular interest is the "cluster" or "pattern" of findings bearing on the same topic. For example, a set of questions tapping "satisfaction" with the Public Service as a career setting can be examined. If differences between Francophones and Anglophones or between career types appear consistently from one question to another, then one can be more certain of the findings. Hence, it is more valuable to consider a pattern of relationships rather than dwelling on one item, often taken out of context.

However, there is a fairly easy guide to statistical differences that has been employed when necessary. This is a table presenting the number of percentage points which must separate two groups if a statistical difference is to be claimed. When the observed percentage difference is greater than that presented, then it is possible to say that the probability is .10 or less, that the difference was due to sampling errors. In other words, there are 90 chances in 100 that the difference is not due to chance error.

The table is designed to compare two sub-groups within a single sample. However, it seems safe to use it to compare two similar samples (the Francophone and the Anglophone samples), and it will be used this way as well.

Two tables present the minimum differences required to claim statistical significance. Table A-6 presents the figures for situations *where the direction of the difference was predicted in advance*. That is to say, this table is used when a test about a predicted difference suggested by other research is used. This is known as a "one-tailed" test.

Table A-6 indicates, for instance, that if we expect that Anglophones will be concentrated at higher salary levels in comparison to the Francophones, a percentage difference of eight to nine points or greater would be required when our total Francophone sample (N:128) is compared to the total Anglophone sample (N:168). If the two percentages being compared are around 20 or 80 per cent, or 10 or 90 per cent, a difference of five or six points or greater would be significant. An inspection of Table 9.10 shows, in fact, that a significantly greater percentage of Anglophones than Francophones are concentrated at higher salary levels.

When a subsample of about 25 persons is compared to another subsample of the same size or larger, the statistical test is only accurate when both percentages are between 35 and 65; a difference of 18 percentage points or more is required to be significant. With larger subsamples—around 50 cases in both—a difference of 13 percentage points or more would be significant when the percentages lie between 35 and 65. Around 20 or 80 per cent, a difference of 10 points or more would be significant when the two samples being compared each contain about 50 persons.

Table A-6
Sampling errors of differences between percentages: one-tail, P = .10

Sample size	300	200	100	75	50	25
<i>For percentages from 35 to 65 per cent</i>						
300	5	6	7	8	10	14
200		7	8	9	10	14
100			9	10	11	14
75				10	12	15
50					13	16
25						18
<i>For percentages around 20 and 80 per cent</i>						
300	4	5	6	7	8	
200		5	6	7	8	
100			7	8	9	
75				9	10	
50					10	
<i>For percentages around 10 and 90 per cent</i>						
300	3	4	4	5		
200		4	5	5		
100			6			

Table A-7 presents the percentage differences necessary for significance at the .01 level *where the direction of the difference was not predicted in advance*. This table is used when the data is being inspected to see if differences appear in areas about which the researcher has no previous hunch. This is known as a "two-tailed" test.

When no hypothesis has been made about the distribution within the total Anglophone and Francophone samples, a difference of 10 to 12 percentage points or more is needed when the two percentages lie between 35 and 65 in order to claim statistical significance. With smaller subsamples—25 to 50 in size—in the same range, differences between 13 and 23 points or larger would be necessary for significance. At the extremes—comparisons between percentages 20 per cent or smaller, or 80 per cent and larger—larger subsamples must be used but the necessary differences are smaller.

Table A-7

Sampling errors of differences between percentages: two-tail, $P = .10$

Sample size	300	200	100	75	50	25
<i>For percentages from 35 to 65 per cent</i>						
300	7	8	9	11	13	17
200		8	10	11	13	17
100			12	13	14	18
75				13	15	19
50					17	20
25						23
<i>For percentages around 20 and 80 per cent</i>						
300	5	6	8	8	10	
200		7	8	9	11	
100			9	11	12	
75				12	12	
50					13	
<i>For percentages around 10 and 90 per cent</i>						
300	4	5	6	7		
200		5	6	7		
100			7			

This appendix describes several variables in more detail than could be provided in the text. To be specific, two variables introduced in Chapters V and VI are treated here: "Social Class Background" and "Incidence of Disorderly Job-Switching."

A. Social Class Background

The class origin of each respondent was determined by the use of answers to four questions in the questionnaire concerning the respondent's father (numbers 11, 12, 13, and 14: see Appendix IV). These questions refer respectively to father's occupation, major employer, income, and level of education. Given the limited nature of this data, only a rough four-class scale was used. The guidelines given to the coders are supplied below. The coders were also instructed that they were to treat the class system as it was 20 to 40 years ago and not to impose standards from the present day. Difficult cases were discussed by the coders and the study director so that general agreement as to classification procedures could be arrived at.

1. Upper and upper-middle class

Includes mainly professional and managerial occupations and also anyone who has a university degree, but excludes professionals who are teachers or ministers without a university degree, and managers without university attendance who earned \$3,000 a year or under. The latter two categories are placed in the lower-middle class.

2. Lower-middle class

Includes mainly white-collar clerical and sales persons. Usually they have either some high school or complete high school, but did not complete university. Includes also self-employed skilled tradesmen who earned \$3,000 or more a year.

3. Working class

Includes mainly skilled tradesmen, semi-skilled tradesmen, and labourers.

4. *Farmers*

Includes farm owners, farm tenants, and farm labourers.

B. Incidence of Disorderly Job-Switching

This variable refers only to the respondent's work history outside the federal Public Service. "Outside," for nearly all, means their work history prior to joining the federal administration. But for a few persons it may include experiences after leaving a federal post and before rejoining.

In examining the outside work history, the focus was on the degree of stability of employment the person had experienced. The research of Harold L. Wilensky¹ suggested that this was an important dimension to consider. In the interview, the respondents were asked to review, under a set of headings, the sequence of work settings and jobs in which they had been before joining the Public Service. The question and the headings are given in the interview schedule in Appendix IV (question 21). Note that in the actual interview schedule the headings were spread out along the top of a large sheet and the interviewer had plenty of room to write in the relevant details about every setting or job change.

An effort was made to record both changes of work setting and job. A change of work setting included not only shifts between one employer and another, but also shifts into and out of self-employment. Job changes could include not only changes from one occupation to another as one shifted between work settings, but also a significant change in duties within a single work setting. Since there was a certain amount of unevenness between interviewers in recording such changes, only a rough scoring of the orderliness or disorderliness of the work history was attempted. It was assumed that there were three types of moves that could occur in changes of setting or job, each type of move involving a different degree of discontinuity. In identifying and scoring each move, the coder was instructed to focus on the extent to which the previous post contributed to or was continuous with the present position. These were the three types of moves.

1. *Horizontal moves*

These are situations where the subject is the practitioner of some profession or craft or trade and he continues to apply his profession or trade while making moves within or between settings. Best examples here are reporters, announcers, architects, and teachers. Other professionals like accountants, lawyers, and engineers often make horizontal moves, but not always, since they at times shift into pure administration. The basic question to ask in verifying a horizontal or H-move is the following: Is the respondent doing roughly the same duties—i.e. applying the same learned skills or training—in present position A as in former position B?

2. *Same-area moves*

Again we focus on the contribution which job B has for job A. A same-area move involves one where the occupational duties have changed, but there is still some link between the two positions. In effect what the respondent has learned in position B helps him in new position A, or at least they involve working in the same subject area, such as taxation, real estate, or chemistry. An example of an SA-move would be a high-school chemistry teacher who takes up a post as a chemist in private industry.

3. *Clean breaks*

These moves are presumed to be the most disruptive, for they involve little or no continuity between positions. Generally the respondent moves into a wholly new institutional sphere or takes up completely different duties. An example of a CB-move is the radio announcer who becomes a lumber salesman or the clerk who quits his job and returns to school and then becomes an engineer.

When the coding was done, it was possible to arrive at a score for the orderliness-disorderliness of the respondent's work history. The total number of each type of move was derived, then the number of H-moves was multiplied by one, the number of SA-moves by two, and the number of CB-moves by three. The three scores were added to give a single, overall total.

It was obvious, however, that these scores had different meanings depending on the length of time the person had spent in outside employment. If the same score was given to two persons and one had a short work history and the other a lengthy one, this indicated that the person with the lengthy history had spaced out his moves over a longer period—a more stable pattern. A person who moved frequently over a short period was felt to display more disorderliness. In short, it was important to adjust the orderliness-disorderliness score for one's length of outside employment. The following indicates the combinations of disorder score and length of outside employment which composed the various categories of the variable.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Disorder score</i>	<i>Years of outside employment</i>
Direct Entry	0	0
Orderly	1-3	4 and up
Slight Disorder	1-3	1-3
	4-7	4 and up
Medium Disorder	4-7	1-3
	8 and up	9 and up
High Disorder	8 and up	1-8

This appendix contains four tables which present the detailed results of the analysis reported on in Chapter VIII. It will be recalled that the analysis employed the following variables: salary, age, years of service, career type, education, and ethnolinguistic category. Three of these variables—salary, age, years of service—are continuous and posed no major analytic difficulties. The remaining variables, however, were discrete (nominal) and required special treatment. Each category of these latter variables was treated as a "dummy" variable which varied from 0 (present) to 1 (absent). This meant that a relationship between a category of a discrete variable and the continuous variables could be ascertained. In addition, the technique requires that the relations between "dummy" and continuous variables, e.g., between career type and salary, be by comparison. In each of the discrete variables one category is constrained to zero—E3, CT-Admin, FR-B—and the other categories are compared to the constrained one. Thus the effect of education on salary is indicated as a sum of money that would be either added or subtracted to one's salary. The sum indicated is based on the premise that E3 brings no money. Thus, E1 and E2, lower levels of education than E3, bring a salary decrease while E5, a higher level of education, generally brings a sum to be added. In this way the effect of different types and levels of education on salary is ascertained. It is the strategy of using "dummy" variables and constraining certain "dummy" variables to zero which lies behind the equations reported in Chapter VIII.

The equations were also used to estimate salaries for men possessing different combinations of characteristics. The salary levels were estimated for all combinations of three ages (25, 35, 45), six education groups, three career types, and three seniority levels (5, 10, and 15 years of service). However, not all of these 162 combinations seemed plausible. The following were dropped out: (1) CT-P&S with E1 or E, (2) CT-TECH with E5 or E6, and (3) age 25 with long years of service (10 or 15 years). The remaining 98 combinations are laid out

in Table A-8. Here "0" indicates a characteristic is absent and "1" that it is present. Combination 1, for instance, is a person 25 years old with an E4 level of education in a professional or scientific career and with five years of government service. Note that the constrained categories (E3 or CT-Admin) are considered as being present when the other education or career-type categories are all indicated as being absent. In combination 49, for instance, E3 is considered as being present since all the other education categories are absent.

Table A-9 gives the salary estimates for all 98 combinations of characteristics, but, in addition, broken down into six ethnolinguistic groups: all Francophones, unilingual Francophones, bilingual Francophones, all Anglophones, unilingual Anglophones, and bilingual Anglophones. It is then possible to locate salary differentials between Francophones and Anglophones with the same combination of characteristics. This is done in Table A-10 which indicates the results when all Anglophones are subtracted from all Francophones, unilingual Anglophones from unilingual Francophones, and bilingual Anglophones from bilingual Francophones.

The t-score was used to indicate whether or not the salary differentials are significant. The t-score is the ratio of the salary differential to its standard error. Using a 5 per cent level of significance, a t-score larger than 1.645 indicates that a salary differential is significant. The t-scores are given in Table A-11.

Table A-8 (cont'd)

[illegible]

Table A-8 (cont'd)

	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85
Age	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.
E 1	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 2	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.
E 4	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.
E 5	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 6	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
CT-P&S	0.	0.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
CT-TECH	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.
Years Service	10.	10.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.
Constant	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.

	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98
Age	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.	35.	45.
E 1	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 2	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 4	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 5	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.
E 6	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.
CT-P&S	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
CT-TECH	1.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Years Service	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	15.
Constant	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.

*"Zero" and "one" indicate, respectively, the absence or presence of a qualitative characteristic.

Table A-9
Salary projections by ethnolinguistic category for all possible combinations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
All Francophones	\$7,563.04	8,345.84	9,128.64	8,409.44	9,192.24	9,975.04	7,388.01	8,170.81
Unilingual French	8,167.79	8,661.69	9,155.59	7,642.94	8,136.84	8,630.74	7,587.06	8,080.96
Bilingual French	7,445.93	8,215.93	9,985.93	9,008.41	9,778.41	10,548.41	7,474.91	8,244.91
All Anglophones	6,694.58	8,192.68	9,690.78	8,667.62	10,165.72	11,663.82	7,532.97	9,031.07
Unilingual English	6,924.84	8,229.64	9,534.44	9,485.57	10,790.37	12,095.17	7,633.39	8,938.19
Bilingual English	5,540.85	8,059.75	10,578.65	6,651.29	9,170.19	11,689.09	6,275.40	8,794.30
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All Francophones	8,953.61	7,134.56	7,917.36	8,700.16	6,013.38	6,796.18	7,578.98	6,693.42
Unilingual French	8,574.86	6,373.96	6,567.86	7,361.76	6,700.20	7,194.10	7,688.00	6,698.32
Bilingual French	9,014.91	7,424.75	8,194.75	8,964.75	5,910.89	6,680.89	7,450.89	6,932.31
All Anglophones	10,529.17	7,664.51	9,162.61	10,660.71	4,691.33	6,189.43	7,687.53	5,614.74
Unilingual English	10,242.99	8,237.52	9,542.32	10,847.12	4,744.92	6,049.72	7,354.52	5,828.96
Bilingual English	11,313.20	5,483.43	8,002.33	10,521.23	4,201.20	6,720.10	9,239.00	4,758.18
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
All Francophones	7,476.22	8,259.02	8,037.62	8,820.42	9,603.22	7,609.14	8,391.94	9,174.76
Unilingual French	7,192.22	7,686.12	8,566.76	9,060.66	9,554.56	6,772.93	7,266.83	7,760.73
Bilingual French	7,702.31	8,472.31	7,751.54	8,521.54	9,291.54	7,730.36	8,500.36	9,270.36
All Anglophones	7,112.84	8,610.94	6,532.48	8,030.58	9,528.68	7,502.41	9,000.51	10,498.61
Unilingual English	7,133.76	8,438.56	6,254.46	7,559.26	8,864.06	7,567.14	8,871.94	10,176.74
Bilingual English	7,277.08	9,795.98	7,528.79	10,047.69	12,566.59	7,471.37	9,990.27	12,509.17

Table A-9 (cont'd)

	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
All Francophones	\$6,494.52	7,277.32	8,060.12	7,174.56	7,957.36	8,740.16	8,518.76	9,301.56
Unilingual French	5,888.95	6,382.85	6,076.75	5,887.07	6,380.97	6,874.87	7,755.51	8,249.41
Bilingual French	6,635.14	7,405.14	8,175.14	7,656.56	8,426.56	9,196.56	8,475.79	9,245.79
All Anglophones	5,285.49	6,783.59	8,281.69	6,208.90	7,707.00	9,205.10	7,126.64	8,624.74
Unilingual English	5,348.71	6,653.51	7,950.31	6,432.75	7,737.55	9,042.35	6,858.25	8,163.05
Bilingual English	4,035.41	6,554.31	9,073.21	4,592.39	7,111.29	9,630.19	7,363.00	9,881.90
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
All Francophones	10,084.36	9,365.16	10,147.96	10,930.76	8,343.73	9,126.53	9,909.33	8,090.28
Unilingual French	8,743.31	7,230.66	7,724.56	8,218.46	7,174.78	7,668.68	8,162.58	5,961.68
Bilingual French	10,015.79	10,038.27	10,808.27	11,578.27	8,504.77	9,274.77	10,044.77	8,454.61
All Anglophones	10,122.84	9,099.68	10,597.78	12,095.88	7,965.03	9,463.13	10,761.23	8,096.57
Unilingual English	9,467.85	9,418.98	10,723.78	12,028.58	7,566.80	8,871.60	10,176.40	8,170.93
Bilingual English	12,400.80	8,473.44	10,992.34	13,511.24	8,097.55	10,616.45	13,135.35	7,305.58
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	
All Francophones	8,873.08	9,655.88	8,363.89	9,146.69	9,210.29	9,993.09	8,188.86	8,971.66
Unilingual French	6,455.58	6,949.68	8,817.39	9,311.29	8,292.54	8,786.44	8,236.66	8,730.56
Bilingual French	9,224.61	9,994.61	8,199.83	8,969.83	9,762.31	10,532.31	8,228.81	8,948.81
All Anglophones	9,594.67	11,092.77	8,365.43	9,063.53	10,338.47	11,836.57	9,203.82	10,701.92
Unilingual English	9,475.73	10,780.53	8,546.39	9,831.19	11,107.12	12,411.92	9,254.94	10,559.74
Bilingual English	9,824.48	12,343.38	7,680.35	10,199.25	8,790.79	11,309.69	8,414.90	10,933.80

Table A-9 (cont'd)

	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
All Francophones	\$7,935.41	8,718.21	6,814.23	7,597.03	7,494.27	8,277.07	8,838.47	9,621.27
Unilingual French	7,023.56	7,517.46	7,349.80	7,843.70	7,347.92	7,841.82	9,216.36	9,710.26
Bilingual French	8,178.65	8,948.65	6,664.79	7,434.79	7,686.21	8,456.21	8,505.44	9,275.44
All Anglophones	9,335.36	10,833.46	6,362.18	7,860.28	7,285.59	8,783.69	8,203.33	9,701.43
Unilingual English	9,859.07	11,163.87	6,366.47	7,671.27	7,450.51	8,755.31	7,876.01	9,180.81
Bilingual English	7,622.93	10,141.83	6,340.70	8,859.60	6,897.68	9,416.58	9,668.29	12,187.19
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	
All Francophones	8,409.99	9,192.79	7,295.37	8,078.17	7,975.41	8,758.21	9,319.61	10,102.41
Unilingual French	7,422.53	7,916.43	6,538.55	7,032.45	6,536.67	7,030.57	8,405.11	8,899.01
Bilingual French	8,484.26	9,254.26	7,389.04	8,159.04	8,410.46	9,180.46	9,229.69	9,999.69
All Anglophones	9,173.26	10,671.36	6,956.34	8,454.44	7,879.75	9,377.85	8,797.49	10,295.59
Unilingual English	9,188.69	10,493.49	6,970.26	8,275.06	8,054.30	9,359.10	8,479.80	9,784.60
Bilingual English	9,610.87	12,129.77	6,174.91	8,693.81	6,731.89	9,250.79	9,502.50	12,021.40
65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	
All Francophones	10,166.01	10,948.81	9,144.58	9,927.38	8,891.13	9,673.93	8,381.94	9,164.74
Unilingual French	7,880.26	8,374.16	7,824.38	8,318.28	6,611.28	7,105.18	8,973.09	9,466.99
Bilingual French	10,792.17	11,562.17	9,258.67	10,028.67	9,208.51	9,978.51	8,183.73	8,953.73
All Anglophones	10,770.53	12,268.63	9,635.88	11,133.98	9,767.42	11,265.52	8,538.18	10,036.28
Unilingual English	11,040.53	12,345.33	9,188.35	10,493.15	9,792.48	11,097.28	8,863.14	10,167.94
Bilingual English	10,612.94	13,131.84	10,237.05	12,755.95	9,445.08	11,963.98	7,300.95	9,819.85

Table A-9 (cont'd)

	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
All Francophones	\$9,228.34	10,011.14	8,206.91	8,989.71	7,953.46	8,736.26	6,832.28	7,615.08
Unilingual French	8,448.24	8,942.14	8,392.36	8,886.26	7,179.26	7,673.16	7,505.50	7,999.40
Bilingual French	9,746.21	10,516.21	8,212.71	8,982.71	8,162.55	8,932.55	6,648.69	7,418.69
All Anglophones	10,511.22	12,009.32	9,376.57	10,874.67	9,508.11	11,006.21	6,534.93	8,033.03
Unilingual English	11,423.87	12,728.67	9,571.69	10,876.49	10,175.82	11,480.62	6,683.22	7,988.02
Bilingual English	8,411.39	10,930.29	8,035.50	10,554.40	7,243.53	9,762.43	5,961.30	8,480.20
	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
All Francophones	7,512.32	8,295.12	8,856.52	9,639.32	8,428.04	9,210.84	7,313.42	8,096.22
Unilingual French	7,503.62	7,997.52	9,372.06	9,865.96	7,578.23	8,072.13	6,694.25	7,188.15
Bilingual French	7,670.11	8,440.11	8,489.34	9,259.34	8,468.16	9,238.16	7,372.94	8,142.94
All Anglophones	7,458.34	8,956.44	8,376.08	9,874.18	9,346.01	10,844.11	7,129.09	8,627.19
Unilingual English	7,767.26	9,072.06	8,192.76	9,497.56	9,505.44	10,810.24	7,287.01	8,591.81
Bilingual English	6,518.28	9,037.18	9,288.89	11,807.79	9,231.47	11,750.37	5,795.51	8,314.41
	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
All Francophones	7,993.46	8,776.26	9,337.66	10,120.46	10,184.06	10,966.86	9,162.63	9,945.43
Unilingual French	6,692.37	7,186.27	8,560.81	9,054.71	8,035.96	8,529.86	7,980.08	8,473.98
Bilingual French	8,394.36	9,164.36	9,213.59	9,983.59	10,776.07	11,546.07	9,242.57	10,012.57
All Anglophones	8,052.50	9,550.60	8,970.24	10,468.34	10,943.28	12,441.38	9,808.63	11,306.73
Unilingual English	8,371.05	9,675.85	8,796.55	10,101.35	11,357.28	12,662.08	9,505.10	10,809.90
Bilingual English	6,352.49	8,871.39	9,123.10	11,642.00	10,233.54	12,752.44	9,857.65	12,376.55

Table A-9 (cont'd)

	97	98
All Francophones	\$8,909.18	9,691.98
Unilingual French	6,766.98	7,260.88
Bilingual French	9,192.41	9,962.41
All Anglophones	9,940.17	11,438.27
Unilingual English	10,109.23	11,414.03
Bilingual English	9,065.68	11,584.58

Table A-10
Predicted salary differentials (Francophones less Anglophones) for all combinations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All	\$ 868.5	153.2	-562.1	-258.2	-973.5	-1,688.8	-145.0	-860.3	-1,575.6
Unilingual	1,243.0	432.1	-378.8	-1,842.6	-2,653.5	-3,464.4	-46.3	-857.2	-1,863.6
Bilingual	1,905.1	156.2	-1,592.7	2,357.1	608.2	-1,140.7	1,199.5	-549.4	-2,298.3
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
All	-529.9	-1,245.2	-1,960.5	1,322.1	606.8	-108.5	1,078.7	363.4	-351.9
Unilingual	-1,863.6	-2,674.5	-3,485.4	1,955.3	1,144.4	333.5	869.4	58.5	-752.4
Bilingual	1,941.3	192.4	-1,556.5	1,709.7	-39.2	788.1	2,174.1	425.2	-1,323.7
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
All	1,505.1	789.8	74.5	106.7	-608.6	-1,323.9	1,209.0	493.7	-221.6
Unilingual	2,312.3	1,501.4	690.5	-794.2	-1,605.1	-2,416.0	540.2	-270.7	-1,081.6
Bilingual	222.8	-1,526.1	-3,275.0	259.0	-1,489.9	-3,238.8	2,599.7	850.8	-898.1
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
All	965.7	250.4	-464.9	1,392.1	676.8	-38.5	265.5	-449.8	-1,165.1
Unilingual	-545.7	-1,356.6	-2,167.5	897.3	86.4	-724.5	-2,188.3	-2,999.2	-3,810.1
Bilingual	3,064.2	1,315.3	-433.6	1,112.8	-636.1	-2,385.0	1,564.8	-184.1	-1,933.0
37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	
All	378.7	-336.6	-1,051.9	-6.3	-721.6	-1,436.9	-1.5	-716.8	-1,128.2
Unilingual	-392.0	-1,202.9	-2,013.8	-2,209.2	-3,020.1	-3,831.0	271.0	-539.9	-2,814.6
Bilingual	407.2	-1,341.7	-3,090.6	1,149.0	-599.9	-2,348.8	519.5	-1,229.4	971.5

Table A-10 (cont'd)

	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
All	-1,843.5	-1,015.0	-1,730.3	-1,399.9	-2,115.2	452.1	-263.4	208.7	-506.6
Unilingual	-3,625.5	-1,018.3	-1,829.2	-2,835.5	-3,646.4	983.3	172.4	-102.6	-913.5
Bilingual	-777.4	-186.1	-1,935.0	555.7	-1,193.2	324.1	-1,424.8	788.5	-960.4
All	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63
All	635.1	-48.0	-1,478.6	-80.2	339.0	-376.3	95.7	-619.6	522.1
Unilingual	1,340.4	-955.3	-2,577.1	529.5	-431.7	-1,242.6	-1,517.6	-2,328.5	-74.7
Bilingual	-1,162.8	622.3	-2,875.5	-2,911.7	1,214.1	-534.8	1,678.6	-70.3	-272.8
All	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
All	-193.2	-604.5	-1,319.8	-491.3	-1,206.6	-876.3	-1,591.6	-156.2	-871.5
Unilingual	-885.6	-3,160.3	-3,971.2	-1,364.0	-2,174.9	-3,181.2	-3,992.1	110.0	-700.9
Bilingual	-2,021.7	179.2	-1,569.7	-978.4	-2,727.3	-236.6	-1,985.5	882.8	-866.1
All	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81
All	-1,262.9	-1,998.2	-1,169.7	-1,885.0	-1,554.6	-2,269.9	297.4	-417.9	54.0
Unilingual	-2,975.6	-3,786.5	-1,179.3	-1,990.2	-2,996.6	-3,807.5	822.3	11.4	-263.6
Bilingual	1,334.8	-414.1	177.2	-1,571.7	919.0	-829.9	687.4	-1,016.5	1,151.8
All	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
All	-661.3	480.4	-234.9	-918.0	-1,633.3	184.3	-531.0	-59.0	-774.3
Unilingual	-1,074.5	1,179.3	368.4	-1,927.2	-2,738.1	-592.8	-1,403.7	-1,678.7	-2,489.6
Bilingual	-597.1	-799.5	-2,548.4	-763.3	-2,512.2	1,577.4	-171.5	2,041.9	293.0

Table A-10 (cont'd)

	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98
All	367.4	-347.9	-759.2	-1,474.5	-646.0	-1,361.3	-1,031.0	-1,746.3
Unilingual	-235.7	-1,046.6	-3,321.3	-4,132.2	-1,525.0	-2,335.9	-3,342.2	-4,153.1
Bilingual	90.5	-1,658.4	542.5	-1,206.4	-615.1	-2,364.0	126.7	-1,622.2

Table A-11
Ratio of the predicted salary differentials to their standard errors

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All	.39	.07	-.26	-.12	-.44	-.77	-.07	-.39	-.72	-.24	-.57	-.89	
Unilingual	.58	.20	-.18	-.86	-1.25	-1.63	-.02	-.40	-.78	-.87	-1.26	-1.64	.60
Bilingual	.35	.03	-.29	.43	.11	-.21	.22	-.10	-.42	.35	.04	-.28	.31
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
All	.28	-.05	.49	.17	-.16	.68	.36	.03	.05	-.28	.60	.55	.22
Unilingual	.54	.16	.41	.03	-.35	1.09	.70	.32	-.37	-.75	-1.13	.25	-.13
Bilingual	-.01	-.33	.40	.08	-.24	.04	-.28	-.60	.05	-.27	-.59	.47	.15
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
All	-.10	.44	.11	-.21	.63	.31	-.02	.12	-.20	-.53	.17	-.15	-.48
Unilingual	-.51	-.26	-.64	-1.02	.42	.04	-.34	-1.03	-1.41	-1.79	-.18	-.56	-.95
Bilingual	-.16	.56	.24	-.08	.20	-.12	-.43	.28	-.03	-.35	.07	-.24	-.56
	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
All	-.00	-.33	-.65	-.00	-.33	-.51	-.84	-.46	-.79	-.64	-.96	.21	-.12
Unilingual	-1.04	-1.42	-1.80	.13	-.25	-1.32	-1.70	-.48	-.86	-1.33	-1.71	.46	.08
Bilingual	.21	-.11	-.43	.09	-.22	.18	-.14	-.03	-.35	.10	-.22	.06	-.26
	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
All	.09	-.23	.29	-.04	-.35	-.67	.15	-.17	.04	-.28	.24	-.09	-.27
Unilingual	-.05	-.43	.63	.25	-.83	-1.21	-.20	-.58	-.71	-1.09	-.04	-.42	-1.48
Bilingual	.14	-.17	-.21	-.53	-.21	-.52	.22	-.10	.31	-.01	-.05	-.37	.03

Table A-11 (cont'd)

	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78
All	-.60	-.22	-.55	-.40	-.72	-.07	-.40	-.58	-.91	-.53	-.86	-.71	-1.03
Unilingual	-1.86	-.64	-1.02	-1.49	-1.87	.05	-.33	-1.40	-1.78	-.55	-.93	-1.41	-1.79
Bilingual	-.29	-.18	-.50	-.04	-.36	.16	-.16	.24	-.08	.03	-.29	.17	-.15
	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91
All	.14	-.19	.02	0.30	.22	-.11	-.42	-.74	.08	-.24	-.03	-.35	.17
Unilingual	.39	.01	-.12	-.50	.55	.17	-.90	-1.28	-.28	-.66	-.79	-1.17	-.11
Bilingual	.13	-.19	.21	-.11	-.15	-.46	-.14	-.46	.29	-.03	.37	.05	.02
	92	93	94	95	96	97	98						
All	-.16	-.34	-.67	-.29	-.62	-.47	-.79						
Unilingual	-.49	-1.56	-1.94	-.72	-1.10	-1.57	-1.95						
Bilingual	-.30	.10	-.22	-.11	-.43	.02	-.30						

Chapter I

1. The following account is based largely on documentary materials collected and interviews conducted by Judith Heward in "History of Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Canadian Public Service," an internal research paper of the R.C.B.&B. A chief secondary source is *Personnel Administration in the Public Service*, a review of Civil Service Commission Legislation by the Civil Service Commission of Canada (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1958).
2. J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955), 55-8.
3. *Ibid.*, 58-62.
4. Precise figures for 1868 are unavailable, but Hodgetts points out that just prior to Confederation in 1863 a list of 450 officials at the administrative headquarters of the Public Service of the United Canadas showed that 161 or about 35 per cent were Francophones. They were obviously distributed in inferior positions to the Anglophones, however, for they received less than 20 per cent of the payroll. *See ibid.*, 57.
5. Statutes of Canada, 45 Vict. (1882), c.4, s.28.
6. Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, July 16, 1946, 3520.
7. Public Archives of Canada, MS Group 27, Series III, B10, Vol. XXXIII, File No. 48.
8. *Ibid.*, letter of December 11, 1940, from Angus MacDonald to Ernest Lapointe.

9. The overtness of Howe's bias was remarkable, even for the period (1935-1941) under consideration. One occasion, for example, involved a Francophone appointee to a senior post in a federal agency. It was understood at the time of the appointment that the post was to carry two sets of responsibilities, one of which had been temporarily assumed by Howe's department. In spite of this prior agreement, however, Howe blocked the transference of responsibilities on the grounds that a French Canadian would not be competent to handle them.
10. The Commission was most anxious to see the report of the Jean Committee, and asked officials of the Justice department if we might look at a copy. However, this request was refused for reasons that were never made clear.
11. *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization*, I, 67-77.
12. *Ibid.*, 69.
13. *Ibid.*
14. The best general coverage of the federal Public Service is found in J.E. Hodgetts and D.C. Corbett, *Canadian Public Administration: A Book of Readings* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1960). See also Taylor Cole, *The Canadian Bureaucracy* (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1949); Robert MacGregor Dawson, *The Civil Service of Canada* (London, Oxford University Press, 1929); Robert MacGregor Dawson, *The Government of Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948); and Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*.
15. Eugene Forsey, "Parliament is Endangered by Mr. King's Principle," *Saturday Night*, October 9, 1948, 10-11, and J.E. Hodgetts, "The Liberal and the Bureaucrat," *Queen's Quarterly*, 62 (Summer, 1965), 176-83.
16. A notable exception, but unfortunately now slightly dated, is John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), Chap. XIV, which reports on the situation in 1953. For a more recent impressionistic discussion of one aspect of this problem, see D. Kwavnick, "French Canadians and the Civil Service of Canada," *Canadian Public Administration*, XI (Spring, 1968), 97-112.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," *Macleans*, August 22, 1964.

19. Porter, *Vertical Mosaic*, 612. Porter also included 36 senior executive officers of Crown corporations. As we explain in Chapter III, we do not include the Crown corporations in our account of the federal administration.
20. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," 30.
21. A.F.W. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service," *Canadian Public Administration*, 8 (Winter, 1965), 548.
22. In Chapter XII we analyze how the department of Finance selects and grooms potential members of the bureaucratic elite.
23. This should not be construed as criticism of Porter and Newman, who clearly did not set out to discuss such problems.
24. In accordance with our distinction between Anglophones and Francophones, we began by checking the departmental lists for those with French names, and, on some lists, French mother tongue. Then a check was made with departmental officials to determine if any person who did not speak French and did not consider himself "French" had been included. As well, we asked if any person who regarded himself as a French Canadian and was fluent in the French tongue had been missed. Even with this checking, however, we found one or two assumed Francophones who, when contact was made by phone to set up an interview, professed limited ability in French and identified completely with English-speaking Canada. These persons were shifted into the relevant Anglophone population and became eligible for selection in the Anglophone sample.
25. The exact details of the interviewing done in each department is described in Appendix II.
26. Because of lack of time, the Anglophone respondents from Secretary of State were not re-interviewed.
27. Cole, *Canadian Bureaucracy*, vii.

Chapter II

1. For an overview of the government of Canada, as well as descriptions of particular departments, see *Organization of the Government of Canada, 1966* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1966).
2. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization, I, Management of the Public Service* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1962), 307-8.

3. *Ibid.*
4. Adapted from J.E. Hodgetts, "The Public Corporation in Canada" in J.E. Hodgetts and D.C. Corbett, eds., *Canadian Public Administration* (Toronto, MacMillan, 1960), 184-212.

Chapter III

1. Theodore Caplow, *Principles of Organization* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), 1-3.
2. *Ibid.*, 1-2.
3. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations* (San Francisco, Chandler, 1962), 2-5.
4. The features dealt with are drawn from the well-known discussion of bureaucracy by the German sociologist, Max Weber. His writing on bureaucracy is to be found in two parts of his translated works: Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (London, William Hodge, 1947), 302-12; Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated, edited, and with an Introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, Oxford University Press, 1958), 196-244.
5. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," *Macleans*, August 22, 1964.
6. The details in this section are extracted from a 65-page report by Dr. A.A. Sterns entitled *History of the Department of Finance*, and dated May, 1965. The report has evidently been published privately.
7. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), 425-8.
8. *Ibid.*, 426.
9. Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co., "The Proposed Organization, Department of Public Works" (July, 1965).

Chapter IV

1. Some of the ideas here are from H.L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers

and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (August, 1961), 521-39.

2. John J. Corson and R. Shale Paul, *Men Near the Top* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 15-19.
3. *Ibid.*, 17.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Dwaine Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1954). See especially Chapter 3.
6. J. Donald Kingsley, *Representative Bureaucracy, An Interpretation of the British Civil Service* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press, 1944).
7. Norton Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism," *American Political Science Review*, 46 (September, 1952), 803.
8. Paul P. Van Riper, *History of the United States Civil Service* (Evanston, Illinois, Row, Peterson, and Co., 1958).
9. *Ibid.*, 552-3.
10. This survey of federal departments and departmental agencies was carried out in 1965 and involved a questionnaire distributed to every employee in a career sequence with a salary minimum of \$10,000 or more a year and a random sample of those in careers with a salary maximum under \$10,000. The survey was conducted for the R.C.B.&B. by John C. Johnstone, Denis Ledoux, and William Klein. It is described in Appendix VI.
11. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), 441.
12. Since this is the first occasion on which the middle-level Francophones and Anglophones have been compared, it is necessary to comment about identifying differences or similarities between them. This matter is treated fully in Appendix VII but as a guideline, a difference of 10 to 12 percentage points or more is needed to claim a disparity which is statistically significant when the two percentages being compared lie between 35 and 65. This guideline applies when one is simply looking for significant differences. When a hypothesis is being tested, a difference of 8 to 9 points or more would suffice. Since the differences in Figure 4.7 between the relative numbers of Anglophone and Francophone professionals and scientists, and Anglophone and

Francophone technicians and semi-professionals exceeds the guidelines, it is proper to say that the greater percentage of professionals and scientists among the Anglophones than among the Francophones is a statistically significant difference, as is the difference between the larger percentage of technical and semi-professional employees among the Francophones than among the Anglophones.

Chapter V

1. As in arriving at a total for all Anglophones (*see* Figure 4.7), the results for the total middle level involve giving extra weight to the Anglophone sample which represents a large population and devaluing the Francophone group which represents a smaller population. All subsequent results for the total middle level are weighted.
2. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), 442.
3. *Ibid.*, 443.
4. For further discussion *see* Section E of this chapter.
5. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Chap. II, *passim*.
6. In Chapter V, to locate careers and departments with either a strong or weak presence of Francophones, we used a standard "internal" to the Public Service: that 21.5 per cent of all departmental personnel were of French mother tongue. Here we employ an "external" standard: the percentage of persons of French mother tongue in the general population, labour force, or some segment of these. An external standard, like an internal one, can be used to discover the relative presence of Francophones in different sectors of government. But only an external standard can be employed to assess the degree of openness of the Public Service to elements of the population which ought to be represented among its employees. Such comparisons assume that a ready supply of trained personnel is available in the several population groups under examination. This assumption is rarely satisfied, however.
7. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 442.
8. For further details beyond those presented in this paragraph, *see* Appendix VIII.
9. *See* the review of data in Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Chap. 6.

10. *Ibid.*, 444.
11. *Ibid.*, 445.
12. *Ibid.*, 443.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, 433.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, 435.
18. Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1962-65," an internal research report prepared for the R.C.B.&B., 1966.
19. This category includes biological, physical, and engineering sciences and mathematics, etc.
20. The total of bachelors and first professional degrees granted by French-language institutions includes here "les baccalauréats des arts" from classical colleges. When we exclude these degrees, the proportion of science degrees rises to 25.4 per cent.
21. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 434.
22. Of course, those Francophones who obtain university training in English rather than French-language institutions obtain advantages other than simply superior training. In the first place, their fluency in English improves; in the second, their ability to adapt to an English-speaking work environment also increases. Finally, they receive degrees from universities which are prestigious in the eyes of the dominant Anglophone group in the federal Public Service.
23. The findings in this paragraph are from A.J.C. King and Carol E. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B., 1966.
24. A number of students in both language groups who missed or failed a year obtained the diploma after a period of more than five years.
25. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 447-8.

26. *Ibid.*, 169.
27. *Ibid.*, 442.
28. Nathan Keyfitz, "Canadians and Canadiens," *Queen's Quarterly*, 70 (Winter 1963), 173.
29. *Ibid.*, 171.
30. The Social Research Group, "A Study of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B., 1965.
31. *Ibid.*, 76.
32. John C. Johnstone, *Young People's Images of Canadian Society, An Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth 13 to 20 Years of Age* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969).

Chapter VI

1. Note that a move away from one region to join a unit of the Public Service is considered as a geographical move here. These are fairly rare occurrences, however; most of the moves took place between units which were both outside the federal sphere.
2. Appendix VIII contains exact details of the construction of this measure.

Chapter VII

1. Dwaine Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1954).
2. *Ibid.*, 50-1.
3. The examination of a "deviant case" to aid in clarifying a general explanation of the relationship between factors is a usual procedure in sociological analysis. The leading example of this technique is the clarification of Michels' "iron law of oligarchy" derived from a study of a democratic trade union. See Seymour Martin Lipset *et al*, *Union Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1956).

Chapter VIII

1. The conception of career used here and several of the examples cited owe much to Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss, "Careers, Personality, and Adult Socialization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (November, 1956), 253-63.
2. This theme is thoroughly treated by H.L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Class," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (August, 1961), 521-39.
3. Some scholars, Wilensky for instance, would like to expand the concept of social mobility to include changes in status in areas other than the economy: acquiring a religion or an educational level different from that of one's parents, moving from one community to another, or shifting in ties to an ethnic community. These are all changes that can have a large effect on attitudes and behaviour. Although we will restrict our discussion of mobility to changes in economic status and not refer to these other things as cases of social mobility, we will be dealing with several of them under other headings. See Harold L. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Social Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development* (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), 98-140.
4. *Ibid.*, 102.
5. *Ibid.*, 104.
6. See, for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (New York Doubleday, 1960), 267-73.
7. V. Subramaniam, "Representative Bureaucracy: A Reassessment," *American Political Science Review*, 61 (December, 1967), 1014.
8. The figures for the middle level are significantly lower than those for the whole Public Service primarily because no one over 45 years of age was included in the Career Study.
9. The procedure is described in Daniel B. Suits, "Use of Dummy Variables in Regression Equations," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 52 (December, 1957), 548-51.
10. The test suggested by Emanuel Melichar "Least Squares Analysis of Economic Survey Data," in American Statistical Association, *Proceedings of the Business and Economic Statistics Section*, 1965, 373-85.

11. Again, using a one-tailed test at a 5 per cent level of significance, the estimated differential will be significantly different from zero if the the t-score exceeds 1.645.
12. It will be recalled that a move from private employment in one part of Canada into public employment in another part is counted as a geographical move in one's work history "outside" the government (Chapter VI). Thus, those who have worked in only one community in the course of their government career have spent all their time in the national capital. Those who have worked in two communities either began their Public Service career outside of the capital and then moved there, or started in the Ottawa-Hull area, moved away, and then returned.
13. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), 436.
14. *Ibid.*, 437.

Chapter IX

1. Gilles Lalonde, *The Department of External Affairs and Biculturalism* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969).
2. These results will be reviewed again and discussed in more detail in Section VI, Language and Culture.
3. Translators compose 18 per cent of the Francophone sample at the middle level. The education, prior work history, and present working language of this group are almost exclusively French. They are also largely isolated in one special workplace—the Translation Bureau—where French predominates. We have therefore deemed it preferable to leave them out of some of the calculations in order to give a more accurate image of the Francophone middle level at Ottawa in relation to usual bilingual and bicultural practices.
4. E. Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 24 (November, 1958), 532-40. Reprinted in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, eds., *French-Canadian Society*, I (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 296-307. The page references in the following notes are to the latter source.
5. This is discussed by Guy Rocher, "Research on Occupations and Social Stratification," in Rioux and Martin, eds., *French Canadian Society*, 328-41.

6. Nathan Keyfitz, "Canadians and Canadiens," *Queen's Quarterly*, 70 (Winter 1963), 170-1.
7. *Ibid.*, 171.
8. Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," 301-2.
9. Keyfitz, "Canadians and Canadiens," 174.
10. Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943), 52.
11. Adapted from Abraham Kaplan, "Power in Perspective" in Robert L. Kahn and Elise Boulding, eds., *Power and Conflict in Organizations* (New York, Basic Books, 1964), 25.
12. Michel Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964), 145.
13. *Ibid.*, 149.
14. Charles Perrow, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organization," *American Sociological Review*, 32 (April, 1967), 194-208.
15. Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Social Structure and Organizations" in James G. March, ed., *Handbook of Organizations* (Chicago, Rand, McNally, 1965), 174.
16. Our treatment of this topic owes much to Edgar H. Schein *et al.*, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (March, 1965), 334-49.

Section V Introduction

1. The following discussion draws extensively on these dichotomies as described by Dwaine Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1954); Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles—I, II," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (1957-58), 281-306, 444-480; and Edgar H. Schein, William M. McKelvey, David R. Peters, and John M. Thomas, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (March 1965), 334-49.

2. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals—I," 290.
3. Schein *et al.*, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (March, 1965).

Chapter XII

1. In 1964, Peter Newman identified 37 men who made up Ottawa's "bureaucratic elite." Twenty of them were or had been associated with Finance. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment," *Macleans*, August 22, 1964, 7.
2. See Chapter I or Appendix I.
3. Finance Officers are graded 1 - 6; Senior Officers 1 - 3. Altogether in the department there are eight or nine Francophone Finance or Senior Officers. Although all of them were interviewed, this chapter deals primarily with the five who met our salary and age criteria.
4. A.F.W. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service," *Canadian Public Administration*, 8 (December 1965), 551 n.
5. In a different manner, the image of Finance as a key policy-making department serves to give it a sense of coherency for the Finance Officer. Each officer works largely in isolation and the fact that he can relate his work to the overall image of the department becomes important if he is to feel himself successfully integrated into the organization.
6. "Regionalism and the Public Service," 3.
7. Three began a course in Engineering and one in Medicine. One respondent holds a degree in Physics.
8. The French-language universities are necessarily underrepresented, given the French/English distribution of our sample (and of the department).
9. See Chapter VII.
10. The department admits that its recruitment procedures could be improved. In particular it is concerned to extend this type of liaison between the department and the universities.
11. A few respondents also worked for government departments other than Finance, which served to orient their thinking a little. But it must be stressed that these numbers are small and can be

taken only to indicate a trend of thinking. The majority of respondents worked in their summers in jobs quite unrelated to their current employment.

12. *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965), 421: "There are two senses in which a senior official may have expert knowledge. He may be an expert in a technical discipline such as economics or geology, or he may be an expert in the administration of a particular department. He may be an expert in both senses. . . . A minister in taking over a department may face an array of such double-edged experts."
13. Question 33 on the interview asked: "Are these skills [which the present job requires] mainly administrative or technical skills?"
14. Schein *et al.*, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, (March, 1965).
15. It would be pertinent here to quote at greater length from A.F.W. Plumptre's paper, to which reference has already been made, concerning the importance of "political judgement": "The characteristic which differentiates the really senior, influential public servant from the junior or more routine operator is precisely the quality of adding to technical and administrative expertise a sense of whether a particular action or policy, in a particular form, is, from a political point of view, a starter in the race for ultimate approval and acceptance." "Regionalism and the Public Service," 549.
16. This is the term used to describe the phenomenon of late entry from outside the Public Service by John Porter in *The Vertical Mosaic*, 436.
17. It is interesting in connection with this point to quote John Porter's findings on government outsiders: "One quarter of senior public servants were 'jobbed-in' from outside, the largest proportion (31%) being with the Crown corporations, and the smallest proportion (21%) at the 'director' level which was also the level at which the largest proportion (30%) had spent their entire careers in the service." *Ibid.*
18. Indeed, it can be suggested that since late entrants are appointed on the evidence of a known record of performance, they are in fact chosen for their conformity to the Department ethos. It would be difficult, however, to present evidence either to substantiate or to refute this suggestion.

19. Coupled with the problems of verbal expression in an unfamiliar language, it is recognized by at least a few respondents in the department of Finance that problems of logical expression also exist. Although this may not have been so true in the past, the work in Finance is now based firmly upon modern concepts of scientific methodology. One Senior Officer recognizes the discrepancy between this and the Francophone approach, although this is changing: "En général mes contacts avec les fonctionnaires de langue anglaise m'ont fait apprécier en eux leur discipline, leur souci de l'efficacité et leur sens pratique. Ce que peut-être nous n'avions pas toujours au sortir de l'université... Habitué ici à Ottawa à une approche presque exclusivement anglo-saxonne des problèmes... Les contacts que j'ai eus avec des fonctionnaires d'autres pays ont contrebalancé cette influence." An F.O. 5 attempts to explain the problem historically: "There is a basic logical difference and this is reflected partly in the language but also in the way in which we use language. You can't really be bilingual until you have had massive doses of the cultural background of the people whose language you are speaking... The whole concept of the French language is based on the logic of Descartes. English is based on Hume."
20. A related point, that of the difficulty of an objective evaluation of the Francophone's ability, is made by this S.O. 1: "Je dois admettre qu'un Canadien français est handicapé s'il n'a pas la facilité d'expression en anglais. La difficulté est évidente... Tout se fait en anglais. Il ne pourra pas se servir de sa langue à moins qu'il ait un supérieur compréhensif. Alors il ne peut donner son plein rendement et cela peut affecter le jugement qu'on porte sur lui. Et ça peut affecter sérieusement un candidat très brillant."
21. Possible substantiation for this is provided by a research study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.: Frank Longstaff, "Statistical Analysis of the Applicants and their Experience with Recruiting." This shows that in the 1963 internal competitions English Canadians dominated the competitions for Finance, Trade and Commerce, and also for Northern Affairs and National Resources. The report then adds that "it must be remembered that most candidates have worked for the Civil Service before and so probably try for departments where they feel working conditions are better for someone of their ethnic group."
22. Fuller information on this will be found in the chapter on the Agricultural Researcher.
23. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service," 556.

24. Some suggestions that it might change are made: if, for example, French-Canadian firms should insist upon using French as their language of business; or if French-Canadian Cabinet members were to press claims to be treated in their own language. But it is difficult for most respondents to envisage any drastic upheaval. The functions of the department and structure within which it operates are English, and, what is more, as a result of international pressures (predominantly the United States), are becoming increasingly so.
25. As one instance, 70 per cent of Finance Officers are taking French lessons or seriously plan to take them.

Chapter XIII

1. *Annual Report.*
2. When all 46 persons are included in a table, they are referred to as "Research Scientists."
3. The Research staff in the department of Agriculture contains a higher than average proportion of staff members from other ethnic origins than in most other departments.
4. *See Table 13.6 and the related discussion.*
5. The average is much lower for the Francophone Research Scientists, a large proportion of whom enter the department directly on completion of their education (84.6 per cent vs. 40.6 per cent of the Francophone middle level).
6. This is borne out particularly by the statistics in Section E, *Reasons for Joining the Public Service*, especially Table 13.6. Two-thirds of the scientists join the Public Service either because it offers *unique* occupational opportunities or it is the *only* job available in their specialized field.
7. Schein *et al.*, "Career Orientations and Perceptions of Rewarded Activity in a Research Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (March, 1965).
8. "Bilingualism in the Federal Public Service (March 1963)," Discussion Paper by the Advisory Committee on Questions of Bilingualism. The Committee was composed of persons from the Treasury Board
9. This was preferable in any case, since some Agriculture personnel feel that non-French personnel are *persona non grata* in Quebec.
10. In this section the designation "A" will be used to refer to the typical career pattern previously outlined.

Chapter XIV

1. Chaque fois qu'il sera question de traduction et de traducteur, il faudra entendre aussi interprétation et interprète.
2. Les données rapportées ici proviennent de l'étude effectuée en 1965 pour la Commission par Jacques LaRivière, « La traduction dans la fonction publique ».
3. La structure du Bureau des traductions décrite sommairement ici à changé depuis 1965. Au début de 1968, le Bureau se composait de cinq divisions: une division administrative, une division affectée à la formation des cadres et trois divisions d'exécution responsables de la traduction dans 27 ensembles ministériels regroupés selon le genre de traduction.
4. En effet, le Bureau de Montréal n'est qu'une émanation des services d'Ottawa de la traduction générale. Contrairement aux autres établissements régionaux de l'administration fédérale, il ne s'agit pas d'une décentralisation visant à desservir une clientèle locale.
5. Les questions nos 57 et 58 de l'interview portent sur les récents développements du bilinguisme dans le ministère de l'intéressé et dans la fonction publique ainsi que sur ses prévisions quant à l'avenir. (Voir l'appendice III)
6. Les questions nos 60, 61 et 62 concernant la ville d'Ottawa comme lieu de travail ont dû être modifiées pour les traducteurs de Montréal, et posées de façon hypothétique. (Voir l'appendice III)
7. La politique du Bureau semble se préciser sur ce point. Il cherche, en effet, à recruter des personnes de profession libérale (avocats et médecins, notamment) pour améliorer la qualité de la traduction dans certains domaines, ce qui valorisera certes la profession de traducteur. Nous en reparlerons plus loin.
8. L'un en détient même deux.
9. Les deux tiers environ des informateurs mentionnent comme qualité nécessaire et première à la traduction : « un savoir encyclopédique ».
10. Question no 11 de l'interview, appendice IV.

11. Entre juillet 1963 et juillet 1965, les traitements des interprètes « classe 1 » et « classe 2 » étaient respectivement à peu près identiques à ceux des traducteurs « classe 5 » et « classe 6 ».
12. Comme par exemple l'enseignement.
13. Dans les journaux, lorsqu'on réorganisait les services, les traducteurs étaient les premiers touchés; les rédacteurs pouvaient bien, pensait-on, suffire à la tâche !
14. Principalement le Canadien national.
15. On peut inclure ici les interprètes pour qui la plus grande partie du travail consiste à interpréter simultanément les débats de la Chambre des communes, du Sénat, et des nombreux comités qui leur sont attachés. Ils peuvent aussi être affectés à l'interprétation de conférences aussi bien au Canada qu'à l'étranger, ce qui les amène à travailler dans des domaines extrêmement divers et selon des horaires imprévisibles.
16. Au sens où la Commission de la fonction publique utilise ce terme, par opposition notamment au travail administratif, technique ou de bureau.
17. Nous avons vu que l'immense majorité en possède effectivement un.
18. Août 1966.
19. C'est si vrai, que cette tâche rare qui consiste à traduire du français à l'anglais porte le nom, en jargon de métier, de « traduction à sens inverse ». (LaRivière, « La traduction dans la fonction la fonction publique »). Seulement 20 % de la traduction s'effectue du français à l'anglais, et encore s'agit-il presque toujours de textes provenant de l'extérieur de la fonction publique.
20. *Skilled and Professional Manpower in Canada, 1945-1965*, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la reine, 1965, pp. 8 et 9.
21. Et évidemment pour lire les textes à traduire et, dans le cas des « traducteurs à sens inverse », pour écrire.
22. Le roulement des traducteurs dans la fonction publique est relativement élevé depuis quelques années, atteignant, pour la seule année 1965, 13 pour cent ; la majorité des traducteurs restent cependant dans la fonction publique. (LaRivière, « La traduction dans la fonction publique »).

23. Un tel cas de « bilinguisme absurde » nous fut rapporté. Le sujet, un interprète, fut envoyé au bout du pays au pied levé, à deux heures d'avis, pour faire la traduction simultanée d'une conférence sur les oiseaux migrateurs. Pendant trois heures d'affilée, seul en cabine, il dû traduire de l'anglais au français alors que personne ne comprenait un traitre mot de cette langue. « De temps à autre, dit-il, quelqu'un prenait un écouteur, curieux d'entendre des sons étrangers. Après ça, le gouvernement peut dire qu'il encourage le bilinguisme ! »
24. Si l'on compare l'échelle de 1963 à celle en vigueur au 1er juillet 1966, les hausses vont de 10 % pour la classe 1 jusqu'à 45 pour cent pour les classes élevées.

Chapter XV

1. As of October 1, 1966, the Patent Office became a major division of the new department of the Registrar General and later part of the department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs.
2. Since each Patent Examiner in the Office is expected to handle approximately 250 applications a year, it is evident that one or two Examiners could handle all the French applications, with perhaps some assistance from specialists in the particular "art" or specialty of the application.
3. Having the 4 level as a working level is a new development which stems from the reorganization of the Patent Office which took place in 1965. The Examiners at this level are specialists in one particular area of patents; they work almost entirely on their own and since the reorganization have had no supervisory duties.
4. The exact average is calculated at 1.8 previous jobs for the total Anglophone and Francophone group.
5. This is not meant to imply that they are not competent engineers or scientists. But a man who gravitates toward Patent Examining is often not suited to a more active type of work.
6. Besides this, the Quebec Association of Engineers has managed to raise salary levels in the province. The result: Quebec engineering salary levels are higher than anywhere else in Canada.
7. *Annual Report of the Secretary of State, 1964-65, 7.*

Chapitre XVI

1. Voir les questions 7, 8, 9, 10 du questionnaire, à l'appendice IV. La variable « qualifications linguistiques » que nous décrivons ici est différente de la variable « difficultés éprouvées à travailler en anglais » que nous utilisons plus loin dans ce chapitre.
2. Les notations personnelles sont probablement très révélatrices des différences entre les groupes, mais non des différences entre les individus.
3. Les expressions « autres francophones » ou « francophones non québécois » désignent les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire qui ne sont pas originaires de la province de Québec, non compris Hull.
4. C'est aussi le cas des quelques anglophones québécois (9 en tout) que nous avons, vu leur petit nombre, rattachés à ceux des Maritimes ; ces derniers, en général moins habiles que les anglophones du Québec, masquent quelque peu le sens véritable des proportions combinées au tableau n° 16.4.
5. Cette catégorie analytique est explicitée au graphique n° 16.7 et au tableau n° 16.9.
6. La mesure de l'utilisation du français couvre ici l'ensemble de la période passée au service du gouvernement fédéral.
7. Les résultats obtenus pour l'échelon intermédiaire francophone et l'ensemble de l'échelon intermédiaire s'élèveraient respectivement à 52 et 11 % si l'on avait pas exclu de calcul les traducteurs francophones, de manière à donner une image plus juste de l'échelon intermédiaire. Les traducteurs représentent 18 % de l'échantillon francophone de l'échelon intermédiaire. Ils ont poursuivi leurs études en français, leurs antécédents professionnels et leur milieu de travail sont presque exclusivement français ; ils sont de plus généralement isolés dans un seul secteur de la fonction publique, le Bureau des traductions, où les francophones prédominent. Aussi les avons-nous exclus de certains calculs afin d'esquisser une image plus exacte du fonctionnaire francophone intermédiaire à Ottawa.
8. Voir Jacques Brazeau « Une politique de la langue au Québec », *Le Devoir*, 30 juin 1967 : « Le bilinguisme, puisqu'il permettait une certaine promotion sociale aux francophones, a été valorisé par eux. Il n'a plus eu un caractère nécessaire pour l'anglophone à mesure que de nombreux Canadiens français devenaient bilingues, car ceux-ci permettaient à l'édifice social de se maintenir en jouant le rôle d'interprètes. »

9. Le Bureau d'examen des brevets faisait partie du Secrétariat d'Etat au moment de l'enquête ; il est maintenant rattaché au ministère de la Consommation et des corporations.
10. Voir les questions 41 et 42 du questionnaire d'entrevue à l'appendice IV.
11. Ces proportions ne comprennent pas les traducteurs.
12. Il est par ailleurs permis de supposer que certains anglophones surestiment leur habileté en français.
13. Ces proportions sont respectivement de 29 et 36 %, si l'on n'inclut pas les traducteurs.
14. Voir Jacques Brazeau, « Language Differences and Occupational Experience », dans *French Canadian Society*, sous la direction de Marcel Rioux et Yves Martin, vol. 1, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964, p. 305.
15. Réponse aux questions nos 48 et 49 : « Croyez-vous que la différence de langue ait pu affecter la qualité de votre rendement ? En quoi ? » et « Croyez-vous que la différence de langue ait pu affecter vos chances d'avancement ? En quoi ? » Voir le questionnaire d'entrevue à l'appendice IV.
16. Association des fonctionnaires fédéraux d'expression française, « Mémoire présenté à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme », 1965.
17. Par exemple, une politique de maintien et de contingentement des effectifs.
18. Jacques Brazeau a écrit dans « Language Differences and Occupational Experience », pp. 301-302:

As long as bilingual francophones remain less than fluent in the major language i.e., English, less-than-perfect bilinguals may not benefit fully from the experience which they gain through their second language. Even when they do benefit fully, they may find it difficult to bring these benefits into the areas of their life where they use their own tongue. For instance, it may be hard for them to discuss in their own language—for the elucidation of their thoughts and the profit of those who are dependent on them for their education—many activities in which they participate. Among minority language groups, then, the fact that much of social life goes on in another language may set limitations on their experience, the conceptual contents of their languages, and their manipulation of language symbols.

Voir « "Language Differences and Occupational Experience », dans *French Canadian Society*, sous la direction de Marcel Rioux et Yves Martin, vol. 1, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964), pp. 301-2.

Chapitre XVII

1. « That process of cultural change in which more or less continuous contacts between two or more culturally distinct groups results in one group taking over elements of the culture of the other group or groups. The term is also used to designate the resultant state » *A Dictionary of Social Sciences*, sous la direction de J. Gould et W.L. Kolb, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, p. 6.
2. « It denotes (a) the process whereby a group, generally a minority or immigrant group, is through contact absorbed into the culture of another group or groups ; (b) the result of such absorption » *Ibid.*
3. L'étude des contacts antérieurs ou passés renverrait aux processus d'assimilation ou d'acculturation, celle des contacts actuels ou présents aux résultats de ces processus.
4. Voir l'appendice IV.
5. On ne peut nier que ce dilemme existe pour certains. Dans la carrière de tout fonctionnaire, qu'il soit francophone ou anglophone, s'établit une certaine séparation ou une certaine continuité entre le travail et la vie familiale, sociale ou communautaire. A l'échelon intermédiaire francophone, toutefois, cette séparation comporte des modalités et des implications bien spécifiques. Le caractère étranger du milieu culturel et linguistique de travail, son poids quotidien et la nécessité de l'adaptation, le désir légitime de succès et d'avancement, et, enfin, le statut minoritaire des francophones dans la région outaouaise, ont à la longue des effets sur les orientations et les attachements culturels pour beaucoup se pose alors le dilemme de l'assimilation.
6. La description et l'analyse des modèles d'emploi des langues au cours de la carrière à la fonction publique ont fait l'objet du précédent chapitre.
7. Voir pages 110 à 118.
8. Les francophones de l'échelon intermédiaire originaires de pays autres que le Canada—généralement la France—représentent 5,5 pour cent de l'échantillon. Ils ont tous fait leurs études en français. Si nous ne les comptons pas parmi les non-Québécois, la proportion passe alors de 54 à 60 %.
9. En raison du nombre restreint de cas observés, la différence constatée au tableau no 17.8 n'est peut-être pas très significative.

10. Par ailleurs, les fonctionnaires techniciens et quasi-spécialistes sont trois fois moins nombreux que les autres à avoir travaillé hors de la fonction publique fédérale.
11. Du côté francophone, on entend par mariage inter-ethnique tout mariage avec un conjoint dont l'origine ou celle de l'un de ses parents est britannique ou autre que française (respectivement 9 et 5 % (tableau no 17.10)).
12. Du côté anglophone, on entend par mariage inter-ethnique tout mariage avec un conjoint qui n'est pas de même origine que l'informateur.
13. J. Henripin, H. Charbonneau, W. Mertens, « Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada », étude effectuée pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, 1966.
14. Voir, à l'appendice IV, la question 32 qui se posait comme suit : « À quel(s) groupe(s) ethnique(s) appartiennent vos trois meilleurs amis ? »
15. Un informateur peut envoyer un de ses enfants à l'école française et un autre à l'école anglaise.
16. Voir, à l'appendice IV, la question 31.
17. De ceux qui ont travaillé surtout en français, 50 % contre 34 % de ceux ayant travaillé surtout en anglais avant d'entrer à la fonction publique ont fait un usage substantiel du français au travail au cours de leur carrière fédérale.
18. Voir Jean Darbelnet, « Le bilinguisme et les anglicismes », étude effectuée pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.
19. Entendons la région de Ottawa et Hull.
20. Nous ne parlons pas des anglicismes affectant l'aspect écrit des mots.
21. Un des anglicismes morphologiques fréquemment entendu est « politiques » pour « politique » (en anglais « politics »). Les anglicismes lexicaux sont nombreux ; ils varient avec les milieux de travail et d'une spécialisation à une autre. Certains se rencontrent partout dans l'administration fédérale.
22. Le plus répandu est sans contredit « département » auquel on donne le sens de ministère (en anglais « department »)

23. J. Darbelnet, « Le bilinguisme et les anglicismes ».
24. Les relations sont significatives à 90 % ou plus quant leur sens est indéterminé ; à 95 % ou plus quant il est déterminé.
25. Ne pouvant rigoureusement comparer l'échelon intermédiaire francophone fédéral à l'ensemble de la fonction publique québécoise francophone, nous nous reportons aux résultats de l'étude Johnstone, Klein et Ledoux sur l'ensemble de la fonction publique fédérale et à l'étude effectuée par Gérard Lapointe pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, « Essais sur la fonction publique québécoise ». Concernant la langue de travail et la langue parlée au foyer, on note des différences notables entre les fonctionnaires de langue française de l'ensemble des ministères fédéraux et ceux de la fonction publique québécoise : respectivement 40 % et 93 % d'entre eux emploient le français au travail « toujours » ou « la plupart du temps », et 80 % et 97 % le parlent au foyer « toujours » ou « la plupart du temps ».

Chapter XVIII

1. Some persons did take French courses under other auspices and this will be referred to in the text. However, the principal agency of instruction for public servants was the Public Service Commission. This chapter is primarily concerned with the courses it offers.
2. The fifth department, Secretary of State, was omitted because of lack of time.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization, I, Management of the Public Service* (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1962), 267.
4. *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, III*, (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1969), Table 39, 162.
5. Document provided by Civil Service Commission entitled "Development of Language Training Service" and prepared just prior to September, 1966.
6. This may be just the scientists' search for more knowledge or it may be that they realize their department's reluctance to encourage bilingualism but were personally aware of the growing necessity for French.

7. For example: "I don't like the way they go about selecting people in this department. They came around and pointed a finger and said you, you and you, will take the course. You're it. There was no choice. I wasn't around when they were pointing the finger so I got left out. I took a test but that was after the course started."

Chapter XIX

1. The most fruitful questions for tapping attitudes in this area were the following:
 - Q. 57 What effect do you think the recent emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism has had so far on the relative positions of French and English in this department?
 - Q. 58 What effect do you think it will have in the civil service in the future?
2. Some respondents showed themselves to be sympathetic to Franco-phone difficulties and aspirations in a general sense, but against change toward bilingualism in the federal Public Service. In the cases where this type of mixed opinion was encountered, the respondent was placed in Category 2.
3. The following analysis does sometimes refer to those who display both complete sympathy and qualified sympathy. The Tables and the text usually, however, refer only to the single category, complete sympathy. This tends to understate the amount of sympathy in the Public Service but it does permit a more accurate identification of the sources of strong, unwavering support.
4. Sex, of course, is a fundamental fact of life, but we encountered so few women in our survey that it was impossible to make comparisons between the sexes.
5. A useful review is found in Donald L. Noel and Alphonso Pinkney, "Correlates of Prejudice: Some Racial Differences and Similarities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 69 (May, 1964), 609-22.
6. *Ibid.*, 617.
7. It is interesting that whatever the respondent actually saw as the effect of the recent emphasis, the assumption was always that it should be for the worst. It was almost with surprise that many candidates admitted that the worst had not yet come to pass: "I think the best men still get the best positions"; "The criterion is still the ability of the individual"; "...they are still promoting on job ability not on bilingual ability."

8. "From the radio and press we get the impression that one would have to be bilingual to get by. Inside the department I found however that ability is still the prime measuring stick."
9. Interestingly, most examples of this thinking are found in the departments of Finance and Agriculture. These men are of course generally more highly educated than those in the more operational departments. They are therefore more sophisticated in their approach to the situation and more articulate in their assessment of it.
10. It may be for this reason that scientists in the department of Agriculture more than any other group attribute the present French Canadian situation to education and propose the solution also in educational terms. "I would say that the lion's share of the effort must be with the French Canadians. The rest of us can't go around creating opportunities for them if they haven't got the educational background. They must evolve a new attitude in order to revolutionize themselves a modern technical society."

"I don't mind the attitude that these people are taking. It's only natural when you have problems to blame them on someone else. But I think that the real answer to the problem lies with the French themselves. They must improve their education and throw off the old methods they have been using for so long.... I think a lot of the segregation of the French comes from the fact that they have been associated with poor education."
11. There are many instances of this thinking at the top of the Public Service. One rather extreme example from a unilingual Finance officer points its occurrence lower down: "How many French Canadians do you run into that are well educated enough to get a job in the civil service that are not fluently bilingual? Anyone who gets a good education is bilingual."
12. However, a memorandum went out on January 10, 1963 from the deputy minister, indicating that officers were expected to feel free to send correspondence in any language they wished. So far, apparently, only the "occasional" French letter comes in.
13. The correlation of perception and attitude is well expressed by an engineer in Public Works: "I'm quite sure it's dying away.... It would never affect us in this little place—won't touch our jobs so we have nothing to fear personally."

Appendix I

1. This was submitted to the deputy ministers of the five departments studied in order to explain the purpose of the research and to elicit their support.

Appendix II

1. However, they are taken into account in Chapter XIV where we study more specifically the Translators at mid-career.

Appendix III

1. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. *Social Statistics* (Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1960), 125.

Appendix VIII

1. Harold L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (August, 1961), 521-39.

BINDING SECT. NOV 3 1972

Continued
Publication



3 1761 11468648 8